

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.
ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

F

61

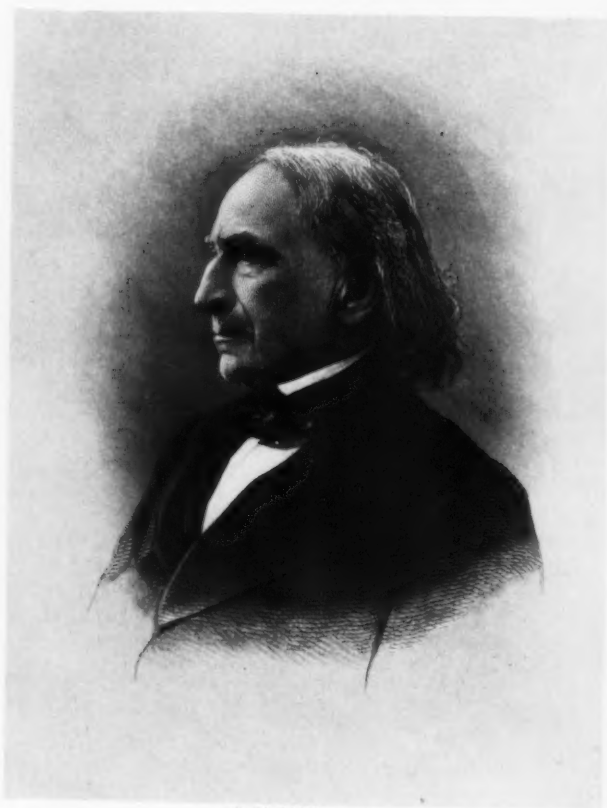
M38

See See

Y. 6

1890-91





James Walker



1-13

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

78

Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES.—VOL. VI.

1890, 1891.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCI.

10.596

UNIVERSITY PRESS:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

~~H 844~~
~~g M 383 p~~
2nd ser.
v. 6

F
61
M38
2d ser.
v. 6

PREFACE.

IN this volume, which completes the record of the Proceedings of the Society during its first century, are comprised, besides the account of its Centennial Celebration, the Proceedings of eleven stated meetings, from May, 1890, to June, 1891, both inclusive. Three memoirs of deceased members are given; namely, that of ROBERT BENNET FORBES, by Leverett Saltonstall, that of RICHARD H. DANA, by Charles Francis Adams, and the long deferred memoir of JAMES WALKER. This memoir was originally assigned to Henry W. Foote, but was not completed at Mr. Foote's death; it was then assigned to Henry W. Torrey, who was obliged not long afterward to relinquish the task by ill health; and it has now been written by Octavius B. Frothingham. Among the other communications to which the Committee desire to call attention are the list of English Exiles in Amsterdam, prepared by our lamented associate, Henry M. Dexter; the journal of Ebenezer Wild, extending over the whole period of the War of the Revolution; Samuel A. Green's Centennial Bibliography of the publications

of the Society; the copies of the inscriptions on Cabot's "Mappe-Monde," from the papers of Charles Deane; and the paper by Charles F. Adams on some phases of Church Discipline in the colonial period of New England.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, October 1, 1891.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
OFFICERS ELECTED, April, 1891	xv
RESIDENT MEMBERS	xvi
HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS	xviii
MEMBERS DECEASED	xx

MAY MEETING, 1890.

Remarks on Thomas Lyon, his Family and Connections, by ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr.	1
Papers relating to Captain Thomas Lawrence's Company (1758), communicated by SAMUEL A. GREEN	21
Remarks on the memorials of Columbus and the portraits of Washington, with a reminiscence of Rev. Dr. Lothrop, by WILLIAM S. APPLETON	33
Notes on Indian Hemp, and kindred topics, by HENRY W. HAYNES	34

JUNE MEETING, 1890.

Paper on the English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625, by HENRY M. DEXTER	41
--	----

OCTOBER MEETING, 1890.

	PAGE
Remarks on the life and character of John Dickinson by the PRESIDENT	66
Reminiscences of Jeremiah Morrow and Samuel F. Vinton, by ROBERT C. WINTHROP	72
Remarks on a photographic group of the members, taken in 1858, by SAMUEL A. GREEN	76
Journal of Ebenezer Wild (1776-1781), communicated by JAMES M. BUGBEE	78
Letters of Louis de Masquerelle and Bernard M. Lamarquisie, communicated by JAMES M. BUGBEE	160

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1890.

Remarks, in communicating a gift of Lincoln books and manu- scripts, by the PRESIDENT	166
Letter of Lafayette, communicated by EDWARD J. YOUNG	169
Remarks on a file of the Boston News-Letter, with notes by Judge Sewall, and a letter of Thomas Jefferson, by SAMUEL A. GREEN	171

DECEMBER MEETING, 1890.

Remarks on the death of Henry M. Dexter, by the PRESIDENT	176
Letter from HAMILTON A. HILL	184
Remarks by ALEXANDER MCKENZIE	185
Report of the Committee on indexing the Pickering Papers	188
Remarks on Otis's argument against the Writs of Assistance, by SAMUEL A. GREEN	190
Memoir of Robert Bennet Forbes by LEVERETT SALTONSTALL	197

JANUARY MEETING, 1891.

	PAGE
Bibliography of the Society's publications, communicated by SAMUEL A. GREEN	203
Letter of William Coffin, Jr., communicated by WILLIAM S. APPLETON	250
Petition of Daniel Leonard, communicated by MELLE CHAM- BERLAIN	251
Letter of John W. Blake, describing the Battle of Lundy's Lane, communicated by ARTHUR B. ELLIS	257
Letter of JUSTIN WINSOR	259
Memoir of Richard H. Dana, by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS . .	262

CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION.

Address by the PRESIDENT	268
Prayer by LUCIUS R. PAIGE	270
Address by ROBERT C. WINTHROP	271
Address by THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON	275
Benediction by ALEXANDER MCKENZIE	283

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1891.

Remarks on the death of Charles Devens by the PRESIDENT .	285
Remarks by JOHN C. ROPES	286
Remarks by HENRY LEE	291
Remarks on the death of George Bancroft, by the PRESIDENT .	295
Remarks by ROBERT C. WINTHROP	300
Remarks, in communicating the inscriptions on Cabot's Mapped Monde, from the papers of Charles Deane, by CHARLES C. SMITH	305
Subscription paper for a public dinner on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston, communicated by SAMUEL A. GREEN	340
Supplement to the Centennial Biography, communicated by SAMUEL A. GREEN	343

MARCH MEETING, 1891.

	PAGE
Remarks on the death of Samuel C. Cobb, by the PRESIDENT .	351
Remarks by ABBOTT LAWRENCE	352
Remarks by SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY	354
Remarks by WINSLOW WARREN	358
Papers relating to the building of Fort Dummer, communicated by EGBERT C. SMYTH	359
Copy of the first letter of Columbus, communicated by WILLIAM W. GOODWIN	382
Remarks on Aristotle's treatise on the Constitution of Athens, by WILLIAM W. GOODWIN	385
Memorandum of Samuel Sewall, communicated by A. C. GOODELL, Jr.	388

ANNUAL MEETING, 1891.

Letter of FRANCIS PARKMAN, accompanying a gift of historical manuscripts	391
Remarks on an anonymous Indian tract, by SAMUEL A. GREEN	392
Remarks, in communicating a fac-simile of a part of the church records of Fairfield, Conn., by EDWARD G. PORTER . .	395
Letter of Richard H. Dana, Jr., communicated by HAMILTON A. HILL	397
Remarks on the authorship of Massachusettensis and of the preface to Wood's New England's Prospect, by MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN	400
Report of the Council	402
Report of the Treasurer	406
Report of the Auditing Committee	414
Report of the Librarian	415
Report of the Cabinet-Keeper	416
Report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet .	417
Officers elected	419

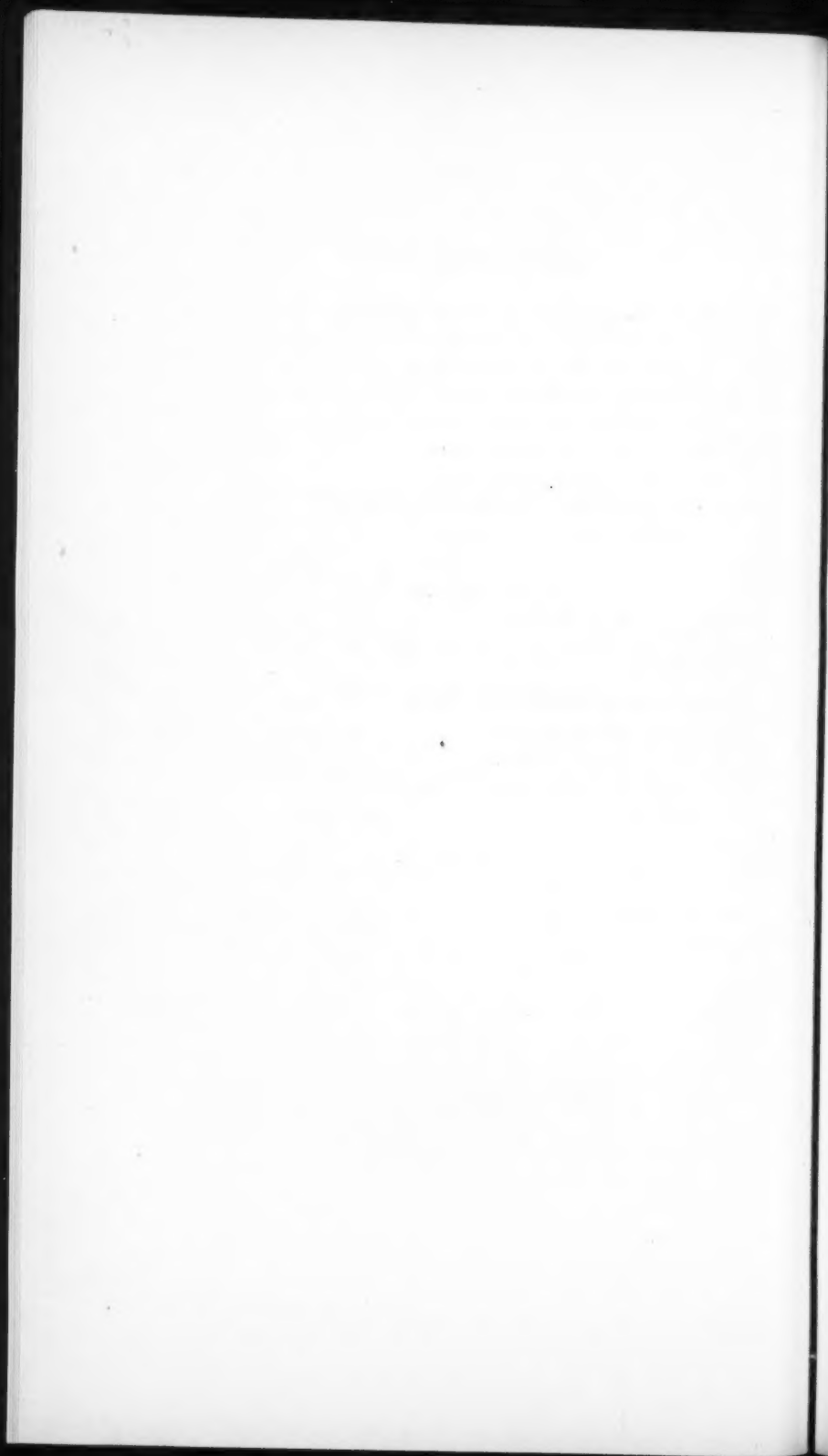
MAY MEETING, 1891.

	PAGE
Remarks by the PRESIDENT	421
Remarks, in communicating a letter of Anne Higginson and one of Thomas Hooker, by ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr. . .	422
Remarks, in communicating a Muster Roll for the Expedition against Canada, in 1760, by SAMUEL A. GREEN . . .	426
Remarks, in communicating a Memorial of Capt. Charles Cochrane, by MELLE CHAMBERLAIN	433
Memoir of Rev. James Walker, D.D., LL.D., by OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM	443

JUNE MEETING, 1891.

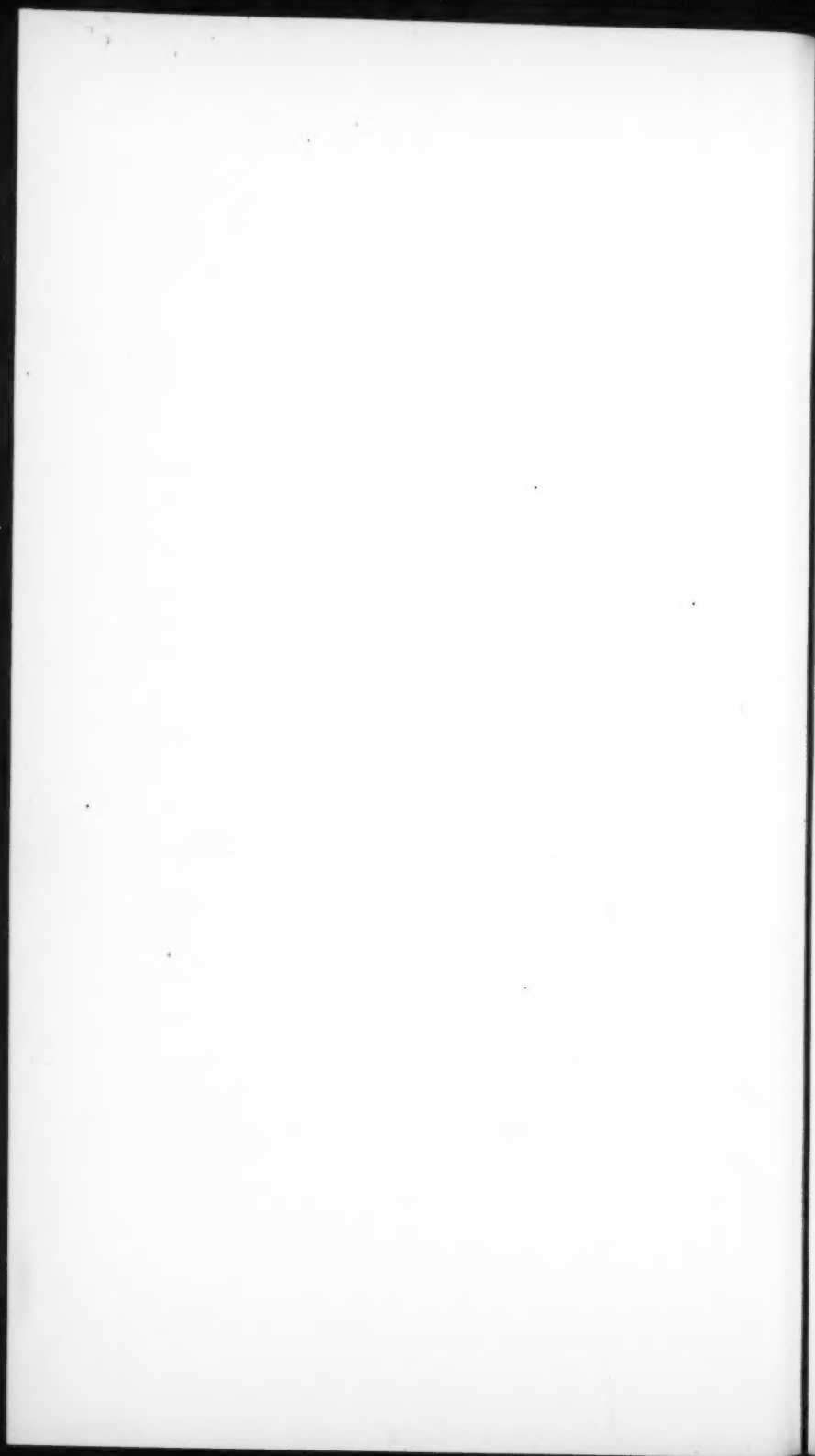
Paper on the Loyal Petitions of 1666, by WILLIAM S. APPLETON	469
Paper on Church Discipline in Colonial New England, by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS	477
Paper on The New England Courant, by SAMUEL A. GREEN .	516
Note by MELLE CHAMBERLAIN, to the Memorial of Captain Cochrane	519

LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY	521
INDEX	525



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF JAMES WALKER	<i>Frontispiece</i>
FAC-SIMILE OF THE "WHITE HILLS" MAP	41
GROUP OF MEMBERS IN AUGUST, 1858	76
PORTRAIT OF ROBERT B. FORBES	197
PORTRAIT OF RICHARD H. DANA	262



OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ELECTED APRIL 9, 1891.

President.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D. BOSTON.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, A.B. QUINCY.

Recording Secretary.

REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

ROGER WOLCOTT, LL.B. BOSTON.

EDWARD BANGS, LL.B. BOSTON.

EDWARD J. LOWELL, A.M. BOSTON.

REV. EDWARD G. PORTER, A.M. LEXINGTON.

REV. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M. CANTON.

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

<p style="text-align: center;">1839.</p> <p>Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1841.</p> <p>Rev. George E. Ellis, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1844.</p> <p>Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1848.</p> <p>Henry Wheatland, M.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1852.</p> <p>Francis Parkman, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1857.</p> <p>Oliver Wendell Holmes, D.C.L.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1858.</p> <p>Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1859.</p> <p>Henry W. Torrey, LL.D.</p> <p>Rev. Robert C. Waterston, A.M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1860.</p> <p>Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D.</p> <p>Charles Eliot Norton, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1861.</p> <p>Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D.</p> <p>Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.</p> <p>Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D.</p> <p>Rev. Edwards A. Park, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1863.</p> <p>William H. Whitmore, A.M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1864.</p> <p>Hon. William C. Endicott, LL.D.</p> <p>Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, LL.D.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">1865.</p> <p>Josiah P. Quincy, A.M.</p> <p>Samuel Eliot, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1866.</p> <p>Henry G. Denny, A.M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1867.</p> <p>Charles C. Smith, A.M.</p> <p>Hon. George S. Hale, A.M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1869.</p> <p>William S. Appleton, A.M.</p> <p>Hon. Theodore Lyman, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1871.</p> <p>Abner C. Goodell, Jr., A.M.</p> <p>Edward D. Harris, Esq.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1873.</p> <p>Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D.</p> <p>Winslow Warren, LL.B.</p> <p>Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1875.</p> <p>Charles F. Dunbar, LL.D.</p> <p>Charles Francis Adams, A.B.</p> <p>William P. Upham, A.B.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1876.</p> <p>Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D.</p> <p>William Everett, Litt.D.</p> <p>George B. Chase, A.M.</p> <p>Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Ph.D.</p>
---	---

1877.

John T. Morse, Jr., A.B.
Justin Winsor, LL.D.
J. Elliot Cabot, LL.D.

1878.

Henry Lee, A.M.
Gamaliel Bradford, A.B.
Rev. Edward J. Young, D.D.
Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.
Abbott Lawrence, A.M.

1879.

Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.
William W. Greenough, A.B.
Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., A.M.
Henry W. Haynes, A.M.

1880.

Thomas W. Higginson, A.M.
Rev. Edward G. Porter, A.M.
John C. Ropes, LL.B.

1881.

Rev. Henry F. Jenks, A.M.
Horace E. Scudder, A.M.
Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D.D.
Stephen Salisbury, A.M.
John T. Hassam, A.M.
Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D.

1882.

Arthur Lord, A.B.
Arthur B. Ellis, LL.B.
Clement Hugh Hill, A.M.
Frederick W. Putnam, A.M.
James M. Bugbee, Esq.
Hon. John D. Washburn, LL.B.
Rev. Egbert C. Smyth, D.D.

1883.

Francis A. Walker, LL.D.
Rev. Arthur L. Perry, LL.D.

1884.

Hon. John E. Sanford, A.M.

Uriel H. Crocker, LL.B.
Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.
Roger Wolcott, LL.B.
William G. Russell, LL.D.
Edward J. Lowell, A.M.
Edward Channing, Ph.D.

1885.

Hon. Lincoln F. Brigham, LL.D.
Edward Bangs, LL.B.

1886.

Samuel F. McCleary, A.M.
William W. Goodwin, D.C.L.
Hon. George F. Hoar, LL.D.
Rev. Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D.

1887.

Charles G. Loring, A.M.
Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, A.M.
Solomon Lincoln, A.M.
Edwin P. Seaver, A.M.

1889.

Albert B. Hart, Ph.D.
Thornton K. Lothrop, LL.B.
George O. Shattuck, LL.B.
James B. Thayer, LL.B.
Hon. Henry S. Nourse, A.M.

1890.

Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M.
Edwin Lassetter Bynner, Esq.
Hamilton Andrews Hill, A.M.
William S. Shurtleff, A.M.
Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.

1891.

Benjamin M. Watson, A.B.
Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D.
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., LL.D.
Henry P. Walcott, M.D.

HONORARY OR CORRESPONDING
MEMBERS,

ELECTED UNDER THE ORIGINAL ACT OF INCORPORATION, 1794, IN THE ORDER
OF THEIR ELECTION.

J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D. | Rev. William S. Southgate, A.M.
John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

James Anthony Froude, M.A.
Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L.
Rt. Rev. Lord A. C. Hervey, D.D.
David Masson, LL.D.
S.A.R. le Comte de Paris.
Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D.D.
Hon. William M. Evarts, LL.D.

Theodor Mommsen.
Marquis de Rochambeau.
John Robert Seeley, LL.D.
William E. H. Lecky, LL.D.
Very Rev. Charles Merivale, D.D.
Ernst Curtius.
Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

Hon. William H. Trescot.
George H. Moore, LL.D.
William Noël Sainsbury, Esq.
Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.
George Ticknor Curtis, A.B.
Hon. John Meredith Read, A.M.
Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.
Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.
William W. Story, D.C.L.
M. Jules Marcou.
M. Pierre Margry.
Charles J. Hoadly, LL.D.
John Foster Kirk, Esq.
Benjamin Scott, Esq.
Hon. Charles H. Bell, LL.D.
Rev. Edward D. Neill, D.D.
Rev. Thomas Hill, LL.D.
Hon. Manning F. Force, LL.B.
Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D.
Samuel Rawson Gardiner, LL.D.
Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D.
George William Curtis, LL.D.
Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.
Hubert H. Bancroft, A.M.
Rev. Richard S. Storrs, LL.D.
M. Gustave Vapereau.
William F. Poole, LL.D.
Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D.
John Austin Stevens, A.B.
Joseph F. Loubat, LL.D.

Charles H. Hart, LL.B.
Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D.
Hermann von Holst, Ph.D.
Franklin B. Dexter, A.M.
John M. Brown, A.M.
Hon. Andrew D. White, LL.D.
George W. Ranck, Esq.
James M. Le Moine, Esq.
Rt. Hon. Sir George O. Trevelyan,
Bart., D.C.L.
Henry Adams, A.B.
Julius Dexter, A.B.
Rev. Henry M. Baird, D.D.
Hon. William Wirt Henry.
Vicomte d'Haussonville.
James Bryce, D.C.L.
Rev. Charles R. Weld, B.D.
Herbert B. Adams, Ph.D.
Signor Cornelio Desimoni.
Gen. George W. Cullum, U.S.A.
Hon. Jabez L. M. Curry LL.D.
Amos Perry, A.M.
Horatio Hale, A.M.
Hon. William A. Courtenay.
Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, LL.D.
John Andrew Doyle, M.A.
Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
D.D.
Alexander Brown, Esq.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since Jan. 1, 1891, in which month the last volume of the Collections was issued, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Hon. James Russell Lowell, D.C.L.	Aug. 12, 1891.
Augustus T. Perkins, A.M.	Apr. 21, 1891.
Hon. Charles Devens, LL.D.	Jan. 7, 1891.
Hon. Samuel C. Cobb	Feb. 18, 1891.

Honorary.

Hon. George Bancroft, D.C.L.	Jan. 17, 1891.
--------------------------------------	----------------

Corresponding.

Benson J. Lossing, LL.D.	June 3, 1891.
Lyman C. Draper, LL.D.	Aug. 26, 1891.
Richard Henry Major, F.S.A.	June 25, 1891.
Rev. Edmond de Pressensé, D.D.	Apr. 8, 1891.
Thomas B. Akins, D.C.L.	May 7, 1891.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian communicated the monthly list of donors to the Library.

In accordance with the By-Laws, the President appointed Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith as the Committee for publishing the Proceedings for the ensuing year.

The President then read a circular letter from a provisional committee of the Congregational Club of Boston, with reference to the erection of a memorial to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven. After remarks by the Hon. E. R. HOAR, the letter was, on motion of Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, referred to a committee consisting of the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter, Rev. Edward G. Porter, and Mr. Edward J. Lowell.

The President also said he had received an invitation to attend the Fifth Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town of Southampton, Long Island, to be held on the 12th of June.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said: —

I have been more than once requested to place on record any information contained in the Winthrop Papers concerning Thomas Lyon, an early settler of Connecticut, about whom

our former President, Mr. Savage, was able to ascertain so little that he supposed him to have been a soldier killed in action by the Indians, when, in reality, he was a Quaker who died in his bed. Some years ago I found several letters of his, addressed either to Gov. John Winthrop the elder or to Gov. John Winthrop the younger, together with letters of his two wives and of other persons nearly connected with him; but it is only recently that I have had leisure to decipher them. Their interest may by some be considered rather genealogical than historical; but it is often difficult to draw the line between these two pursuits, and there can be no question that a fuller appreciation of the inner life of the early Colonial period is to be derived from reading its domestic correspondence than from the often wearisome perusal of its political and religious controversies. These letters, and the notes I have compiled with reference to them, contain information not easily accessible, and largely relate to matters already alluded to in this Society's publications. I therefore communicate them for our printed Proceedings, without troubling the Society to listen to them. I may add, however, that they establish the fact that the first wife of this Thomas Lyon was a lady whose existence has hitherto been either ignored, or represented to have terminated in childhood. I have thus enjoyed the peculiar satisfaction, not merely of resuscitating a virtuous young woman, but of pointing out that some other writers have been in the wrong, which is, I need not say, one of the greatest gratifications that can befall an antiquarian.

Notes concerning Thomas Lyon, his Family and Connections.

Henry Winthrop, second son of Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts, baptized at Groton, England, Jan. 20, 1607-8, became a planter in Barbadoes in 1627, but subsequently returned to England and married, April 25, 1629, his cousin Elizabeth Fones, daughter of Thomas Fones, of London, and sister of Martha Fones, who subsequently became the first wife of his brother John. He sailed for New England shortly after his father, and was accidentally drowned at Salem, Massachusetts, on the day after his arrival, July 2, 1630. His wife had remained in England with her husband's mother, with whom she came to Boston in November, 1631. Just before sailing she appears to have had an opportunity of becoming the second wife of William Coddington;¹ and

¹ *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, vol. ii. p. 88.

not long after her arrival, she married Robert Feke (otherwise written Feake, Fekes, and Feeex), one of the earliest and largest proprietors in Watertown, which he repeatedly represented in the Massachusetts General Court, and where he and his wife appear to have lived happily together until about 1640, when he became joint owner of Greenwich, Connecticut, whither he removed his family. Capt. Daniel Patrick — a military man of some note but of not altogether savory reputation, who had commanded the company of Massachusetts militia of which Feke had been lieutenant — was associated in this purchase; and when Feke was obliged to return to Watertown, where his impaired health long detained him, he left his wife, children, and estate in charge of Patrick. The latter was subjected to much annoyance by the Indians, and by the pretensions of the Dutch to sovereignty over Greenwich, and was finally coerced or persuaded to sign a declaration of submission to the States-General of Holland. This paper, which bears date April 9, 1642, recites that the action of Mrs. Feke and himself was duly authorized by her husband, then sick and absent.¹ About this time, however, a painful sensation was created in New England by a story that Mrs. Feke was improperly intimate with Patrick, who was assassinated by a Dutch soldier at Stamford in the following year.² Mrs. Emanuel Downing was much attached to "my neece, Bes Fones," as she called her; and after Patrick's death she urged Governor Winthrop to befriend her, adding, "that which I have heard of her was not like to be for her good or our comfort, yet every one is not her mother's child."³ Feke appears to have taken no steps to obtain a legal separation, but to have continued to live apart from his wife; and in 1647 he went to England on a long absence, leaving his affairs in charge of one William Hallett. There are two letters from John Winthrop, Jr., to Gov. Peter Stuyvesant, asking provision for Mrs. Feke and her children out of the property within Dutch jurisdiction, agreeably to an understanding with Feke before his departure, and that Hallett might have free ingress and egress to and from Dutch territory.⁴ Not long after, however, Mrs. Feke announced that she and Hallett had been married; which caused a great scandal, both because he was her inferior in station and because there was no apparent evidence of her divorce. Gov. Theophilus Eaton wrote John Winthrop, Jr., July 21, 1648: "It is possible that William Hallett and she that was M^r Feakes his wife, are married; though not only the lawfulness and validitie of such a marriage, but the reallity and truth, is by some questioned."⁵ As a part of Greenwich had been originally purchased in Mrs. Feke's name, the relative claims upon Mr.

¹ N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ii. p. 144.

² Winthrop's New England, vol. ii. p. 161.

³ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 34.

⁴ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 621.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 848.

Feke's estate of his former wife, his children, and his agent, Hallett, gave rise to complicated litigation; and the correspondence now communicated opens at this period, when Thomas Lyon, who had recently become Mrs. Feke's son-in-law, was much disgusted by the Hallett marriage, having expected to look after his mother-in-law's affairs himself. John Winthrop, Jr., however, exerted influence with Theophilus Eaton in her behalf; and Governor Eaton, in reply, expressed sympathy for her, in spite of her "injurious writings" to himself, and his allegation that she had allowed her children to be "if not naked, very unsatisfyingly apparelled."¹

As Elizabeth Feke-Hallett has fared somewhat hardly at the hands of local historians, it may be well to insert here an early letter of hers (the only one in existence), which exhibits her character in an engaging light in point of tenderness to an invalid servant. It is without date, but was evidently written from Groton Manor toward the close of 1630 or at the beginning of 1631.

To my very loving brother, M^r John Winthrop, at M^r Downing's house, these be dd.

LOVEING BROTHER, — I have sent my mayde up unto you. I pray tell my Uncle and Aunt Downing that my mother remembers her love to them and would intreate them to let her be there a day or two till she can be sent unto her mother. Or else, if they cannot let her lodge there, let her lodge at the Belsavage and have her diate with them; for she is sickly and is loath to be alone. Give John Hodges, I pray, a note of the townes names from London to Haslemore and soe to Exi-tur; and if it bee too farre out of John Hodges way, see her safe sent downe to her owne country-carrier. She will direct you where he lyeth. Thus remembring my love, and the loves of the rest of your friends, unto you, — desireing you likewise to remember my duty unto my Uncle and Aunt Downing, — I rest

Your loving sister,

ELIZABETH WINTHROP.

Besides her Feke children, she had, by her first husband, Henry Winthrop, an only child, Martha Johanna, born at Groton Manor May 9, 1630, who in many notices of the Winthrop family is stated to have died in childhood, some writers adding that she was buried in Ipswich, Massachusetts. This mistake undoubtedly arose from the fact that another Martha Winthrop, the first wife of John Winthrop, Jr., died in Ipswich, in 1634, and was buried there with her infant daughter of the same name.

Martha Johanna Winthrop grew up to womanhood, and at the age of about seventeen married Thomas Lyon, as appears by the following letter from him to his wife's grandfather: —

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 350.

THOMAS LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull Governor M^r Winthrop, at Boston, this dd.

From STAMFORD, y^e 25 August, 1647.

KIND AND LOVING GRANFATHER, — My humble duty remembered unto you and hartly thanks unto you for all your kindnes showne both to me and to my wife. I am sorow for to heare of that sad newes of the loss of my Granmother, but the Lord knowes best what to doe.¹ The occasion of my writing is seeing the Lord hath brought me into this condition as for to marry one of your grandchildren, my desier is for to seeke both for her sole's good and her bodys's. Therefore, seeing my time is in the Lord's hands (how soone I may be taken from her I know not), I would provide as comfortable as I could. For her to goe to her Mother, if the Lord should take me away, is not my desier, considering her condition, for I have knowne enough. Therefore, I heering by som since I married her that there was something both given her and apoynted to be given her, caused me to write to you intreating you to send me word how it is. If there bee anything, it is better she have her right to doe her good another day than those that be as strangers or have no right at all. And as for her Mother, I think if she could marry here (as yet she may not be sufered) she will goe somewhere else with the fellow, if he be as willing, soe that my wife has not nor is like to have litle or noe comfort or helpe of her Mother. Soe if there bee anything by right for my wife, I would pray you to consider of her and send word. I shall bee short, but would pray you to speke with Goodman Lockwood this bearer and he can sattisfie you fully how all things is, for I tould my mind to him. Thus intreating you to let me heere by this bearer fully how all things is, I hast. I pray you to remember my duty to my father Feeke, if he be not departed for England, and to my kind Unkle John Winthrop and my Aunt, with thankfullnes for all their former kindneses. I would have sent to him before now, but had not an opertunity. Likewise, my love to all the rest of my friends in generall. My wife remembers her humble duty unto you and thanks you for your love and care toward her. Your good exhortation she hopes she shall not forgit, and she prays you to remember her to her loving and kind Unkle John and to her Aunt, and to her Unkle Adam and all her Unkles & Aunts & freinds. Likewise she would pray you to remember her duty to her father Feeke. Thus, leaving you to the protection of the Allmighty, I rest

Your dutyfull and obedient Grandson, THOMAS LYON.

Governor Winthrop's indorsement is almost illegible, but appears to be: "Sonne Lyon, L^r about M. J. her right. 23 (7) 47."

¹ Margaret Winthrop, wife of the Governor, had died but little more than two months before.

In the course of the following winter Mrs. Lyon appears to have been seriously ill, and in the Spring her husband wrote the Governor as follows:—

THOMAS LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

From STAMFORD, y^e 14 Aprill, 1648.

LOVING GRANFATHER,—My humble duty remembred unto you. This is to acquaint you that I have received your kind token you sent to my wife as a gowne and petecote and savegards, which I humbly thank you for. They stand my wife in great sted. For my owne part, I am willing to doe for my wife to the utermost of my power, but she being in such a condition, not able to helpe her selfe, makes me doe and suffer that which otherwise I might not; but my trust is in the Lord who had apointed us to com together. He can helpe and releive those that wayt upon Him, as experiance shows. Although I am base in degree to you, and poore, yet that you should look upon me to helpe me the goodnes of God is great. And as for your good counsell, I humbly thanke you. The Lord inable me to folow it, that soe I might make my wife's life as comfortable as I can in her condition. As for my wife, she is worse and worse, soe that it is great hindrance to me, haveing but little but by my labor, and cannot git a helpe for her, they being all so scarce here. Concerning my wife's mother, she hath delt very harsh with me, withholding my right from me in severall cases. The reason, as I conceive, and noe other, I shall tell you. When I married first, I lived in the house with her, because, my father beeing distracted, I might bee a helpe to her. Whereupon seeing severall carages betwene the felow she now hath to bee for husband and that the people allsoe tooke notie of it (which was to her disgrace) which greved me verie much,—and I can say, as the Lord knowes, her fall hath beene the greatest greefe and trouble to me that ever com by other,—and after long time heering and seeing what condition she were in, I spake to her about it privately, and after I discovered my dislike I see her carage alter toward me. And haveing profered divers times to the utermost of my power to help her to take care of her estate, either in the house with her or in a house by her, haveing soft all menes that were lawfull, both betwene she and I,—allsoe, when nought would prevale, before witnes,—that soe she might gaine her name, bring glory to God, and part with the felow; yet nothing would prevale, but the more I desiered her to part with the felow, the more I see she were against me. But, however, I hope I shall have a clere consiance toward her before God that I have not been the cause in the leest by my neglect; but to relate were tedious. However, I am sorow for the sad efect she hath brought upon her selfe in the generall, and now more pertickuler that none of her former freinds will scarce look upon her,—which I desier the Lord would lay it open to her if at the

last there may be hopes, and I desier my selfe and others may take notis of her fall that soe it may be gaine to others.

My wife remembers her duty unto you and to all the rest of her freinds in generall, with thanks to you for your gift sent to her, and likewise to all her freinds to their kindness. I thought to have writ to my uncle John Winthrop, but the time is [*torn*] I shall not. I intreat your favour to acquaint him how things are, that I could desier (as the case stands) he would make a jorney hither spedely. Likewise let me intreat you soe much, because I shall not write to him at this time, as to tell him I would intreat him to conseder the state of the place here and helpe me with a couple of sithes and a sickell or two against harvest, for here is none to bee got, and I shall send such pay as the cuntry doth aford, as whete; for if I had such things it would help me to get much that now I cannot. Oure thoughts are for the present to see to the Dutch Governor if he will resine the part of the estate there in our hands, that soe wee might have it all improved at Greenwich upon the land. I intreat you would be pleased to let me heere from you spedely. Soe in hast I rest

Your dutyfull and obedient Grandsonn,

THOMAS LYON.

Farther, concerning the condition she is in, my father Feecke going away sodingly, having taken noe course about the children and estate, only desiered a freind of his, and I, in case wee see them about makeing away the estate and to remove, we should stay it, — allso sending a letter to the same effect from Watertown, — we sent for counsell what we should do. We were advised to stay it according to my father's order; whereupon wee sent to the Dutch Governor, and went allso, that the estate might be stayed according to my father's desier. My mother and William Hallett coming there, there were som complants made against them, their living together; whereupon the Gov. ordered that the estate should be preserved for the children and my father upon his land at Greenwich. It were farther ordered that my mother should live with her children, haveing the benyfit of the estate comfortable to live on, if she continewed there. If she did not stay there, she was not to carie away any of the estate nor children; likewise William was to depart the jurisdiction. But when they were returned to Greenwich, because the fellow might not live there, my mother-in-law came hither with him, bringing away the children and estate, which we have seized on. Allso sence she came here she hath openly confessed she is married to him, is with child by him; and she hath been at New Haven, but could have noe comfort; nor hopes for present to live in the jurisdiction, and what will becom of her I know not. She is resolute in her course, or else I think, if she would leave William, she might stay here; and for the present they are in an unsettled condition, not know-

ing what to doe; and wee have had much trouble concerning the estate, and yet it is not settled, for wee know not how to despose of the children, for the estate is sould and wasted by their menes and charges comd on it, soe that it will not be soe good as my father left it, — neither will it maintayne the children except they be put forth. I could desier that my Uncle John would make a voyage hither and see if hee could settle things for the best, for the children and estate, spedely. The ocasion of my writing is to informe you of the truth, lest you might be informed otherwise. If my Uncle John Winthrop would com, it would be very good. I humbly intreat you to speke with him about it, for the children and the estate suffer. Or I would intreat you to send by this bearer your mind what you think will be best. There is 300 acres of land which were given to my wife by my father and Captaine Patrick. I intreat you to write to the Dutch Governor, who has taken the land away, that soe I may not lose my right.

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop: "Sonne Lyon. 14 (2) 48."

So far as can be ascertained, the two foregoing letters constitute the earliest existing mention of Thomas Lyon in New England; but they afford no clue to his antecedents, except as showing that he had not been long married, that his means were small, that he had acquaintances in Boston, that he was on good terms not only with the Winthrop family but with his wife's stepfather, Robert Feke, and that, like so many young married men in all ages, he did not get on pleasantly with his mother-in-law. It has been reasonably assumed that he was related to the Richard Lyon who was of Fairfield in 1649, and the Henry Lyon who was of Milford in 1646 and afterward of Fairfield, but where he was born and from what part of England he came has yet to be discovered. If the words "my father being destracted" (in the second letter) are to be understood as referring to his own father, they might help to ascertain his parentage; but the probability is that he was alluding to his stepfather-in-law and used the word "destracted" with reference to the separation of Feke from his wife.¹ Thomas Lyon's

¹ Robert Feke returned from England, and died at Watertown, Feb. 1, 1663. For a number of years before his death he is stated to have been deranged, and his property melted away. What became of his children is not apparent. The only letter from him now to be found among the Winthrop Papers is of an earlier period, and is as follows: —

To the Wor: ^{all} John a Wentrope, Esquier, at Konusficott, give this.

WATERTOWNE, this 6th July, 1666.

LOVINGE & KINDE BROTHER, — I salute you in the Lord, rememberinge my best respectt unto you. I thanke you for that you would take the payne to write to us. I confesse wee are to blame that wee have not write to you all this tyme, but I soppose yf you knew o' occasions & distrachtions we have bin in by reason we weare altogether unsettled, you would then excuse us & beare with us for

handwriting, though difficult to read at the present day, is that of an educated man; but it is not easy to understand why he was not already in possession of the information he asks for as to any sum to which his wife would be entitled on coming of age. Although her father, Henry Winthrop, had died in his twenty-third year, he is known to have had some small means in his own right, as Governor Winthrop, in one of his published letters, alludes to having temporarily borrowed £400 of his son Henry.¹

It is doubtful whether John Winthrop, Jr., found time to go to Stamford, as requested; and it is clear that however much he may have regretted his sister-in-law's imprudence, he was not in sympathy with the harsh language used by her son-in-law. So far from endeavoring to separate Mr. and Mrs. Hallett, he steadily befriended them, as will appear hereafter. It is also evident that he was much concerned by hearing of the ill-health of his niece, that a story had reached him that her husband was not sufficiently attentive to her, and that he consulted his friend Theophilus Eaton about it. Governor Eaton replied from New Haven, Jan. 4, 1648-9: "I am altogether a stranger to Thomas Lyon and his wife; till now, I have not heard the least intimation of her weakenes or his neglect. From your information, I shall now enquire, and consider what the case may require."² A few months later, Mrs. Lyon wrote her uncle as follows:—

MARTHA JOHANNA LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To my loving and kind Uncle, M^r John Winthrop, att Pequot, this dd.

From STAMFORD, y^e 23 March, 1648[-9].

MOST LOVING AND KIND UNKELL AND AUNT,—My humble duty remembered unto you. I haveing an opertunyty thought good to send

it. Assure your selfe it is not for wante of love to you or unmindefullness of you. You write to us to knowe o^r mindes, w^{ch} when I received your letter I did not knowe my owne mynde, but sence it hath pleased God wee are resolved agayne for Knufficott, & therfor I have nowe sent my man to mowe grass there for to winter my cattell, and to gett what houseninge hee can there, though he never soe meane, for a shelter till I come hether my selfe. I propose, God willing, in the Springe to come there, my wife & fammeley. I should be glad to heere that you will sett downe there too, that yf God plesse, wee maye injoye your compayneie there to dwell, w^{ch} I doe protest would bee a greate comfort to mee, yf God soe please to dispose of it. Your wife & dafter was lately verie well,—last Thursday I saw them both,—your wife, I meane, for a woman in hir case lately brought to bed. And soe with my prayer to God for a blessinge uppon you and all your affayres, I take my leave & rest, being in hast,

Your truly lovinge Brother,

ROBARTE FEKE.

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 41.

² 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 353.

these few lines, although I have writ many but received none. I humbly thank you for your great love and care toward me in that you have sought to know how it is with me. M^r Eaton being here I have sent by him playnly and nakedly. How it is I hope he will acquaint you. For my owne part, I am weaker then ever I was and not able to doe anything, scarse to take my owne vities when it is set by me. I likewise have a very bad stomack, but the more because of my breeding my stomach is very choyse and daynty, which causes me to suffer the more, my husband beeing not able nor at leasure to gitt mee what I would. Here is noe help to bee got, neither by neiborhood nor servants, my husband beeing forst to doe all both for himselfe and mee, which is great hindrance and loss. I entreat you, good Unkell, consider my condition as it is and help me a litle with som of your cast off clothes, for I know not how to doe when the Lord plesse to give me another litle one. For my husband's part, he dos doe what he can for me and I am sorry he should suffer soe much for mee, for he drinks water that I might drink beer, eats Indian that I might eat whete, and fares hard & works hard that I might not suffer; but you may consider partly his condition that he cannot doe as he would. For my owne part, I prayse God that hee hath provided such a comfortable helpe for me that is willing to suffer soe unspeakeable. I beseech the Lord to open your hart and the harts of all my freinds to consider mee, which I hope he hath. I with my husband have sent a letter of Atturney to my Grandfather concerning my right. I beseech you helpe me what you can, considering my extreme need. Remember mee to all my cozens. Remember my duty to my mother. I sent a letter to her; I hope she hath received it. My husband remembers his duty to you. In haste I rest

Your humble and dutyfull cozen,

MARTHA JOHANA LYON.

Indorsed. "Cos: Lion."

The writer was evidently under the impression that her mother was in New London, where she had gone to reside in the summer of 1648, and where Hallett had secured a house-lot. But her inability to satisfy the Connecticut authorities of the legality of her marriage continued to make trouble for them, and early in 1649 Hallett was warned that an attempt was being made to procure a warrant of arrest against him on the charge of living with another man's wife. A summons to both parties to attend at Hartford and answer this accusation was actually issued, May 17, 1649; but by the intervention of John Winthrop, Jr., they had several months before quietly returned within the jurisdiction of New York, where Winthrop's influence with Stuyvesant secured them a kind reception. The following letters were written at this period:—

ELIZABETH HALLETT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

[No date; prob. Jan., 1648-9.]
From aboard the Vessell.

SIR, — My cosin being put back by weather desireth us to goe with him now, for if the winde be faire as he cometh back, he shall be loath to put in. Allso I am willing to see that place, being moved thereto by sumthing which I heard from a woman in this towne. I intreat you to pardon me that I have not come to you to manifest my thankefullnes and tender my service to yourself and my sister. The speedy going of my cosen prevented me therein, yet I shall ever remaine

Yours in all unfained love and service, ELIZABETH HALLET.

I pray you remember my best respects to M^r Lake. We have left your table bord and frame and bellows-bords uppon the cowhouse, and the racks in the yard.¹

ELIZABETH HALLETT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To hir very loving freind, John Winthrop, Esquier, at his house at Pequitt, d.

GREN: this 12 of Feb., 1649, new stile.

LOVING BROTHER, — I acknowledg my self exceedingly obliged unto you and therfore shall take this and all other oportunities to manifest my thankefullnes. I wrot 2 letters to you before, one by Richard Smith, — the other by my cosen Feke,² that miscarried with his bote. Through the marcy of God we are in health and peace at Greenwich. We have made a quiet end about the estate with M^r Feke; we have bought all his land and right in Greenwich. Y^e Dutch Governour hath purchased all y^e land along the cost, yet I understand y^e person you spake to us to buy land for may have land inough of him on better termes than any other hath had. He would gladly see you. My husband and my self desire to tender our hartly love and best respects to your self and my sister. Our love to M^r Lake, my cosens, and the neybour, and shall ever rest

Your unfained loving sister, ELIZABETH HALLET.

Indorsed: "Cosen Hallett."

¹ Hallett's bill of sale to Winthrop, of his house and land at New London, for £10, is dated May 8, 1649, and was evidently forwarded from Greenwich.

² Probably the "Toby Feakes" alluded to in one of Governor Eaton's letters and the "Tobias Feeck" who was sometime Sheriff of Flushing, Long Island, and who is stated to have married Capt. Daniel Patrick's daughter by his Dutch wife.

ELIZABETH HALLETT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

GRENNICH, this 6 of Agust, 1649.

DEARE BROTHER, — All the love and servis and thankfullnes I am able to express is, next unto God, dew unto your selfe as the instrument of my present well being. Hitherto we wanted an oportunitie to send to you. Now we can only saye we are thankfull, and that very breifly, becaus my letter is waited for. The Dutch Governour comends his love to you and wished my husband to send you word he would gladly see you and y^e he hath a chamber at your servise. M^r Bagster¹ tould my husband if you pleased to come to live ther you should have what land you pleas, and the conditions to your mind. The Dutch have bought all the land along the coast. The Governour hath showed us as much kindnes as we could desire. I intreat you present my best respects with all thanks to my sister and M^r Lake, and all my cosens. My love to Kathrin and the neybour, and I remaine

Your for ever obliged, ELIZABETH HALLETT.

Indorsed: "M^{rs} Hallett."

WILLIAM HALLETT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

GRENNICH, this of October, 1650.

WORSHIPFULL SIR, — I received a letter from you by Goodman Gallope, wherein I find a further manifest of your love and care of us in inquiring after our condition. Through the mercy of God we are yet in health and peace. We hear that New Haven have propounded to our Governour to have Greenwich under them. We know not what is done as yet. I have sould my hous and land and intend in the Spring to remove nearer to Manhataes. I received also the things you writ of for the sale of our house, which I did not desire, that and much more being dew to you from us. I shall take it as a token of your love a free gift, and acknowledg my self further obliged to you, and doe hartillie desire it may lie in my power to expres my love to you againe by doing service to you or yours. I am sorry you spake not with our Governour because he doth so much desire to see you. My wife and my self desire to remember our love to your self, as also to M^{rs} Winthrop, M^{rs} Lake, and your chlldren, and remaine

Yours to my uttmmost abillitie, WILLIAM HALLETT.

¹ George Baxter, one of the leaders of the English settlement on Long Island and sometime English Secretary to the Dutch Governor and Council. In Winthrop Papers, Part III. (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 368, 369), is a letter from him, dated "Manhataes Island, July 15, 1649," strongly urging John Winthrop, Jr., to settle on Long Island. To this letter William Hallett added a postscript to the same effect.

WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH HALLETT TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

HELLGATT, this 10 of Januarie 1652, new stile.

WORTHY SIR, — I received a letter from you by the Smith, of whos coming we were very glad, that we might more fully enquire of your health and prosperity, which we are forever bound to pray for and to promote to the utmost of our abillitie. We returned a letter back to you in September. The vessell did not stay nor putt in any wheir by the way, wherby our letter was not delivered, but returned to us againe. Our habitation is by the whirlpoole which the Duchmen call the Hellgatt, where we have purchased a very good farme through the Governour's menes, that had foine housing and 12 acres of ploughed land fenced in, and good meadow and other land sutfient for our use. The Lord hath bin very bountifull to us, beyond our thoughts, so that we live very comfortably according to our ranke. In the Spring the Indians killed 4 Duchmen near to our hous, which made us thiuke to have removed to sum towne for refuge, and through God's mercy every plantation was willing to receive us, which they expressed by wrighting us to dwell with them. Yet now the Indians are quiett and we think not yet to remove. We make bould, both in one letter, to present our love and servis to your self, M^r Winthrop, and your children, and remain

Your truly loving cosens, WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH HALLET.

The foregoing is the last of the Hallett letters. William Hallett became a person of some influence on Long Island, was deputy from Flushing in 1664, and is known to have been living at Newtown, near Hell Gate, as late as 1686, when he is believed to have had two sons, William and Samuel. When his wife died has not been ascertained, but it is to be feared that in later life she experienced a recurrence of domestic infelicity, as, under date of June 5, 1674, there is on record a petition of William Hallett to the Dutch Governor and Council, praying that the deed of separation between him and his wife might be annulled, as he was unable to pay her the promised £15 per annum; whereupon it was ordered that all possible efforts to reconcile the parties be made by the deputies of Flushing and Middleburgh (Newtown).¹ As Elizabeth Feke-Hallett would then have been quite an elderly lady, this might have been a second wife of her husband.²

To revert to Mrs. Thomas Lyon, the three following letters from her are in three different hands, showing that, either as the result of her

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ii. p. 717.

² In Mead's "History of Greenwich" (New York, 1857) Mrs. Feke is erroneously represented to have become the second wife of the well-known Capt. John Underhill.

ill-health, or because she was not an accomplished penwoman, she was in the habit of dictating her communications to her husband or to some friend.

MARTHA JOHANNA LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the Worth hir verie lovinge Unkell, M^r John Wintrop, at Peiquit, give this I pray.

STAMFORD, dated this Second of September, 1649.

RIGHT WORTHY UNKELL, — My dutie & love in all humbell manner remembred to you & my deere & lovinge Ante, with my hartey thanks to God & you for all your former love & kindenes shed to mee. This is to certifie you of the late greate deliverance God hath shewed mee through his free love in Christ Jesus in giveinge me a comfortabell deliverance of a dafter, w^{ch} is a hopefull child & likely to live; ¹ & my selfe is well up agayne, thanks bee given to God in & through Crist Jesus for it. I am forced to put it oute to nurse by reson of my infirmitie & because helpe is not to bee had, soe that my husband is at greate charges for the nursinge of it, yett for my comfort & for the good of the child my husband is willing to do the uttermost that hee is abell. Nowe concerninge y^e linnen w^{ch} my Ante was pleased to bestowe uppon mee, I have greate need of them & was put to a greate straight because I did trust to them & was fayne to borrowe, & if nowe shee could send them to mee shee would doe mee a greate plesure & I should bee verie thankfull for them. Concerninge my husband's carridge to mee I have noe cause to complayne, but rather to bless God that hath given him a hart to goe through soe many trubells with soe muche patience; for hee is verie lovinge & kinde to mee & tender over mee, soe that I wante for nothinge that lieth in his power. And soe with my humbell dutie to your selfe & my Ante & y^e rest of my cussens & my love to M^{rs} Lake & to your sarvant Katterine, I rest

Your humbell and dutifull Neece, MARTHA JOHANNA LYON.

My husband alsoe remembreth his dutie & sarvice to your selfe & my Ante & y^e children, & love to y^e rest.

Indorsed: "Cosen Martha Lion, before winter '49."

MARTHA JOHANNA LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To the W^{or}th^{full} & her much hon^{ed} Uncle, M^r John Winthrop, at Pequod these, I pray, dd^r

STAMFORD, this 11 month 23. 1649.
[Jan 23, 1650.]

WORTHY SIR & MY DEARE UNCLE, — My humble service unto you p^{re}sented, and to my Ant. These are to acknowledge wth many

¹ This was her second child; but the first one does not seem to have long survived its birth.

thanks yo^r great kindnes unto me, & yo^r carefull provision for my little daughter w^{ch} God hath given me, now about halfe yeare old. We call her name Mary. She is well in health (through mercy) & a thriving child for one bread up without the breast, as this hath been. My husband and I are in good health. For myselfe I am very haile in body, saving that my weaknes in my limbs abides with me; but it increaseth not, so far as I find, w^{ch} is a great mercy. I have received the things you sent by Richard Smith (wth a letter) according to what was expressed in it. I thank you & my Aunt for it againe, it being so usefull & sutable for the answering my need of such things, — desiring also to take notice of God's good providence towards me, in so stirring up yo^r heart to do as you have done for me. I had of my grandfather some white copperas, which I found very good for my sore, as drying up the humors flowing from it; but now it is almost gone & I know not how to get a supply in these parts. I humbly intreat you, if you can, to get & send me some of it, or any thing else that you know of that may be good for me in that respect. Thus wth my love remembred to M^r Lake & to my Cosen Pitta, & my Cosen Betty. My husband also desires to have his service remembred unto yo^r selfe & my Ant, thanking you for yo^r kindnes. And so I humbly take leave & rest

Yo^r poore & unworthy kinswoman, MARTHA JOAÑA LYON.

MARTHA JOHANNA LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To her loving and kinde Uncle, M^r John Winthrop, liveing at Pequot, this dd.

From STAMFORD, the 17 Febua., 1650 [1651].

MOST LOVING AND KIND UNCLE AND AUNT, — My kind love remembred to you and allso to my Cozens and the rest of my freinds, hoping you are in good health &c. I haveing an opertunty thought it good to send you these few lynes, only to aquaint you that thorrow mercy I am in good helth and my child allso. I would intreat you to send me some white Copperous and red lead, and what may bee fit for sarve, for I yet remaine as I were and have need of som and know not what to doe for som. My mother's is all spent. I pray you to do what you can, because of my owne pertickqueler neede of it. My mother is well, and removing farther off from mee. I wrot to you before this. I know not whether you received my letter or not. I desier to heere from you. I had thought to have seene you here before this. My husband remembers his love kindly to you with the rest. Thus desiering to heere from you, with thankfullness for all your former kindneses, time being short (the bearer stands, I pray pardon my defects) leaving you to the protection of the Allmighty, I rest, remaining

Your dutyfull and obedient kinswoman, MARTHA JOHAÑA LYON.

The foregoing is the last of Martha Johanna Lyon's letters, and at the date of it she had not completed her twenty-first year. No further reference to her has been found in any Winthrop manuscripts now in existence, and it is believed that she died before 1654, in which year, if not earlier, her husband removed to the adjoining township of Fairfield, where he married a second time and eventually became a Quaker, his religious opinions bringing him into conflict with the local authorities, and his refusal to comply with the law subjecting him to heavy fines, as shown by the following letter from his second wife, whose family name has not been ascertained :—

MARY LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

FAIRFIELD, Juen the 22, 1668.

HONERD SIR, — My husband being from home, I am bould to present you with my present greivance. We have seven children, fouer of them small.¹ Last year they took away an ox for half a year. Senc they fined us six pound moer, and for that have sould the greater part of our home lot. Now, honored Sir, I have noe man but your selfe, whom God hath impowred to redres this great opreshern. My husband can not act againes his conscience. They are resolved in theyer way. Thus hoping you will consider my distres, I rest

Yourer poorer servant to command,

MARY LION.

Indorsed : " Mary Lion sen', rec'd June 23, 1668."

Here follow two letters from Lyon himself, written a few weeks later :—

THOMAS LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*To the Worshipfull M^r John Winthrop, Governor of Conecticot Coleny,
Living at Harford, this deliver.*

FAIRFIELD, June, 1668.

LOVING UNCLE, — I having much ocasions from whome this Spring and now coming whome finding my daughter Mary in a sad condition, notwithstanding all meanes wee cann use here, could not but use menes for her coming to you, questioning not but you will doe your best for her, tho I had rather shee had com to you in a better condition. But seeing God's providence hes soe ordered it, I would intreat you to doe what you cann for her comfort and helth. Thomas Scidmore hes promised mee to bring her up to you, soe I shall leve her with you, you knowing better what to do than I direct. I would a comd by my selfe with her, but my necessity and ocations is such that I could not.

¹ This doubtless includes Lyon's daughter by his first marriage.

You know in part my condition, which God of his grace has cald mee to, blessed be His name, and how I am delt with for it. God in his time, tho man be silant, will find a way to deliver. Sir, I desier the Lord to give mee patience and you wisdom in this the day of the Lord, before his deecree com forth. Loving uncle, I would intreat you to be mindfull of mee concerning those things I spake to you about, concerning my books. My goods is taken, my land divided, yett the Lord is my portion for ever, blessed be His name! Soe at present I shall rest, with my humble dutyfull respects to you remembred, hoping you will doe what you cann for mee and my daughter. I would intreat you to lett mee heere from you.

Your kinsman,

THOMAS LYON.

Indorsed: "Tho. Lion. rec. June 23, 1668." The seal has the initials T. L. in a monogram.

THOMAS LYON TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the Governor, Mr John Winthrop, at Harford, this dd.

From FAIRFIELD, this 15 July, 1668.

LOVING UNCLE, — My humble respects to you remembred. I could not omit to writ two or three lines to you in as much as I understand by Goodman Scidmore his wife, and divers others, the greates offence both you and your wife tooke and soe troubled that I should send my daughter up to you soe menely in aparell, which was a discredit to you, as is reported, and you was ashamed (as I heare) to lett her goe to Meeting beefore shee were new aparelled. I could a desiered you had rather sent to mee about it than such a clamor should a been made to cause my wife such troubl in her sperit, knowing her selfe to have discharged a good consiance towards her, and I knowing the same. I hope you will wisely consider of things as they are and how the case stands with mee, — whether it were convenient for mee to make such a differance in my famely, if I could, when my wife makes none. And, allsoe, about the letter you sent to mee, I could a been sattisfied if the towne had not knowne of it and I think it would a been better; but I desier to submitt. I have sent the token you sent to Mary to her, it ever being intended her. I am in hast at this time and in trouble of mind. I pray you beare with mee if I have mist it anywhere. Soe with my love to Mary remembred, who may informe you fuller, in hast I rest

Yours for what I may,

THOMAS LYON.

The foregoing is the last of the writer's letters; but it does not follow that there were no others, as the existing collection of Winthrop

Papers is essentially fragmentary, many of them having disappeared altogether, and others having crumbled to pieces. The latest mention of him which they have been thus far found to contain is in a letter from the venerable William Coddington, who, under date of June 29, 1672, writes John Winthrop, Jr., that he acquits him of all share in the severities practised towards Quakers, but he points out that "some of our friends about Rye or Greenage have had some of their goods taken away because they could not goe to heare those teache which they knew was not sent of God. . . . Thomas Lyon being one, with some others." It will be noted that Lyon does not seem to have adopted the familiar "thee" and "thou" of the Society of Friends, and that, with the indifference to orthography then prevailing, he signs his name both "Lion" and "Lyon." In 1676 he is recorded to have purchased 300 acres of land on Byram Point (sometimes called Byram Neck) in the town of Greenwich, where his widow was residing in 1701. His estate was settled Nov. 4, 1691, his death having occurred not long before. In his will, dated Dec. 6, 1689, he mentions his wife Mary, his sons John, Thomas, Samuel, and Joseph, and his daughters Mary, Abigail, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Deborah.¹

Mary Lyon, the only child of his first marriage, married (1) Joseph Stedwell, of Rye, and (2) John Wilson, of Bedford, afterward of Rye. A number of years after her father's death, Mrs. Wilson addressed the following letters to Fitz-John Winthrop:—

MARY WILSON TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

[Cover and date torn off; probably spring of 1608.]

HONNERED SIR,—I have made bould to let you understand how I have been wronged. Sir, be plesed to know that the Indians, about the year 1640, gave a parsal of land to my grandmother, M^{re} Elizibeth Fike, as by Grenwich record may appear. My grandmother gave it to my mother, Martha Johanna Wintrop, to her and the heirs of her body, but my father, haveing got the writing in his hand,—and my mother was dead, my father haveing many children by a second wife,—and some persons in Grenwich had the land which was my mother's in posesion,—my father tooke thre hundred acres of land in another plase and it was recorded to him free and not on the account of exchange. And my fater, haveing reseved such a heavy bribe, always kept the deed of gift from me and I cannot lern that it hath been recorded in any publick Record; and the deed is now in the hand of such as I think I can prove have declared they had it in ther posesion very

¹ For these later particulars of Thomas Lyon I am indebted to his descendant Irving W. Lyon, M.D., of Hartford.

latly. I am sory that I have ocaation to reflect on the person from whome I had my being, but the truth could not be declared without it, and I would intreat your asistans by your counsell or ani other lawfull way wherby I may, if it be posible, recover my right. I rest

Your kinswoman, MARY WILLSON.

Indorsed by Fitz-John Winthrop: "M^{rs} Willson, the daughter of M^r Lyon. These to be looked over. The men in possession of her right at Grenwich are John Medes, Robert Husted, & James Ferris, &c."

JOHN AND MARY WILSON TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

*For the Honoured Governor Winthrop of Coneticut, deliver with care,
I pray.*

BEDFORD, Octob^r 4th, 1698.

MOST HONOURED SUR, — We have troubled your Honour with a few lines to enforme your Honour that we ear in good helth at this present writing. We have cause to bless God for it and we doe hope and desire that thes lines may find your Honoure in good helth. And, after our loving dutifull respects unto your Honour, we see caus to informe you that we have gotten what writings & evediances we cann at presant, and have gotten, by Maiger Silick's order, a man to plead our case, Samuell Haise by name, and we desire your Honour to dew what you can for us, that Righteousness may take place. And we ear not willing to trouble you any more at presant, for the bairer hereof can fully enforme your Honour, and so we rest

Your Honours humble servants,

JOHN WILLSON.

MARY WILLSON.

"Maiger Silick" was Major Jonathan Sellick, to whom Fitz-John Winthrop had referred Mrs. Willson's application. "M^r Haise," the counsel employed, was Samuel Hayes, the younger, of Norwalk, from whom there are three letters to Fitz-John Winthrop on this subject in 1699-1700. His handwriting is exceptionally difficult, but, so far as I have been able to decipher it, he made up his mind, after some hesitation and after consultation with Richard Edwards, that Mrs. Willson had a legal claim; but he seems to have been uneasy lest her limited means should not enable her to pay his fees if unsuccessful. Litigation was still pending in 1701, when the widow of Thomas Lyon wrote Fitz-John Winthrop as follows: —

MARY LYON TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

BYRAM, Decemb^r the 21, 1701.

GENERALL WINTHROP & HON^{ED} GOVERN^{RS}, — I have presumed to trouble you with the perusall of these few lines in respect of the

trouble yo^r kinswoman puts me and my children to, as also hearing that by her means you have received false reports; as if I hadd not performed the duty of a mother to her and that my children hadd not acted as if she were a sister to them. But I doe assure y^r Hon^r that I have done for her as for any of my own daughters. And, concerning my children's showing respect to her, my eldest sonn gave her a good cow since her father's decease, and the rest of my sonns hath done more for her then for any other of their sisters. I shall forbear to write every perticular that I and my sonns have done for y^r kinswoman since my husband's decease, the which would amount to a great sum of money, but I can not forbear to inform y^r Hon^r of the value of thirty pounds, at least, my husband gave to Joseph Stedwell by marriage of his daughter Mary, y^r Hon^r's kinswoman. I shall forbear alsoe to inform y^r Hon^r of the many gross abuses & scandalizing reports, which is spread here by her means amongst the neighbourhood, against her father whom in duty she ought to have honoured if she hadd expected the blessing of God to have prospered her designes, the which she is now carrying on in a very unjust manner; and I doe hope y^r Hon^r will not countenance any such unjust actions. I would desire earnestly that y^r Hon^r would be pleased to send me word what reports itt is that you have heard concerning this matter, that thereby I might cleare my name amongst my neighbours. Not else from

Y^r Freind,MARY LYON.¹

Family quarrels over the division of property appear to have been as common in Puritan times as in our own, and this particular one is much more likely to have originated in some neglect of legal formalities on the part of Thomas Lyon than in any intentional unfairness to his eldest daughter. In the deed of Greenwich by Indian Sachems to Robert Feke and Daniel Patrick, a neck of land called Elizabeth's Neck was reserved to Mrs. Feke; and in Thomas Lyon's second letter to Governor Winthrop the elder (April 14, 1648) he mentions that his wife, Martha Johanna, had long before received the gift of 300 acres of land in the same neighborhood from her step-father Feke and Daniel Patrick jointly. Mrs. Willson's claim must have been based upon one or other of these deeds; and after having been twice worsted in the Connecticut Courts, she appealed to the General Assembly of Connecticut, and was awarded £50 damages in consideration of a final release.²

The Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL read the copy of a letter which he had received from England, purporting to have been

¹ This letter is in quite a different hand from the one of 1668, and was evidently dictated.

² Conn. Col. Rec., vol. iv. pp. 424, 530.

written in February, 1631-2, by Richard Saltonstall to Emanuel Downing. As neither Sir Richard Saltonstall nor his son Richard was in New England at that time, doubts were expressed as to the authenticity of the letter; and conversational remarks on the subject were made by the PRESIDENT, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., the Hon. E. R. HOAR, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, the Hon. MELLEEN CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. EDWARD BANGS, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, and Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated some papers relating to Capt. Thomas Lawrence's company, raised in Groton, Massachusetts, during the French and Indian war, 1758, and said:—

These papers relate to a military company raised in Groton during the French and Indian War, and came into my possession several years ago. They were given to me by Gen. Albert Harleigh Hill, of Groton, Vermont, a great-grandson of Ephraim Wesson, who commanded the company after the death of Capt. Thomas Lawrence. The town of Groton, Vermont, was settled in part by families from Groton, Massachusetts, and through these early settlers the name was carried into the Green Mountain country. Capt. Edmund Morse was married to Sally, a daughter of Captain Wesson; and their daughter Sally was married to John Hill, the father of General Hill. Captain Morse was a native of the Massachusetts town, and the earliest settler of the Vermont town, where, at the head of Wells River, he built the first saw-mill and grist-mill in the place.¹ In this way these manuscripts have come down from the middle of the last century.

Some of the items in the inventories of the soldiers' effects seem strange, and suggest many contrasts; but they throw glimpses of light into the dark corners of camp life during that period. In our times an officer roughing it on the frontiers would hardly have in his wardrobe a shirt ruffled at the wrists, and the soldiers would scarcely carry chocolate among their private stores. The tea and coffee of the commissary nowadays render needless even this nutritious article of drink.

¹ Miss Hemenway's "Vermont Historical Gazetteer," vol. iv. pp. 1146-1150.

The tump-line, also mentioned in the inventories, was a strap placed around the forehead to help a man support a burden carried on the back. It was in common use during the Revolutionary period, and still is among hunters and trappers on the frontiers. "To tump" means, "to drag along the body of a deer or other animal"; and the word appears to have been borrowed from the Indians. See Hubbard's "Woods and Lakes of Maine" (page 107), for a wood-cut showing the way in which the tump-line is used.

A short time after the retreat of the English from Ticonderoga, in the summer of 1758, Colonel Nichols's Massachusetts Regiment was waylaid, on July 20, at the Half-Way Brook, between Fort Edward and Lake George, and met with sore disaster. More than twenty soldiers were slain in the skirmish, and most of them scalped by the savage allies of the French. The Groton company suffered more severely than any other in the regiment. Their loss comprised Capt. Thomas Lawrence; privates Abel Sawtell, Eleazer Ames, and Stephen Foster, all of Groton; Corporal Nehemiah Gould, of Groton Gore (sometimes spoken of as Township No. 1, and now lying mostly in Mason, New Hampshire); and Sergeant Oliver Wright, and Private Simon Wheeler, both of Westford. Sergeant Oliver Lakin, of Groton, and Private Joel Crosby, of Westford, were reported as missing, though one account says that Crosby was killed. It is known that Sergeant Lakin was taken prisoner during the action, and released from captivity the next year by paying a ransom. See "Groton during the Indian Wars" (pages 163-165) for a muster-roll of the company.

An account of this fight is given in Lieut. Samuel Thompson's Diary, printed in the appendix to Sewall's History of Woburn (pages 547-558); and another account is found in Joseph Holt's Journal, printed in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" (vol. x. pp. 307-310) for October, 1856.

The following entry in regard to Sergeant Lakin appears in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for Jan. 10, 1760:—

A Petition of *Oliver Laken of Groton*, in the County of *Middlesex*, shewing, that he was a Soldier in the Pay of the Province *Anno 1758*,

and was on the 20th Day of *July* the same Year, Captivated by the Indian Enemy, suffered many & great Hardships, and was obliged to borrow a Sum of Money to purchase his Freedom from Captivity; he therefore prays he may be allowed the Sum of Money he borrowed; also the Charges of his Passage home, and a further Allowance for his Loss of Time and Sufferings &c. (Page 153.)

The answer is found two days later, in the Journal of January 12, as follows: —

The Committee appointed to consider the Petition of *Oliver Lakin*, Reported thereon.

Read, and accepted in Part, *viz. Resolved*, That the Sum of *eight Pounds*, be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to *William Lawrence*, Esq; for the Use of the Petitioner, in full Consideration for his Services and Sufferings therein mentioned.

Sent up for Concurrence. (Page 160.)

In the same Journal, June 13, 1759, there is —

A Petition of *David Sartwell* of *Groton*, in the County of *Middlesex*, setting forth, that his son *Abel Sartwell*, went forth in the Expedition against *Canada* the last Year; that near *Half-Way-Brook* (so-called) he was in an Engagement with the Enemy, and killed; that his Gun was then lost; he therefore prays the Stoppage may be taken off, and the Treasurer be directed to allow him the *three Pounds* mentioned. (Page 40.)

Copies of some of these manuscripts are here given: —

MIDDLESEX ss may y^e 23^d 1759

Whereas Cap^t Thomas Lawrance Informs me the Subscriber one of his majestys Justices of the peace for Said County that a Number of men belonging to his Company that have been Preswaded to Carry their own arms in the Present Expedition Designed against *Canada* Disire that Some Suitable Persons may may [*sic*] be appointed to apprise the Said arms I do therefore hearby appoint and Impower Cap^t Benj^s Bancroft Lien^t Joseph Gillson & Lieut. William Nutting to apprise Such arms as belongs to the Said Lawrences Company at there Present true Value and to act faithfully [*sic*] and Impartially accordingly to their best of their Skill and Judgment

agreeable to the above Directions we the Subscribers Have vied
[viewed] y^e armes of the Severall Soldier hereafter Named and in our
Judgment their Guns Respectively are worth the Sum Prefixed against
Each mans Name

	Oliver Wright	£1. 10. 0
	Benjamin Nutting	1. 10. 0
	Daniel Gilson	1. 12. 0
	John Erwin Ju ^r	0. 16. 0
	Simon Wheeler	1. 16. 0
	Eleazer ames	1. 17. 4
	Joel Crosby	1. 12. 0
a Coppy	Simon Gilson	2. 0. 0
	Cap ^t Tho ^s Lawrence . .	3. 6. 8
	Stephen Kemp apprentice to Edmund Bancroft }	1. 8. 0
	L ^t Eph ^m Wesson	1. 16. 0

Witness our hands

Benj^t Bancroft
Joseph Gillson } apprisors &
William Nutting }

[Indorsed]

MIDD^x ss may 23^d 1758

then the within named Cap^t Benj^t Bancroft Joseph Gillson & William
Nutting appeared and made Sollom oath to act as within Directed
before me WILLIAM LAWRENCE
Justice of peace

A Coppy &^e

Daniel Gilson
Moses Blood
John Eruen Ju^r

Then we received Our Guns Bayonets and Slings for our Guns Out of
the Province Stores by the hand of Thomas Lawrance Capt under
Whose Command we be; we say Received

By us and acknowledge the Receipt there of as Witness Our hands

WORCESTER May the

26/1758

Joseph Farwell Ju^r
Henry Woods
Nehemiah Gould
Oliver Lakin
Oliver Parker
Ephraim Severanc

Nathanael Lakin
Obadiah Perry
Moses Gould
Joseph Kemp
Thomas Scott
Oliver Shattuck

David Shattuck
 John ^{his} ~~X~~ Chamberlain
 _{mark}
 Simeon ^{his} ~~X~~ Nutting
 _{mark}
 Simon ^{his} ~~X~~ Lakin
 _{mark}
 John Nutting

Nathaniel Parker
 Joseph Hartwell
 William Parker
 Simon ^{his} ~~X~~ foster
 _{mark}
 Stephen ^{his} ~~X~~ foster
 _{mark}
 Oliver farnsworth

When you shall haue Rec^d the Prouision for your men you are to Draw up your Company in The most Couenient Place Near the Meeting hous and Be Ready to march When the word is Giuen After you ar Embodied you ar to Make a Return of all Deserters spacifying the town in which they Dewll Likewise to Report the E[s]tate of your Company with Regard to Ammunition & Prouision &c: and you are hereby ordered not to suffer any To Stragel or Loiter Behind you are to Place a Number of men in the front Who haue Arms to Couer the others who haue no arms Ordering a Sufficence in the Rear that shall be able to answer the Like End and you are to see that the men Keep from hudling at any Riur Brook Fordway or Place Difficuts that we may meet with in our way to our Head Quarters you are orderd hereby to make a Report Euery Euening of the Estate of your Company and to send an under officer to Receiue all Orders Immediately when the Regiment shall be Orderd To Encamp and to se Puntably obeyed all that shall Be giuen out from Time to Time that may Res[p]ect any of the Seruice you are not to suffer any of your men To march Before the aduance Guard nor to Loiter Behind the Rear unless Sickness or Lameness Preuent his Keeping up. You are to see that there is No firing on the march or in Camp—

I am Your Very Good Frend

JOHN CUMING

To Cap^t LAWRENCE

N: H: [Northampton] June 1st 1758

July y^e 24 = 1758

Halfway Brook then we who have under Neath Subscribed ware appointed By order of Cor^l Nichols to Apprise the things that Cap^t Thomas Larrance has Left and his men that was Kild in the fight a true Inventorey of the things that ware Dillivered to us all Appised in old tenor

Itum his purs 15 = 11 — 0

It one Noat 04 = 13 — 1

It: one Noat 30 — 18 — 9

It one pair of woolen			
Breatches - - - -	1	10	0
It one Shirt Ruffled at			
the Hands - - - -	3	00	0
It one Shirt Not Ruffled	2	05	0
It one Wig at - - - -	4	00	0
It one pair of worsted			
Stocking - - - -	0	18	0
It one pair of Worsted			
Stocking - - - -	0	12	0
It one pair of Shoos -	2	05	0
It one Brass Ink pot -	0	05	0
It one pound and a half of			
Tobacko - - - -	0	09	0
It one Ribbond for a Tye	0	05	0
It one Shot moles and			
Lades - - - -	1	00	0
It one Wooden Bottel at	0	09	0
It one tumpline Napsack			
Sleepers and Check -	0	10	0
It one Razor - - - -	0	05	0
<hr/>			
	68	15	10 Total

the things Belonging to Saj ^t Oliver Wright			
Itum his purs - - - -	1	2	6
It his Booke - - - -	0	5	0
It one Coat - - - -	2	5	0
It one pair of Druget			
Shirts - - - -	3	10	0
It Indin Stocking and			
Socks - - - -	1	0	0
It one pair of Breatches	2	0	0
It one pair of Shoos -	0	15	0
It one pair of Stockins	0	10	0
It one Box and Shoger			
and Chockalat - - -	0	10	0
It one Razor - - - -	0	5	0
<hr/>			
	12	2	6 Total

the things Belonging to Saj^t Oliver Laking

Itum one Shirt at - - 1—10—0

It one Lining Shirt at 0—05—0

It one pair of Lether

Breachers - - - - 1—05—0 Daniel Fletcher

It one wescott - - - 0—10—0 Leonard Spaulding

It one Tumpline and Belt 0—05—0 Joseph Walker

It one pair of Shoos - 0—10—0

It one Bottel and Napsack 0—10—0

4—15—0 Total

It one Blanket - - - 2— 5—0

} Apprisors

the things Belonging Corpril Nehemiah Goold

Itum one jacket - - - 2— 5—0

It one Druget Shirt at 1— 0—0

It one pair of Stockins 0—12—0

It one Cap and hanker-

chief - - - - 0—05—0 Daniel Fletcher

It one pair of Shoos and Leonard Spaulding

Buckels - - - - 0—12—0 Joseph Walker

It one pound of Sope - 0—10—0

It two Napsacks footings 0—10—0

It one pair of Specks - 0—07—6

6— 2—6 Total

It one pound of tobacco 0—10—0

} Apprisors

the things that Belong to Elea[z]er Eames

Itum one Shirt - - - 1—10—0

It one Coat at - - - 0—10—0

It one pair of Lether

Breachers - - - - 1—10—0

It one pair of Shoos and

Buckels - - - - 1—00—0 Daniel Fletcher

It one jacket and Cap Leonard Spaulding

at - - - - 0—10—0 Joseph Walker

It two pair of Stocking

and Stocks and Napsack

and tumpline at - - 1— 0—0

It one pound of Shuger 0— 8—0

6— 8—0 Total

} Apprisors

the things that Belonged to Simon Wheeler

Itum one Coat at - - 2—10—0

It one Cotten Shirt at 1—10—0

It one pair of Indin Stock-
ins - - - - - 0—18—0

It one Knife and gim-
blet - - - - - 0—07—0

It one Razor - - - 0—5—0

It one pair of trousers
and Hankercheif - 0—15—0

It half a pound of tobacco
and Bottel - - - 0—05—0

It one Napsack and hatch 0—10—0

7—0—0 Total

Daniel Fletcher }
Leonard Spaulding } Apprisors
Joseph Walker }

the things that Belong to Able Sartwell

Itum one Coat - - - 3—0—0

It one Druget Shirt - 1—10—0

It one pair of Stock-
ing - - - - - 0—10—0

It one pair of Leather
Breatches - - - 0—15—0

It one tumpline Cap and
Hankercheif - - - 0—15—0

6—10—0 Total

Daniel Fletcher }
Leonard Spaulding } Apprisors
Joseph Walker }

the things that Belong to Joel Crosbee

Itum his purs - - - 11—5—0

It one Coat - - - - 1—5—0

It one pair of Breatches 1—15—0

It one Druget Shirt - 1—10—0

It one pair of Indin Stocks 0—15—0

It one Cap - - - - 0—04—0

It one pair of footing &
Stocking - - - - 0—15—0

It half a pound of Choco-
late - - - - - 0—05—0

It one pair tow Breiches
and tumpline & - - 0—07—0

18—2—0 Total

2—5—0

Daniel Fletcher }
Leonard Spaulding } Apprisors
Joseph Walker }

the things that Belong to Stephen Foster

Itum one grate Coate at	3—0—0	Daniel Fletcher	} Apprisors
It one Druget Shirt	1—2—6	Leonard Spaulding	
		Joseph Walker	
It one Jacket at	- - - 1—5—0		
It one Blanket	- - - 2—5—0		
	7 = 12 = 6	Total	

Things Belonging to Leonard parker

		O[ld] Tenor	
Impr To One pare of			} John Clapham Cp ^t Henry Woods En ^t Apprisors David Fletcher
pumps - - - -	£2 : 5 : 0		
Im To 1 pare of Blew			
Hose - - - -	0 : 6 : 0		
Im. To 1 pare of Lether			
Breaches - - - -	0 : 6 : 0		
Im: To 1 Blew Jaccut	- 1 : 2 : 6		
Im: To a Flowered Jaccut	0 : 4 : 0		
Im: a Bulet pouch	- - 0 : 4 = 6		
Im To a powder Horn	- 0 : 5 : 0		
Im To a Tump Line	- 0 : 9 : 0		
Im To a Cotton hankerchief	0 1 : 6		
Im To a Snap Sack	- - 0 : 4 : 0		
Total	5 : 7 : 6		

GROTON Apriel y^e 18: 1759 Reciued of Eph^m Wesson one Doler in part of an Inuantary taken at half way brook of my brother Joel Crosbys affects I say Reciued by me
ROBERT CROSBY

GROTON August y^e 6: 1759 Reciued of Ephraim Wesson thirteen pounds twelue Shilings old tenor in part of an Inuantary taken at the halfway brook of my brother Joel Crosbeys Cloaths I say Reciued by me
ROBERT CROSBY

GROTON apriel y^e 19th 1759 Reciued of Cap^t Eph^m Wesson Seuen pound twelue Shilings and Six pence old tenor in full of an Inuantary taken at the halfway brook of the things belonging to my Late husband Stephen Foster Deseast per me
SARAH ^{her} FOSTER
mark

GROTON may y^e 5th 1759

Reciued of Capt. Ephraim Wesson Seuen pounds old tenor in full of an Inuuntary taken at the halfway brook of my son Oliuer Lakins Cloaths
I Say Reciued by me

MERIAM ^{her}in LAKIN.
mark

GROTON May y^e 15: 1759

Reciued of Cap^t. Ephraim Wesson Seuen pounds Seuen Shilings old tenor in full of an Inuuntary taken at the halfway-brook of the things belonging to my Late husband Nehemiah Gould Desast by me

ESTHER GOOLD.

Capt. Thomas Lawrence was a son of Thomas and Prudence Lawrence, and born at Groton, on Sept. 3, 1720. According to tradition he was a man of great size and strength.

Sergeant Oliver Lakin was a son of William and Miriam Lakin, and born at Groton, on Feb. 24, 1733-4.

Corporal Nehemiah Gould was married to Esther Bowers at Groton, on Nov. 1, 1737.

Eleazer Ames was a son of John and Elizabeth Ames, and born at Groton, on April 3, 1736. His grandfather, John Ames, was killed by the Indians at the gate of his own house, on July 9, 1724.

Stephen Foster was married to Sarah Blood at Groton, on August 5, 1748.

Leonard Parker, who does not appear to have been killed in this action, and may have belonged to another Company, was a son of Phinehas and Abigail Parker, and born at Groton, on June 3, 1718.

Abel Sawtell — as the name is usually spelled — was a son of David and Elizabeth Sawtell, and born at Groton, on Jan. 23, 1739-40.

Capt. Ephraim Wesson was a brother of Nathan Weston, the ancestor on his mother's side of the Hon. Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Among these papers is a printed broadside, which gives the amount of pay allowed the officers and enlisted men, in the different grades of service at that period, as follows: —



Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

ESTABLISHMENT of the Forces on the intended Expedition
against CANADA.

To each able-bodied effective Man, who shall voluntarily enlist before the 15th Day of April next, Thirty Shillings, and upon his passing Muster, shall receive a good Blanket, and Fifty Shillings more for furnishing himself with Cloaths.

	£.	s.	d.	
To each Colonel of a Regiment of 1000 Men, -	20	0	0	per Month.
To one Lieutenant-Colonel for such Regiment, -	16	13	4	ditto.
To one Major for such Regiment, - - - -	13	6	8	ditto.
For a Captain of 100 Men, including Officers, -	8	0	0	ditto.
For two Lieutenants for such Company, each, -	5	0	0	ditto.
For one Ensign for ditto, - - - - -	3	10	0	ditto.
For one Chaplain to each Regiment, - - - -	8	0	0	ditto.
For one Adjutant to each Regiment, - - - -	4	0	0	ditto.
For one Surgeon to each Regiment, - - - -	10	0	0	ditto.
For one Surgeon's Mate to ditto, - - - -	5	6	8	ditto.
For each Serjeant, - - - - -	2	3	1	ditto.
For each Corporal, - - - - -	1	18	7	ditto.
For each Drummer, - - - - -	1	18	7	ditto.
For each private Centinel, - - - - -	1	16	0	ditto.

And, That there be allowed for enlisting the several Soldiers for said Expedition Two Shillings each, to be paid to the Persons who shall enlist the same.

Boston, March 17. 1758.

Attest.

Tho's Clarke, Dept'y Sec'y.



"The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal," August 14, 1758, gives an account of the engagement which contains some details not found elsewhere, as follows:—

The following Particulars may be depended on, of the Skirmish between a Party of Col. Nichols's Regiment and the Enemy, near Half-way-Brook.

Stockade, at Half-Way-Brook, July 20. 1758.

Last Evening we sent ten Men to escorte a Post to the Lake, and as they were returning early the next Morning they met an Indian within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile of the Advance-Guard of the Lake, who said he belonged to General Johnson—he was destitute of Arms and Ammunition, but said he was going to the Lake after his Powder-Horn and his Gun, he had left at the Stockade Fort there, and so he passed them: Our People had not travell'd three Miles before this Indian overtook them, having his Powder-Horn, and would fain have passed them, but they travelling very fast kept him Company till they came within a Mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ of this Stockade, where lay in Ambush near 50 of the Enemy, who cahoop'd, at which the Indian sprung out of the Road towards the Enemy, and cahoop'd likewise, then the Enemy fired upon them; all which was done in an Instant: All these unhappy Men fell into the Hands of the Enemy, except one, who was reliev'd by a Party consisting of near 100, which was sent out immediately at the Hearing of the Guns; two Indians who were pursuing the Soldier, fled back near the Place where the Ambush was, where lay a large Body of the Enemy in a curve Live, with a great Advantage of Ground, which they arose from and fir'd, which was well answer'd from our Front; the Enemy being very numerous attempted to flank us, but a second Party being sent out covered a Retreat, and prevented their Design: However artfully they laid their Scheme, it appears from several Circumstances plain, that the Enemy had a Design to keep us in play, till they could cut us off from Fort Edward, which if they had, the parties posted between the Fort and the Lake must have been cut off and destroyed,* as the Enemy did consist of Eleven or Twelve Hundred. — By the great Marks they left behind them where the main Body lay, we have Reason to belive that we kill'd and wounded a considerable Number of the Enemy, by the Number of Poles cut and hew'd for Beirs; they left of Peas, Pork, Indian-Meal, a considerable Quantity on the Ground, as also Spears, Poles, Packs and Blankets: They march'd off in 5 Paths or Columns towards South-Bay, all which was discover'd by Major Gage and his Party. — Among our Slain are several brave and worthy Officers, and the others narrowly escaped, who also behaved well.

* Col. Nichols's Regiment is posted at different Places between Fort Edward and the Lake.

A List of the Killed and Missing of the above Party.

Of Capt. Dakin's Company.

Killed. Capt. Samuel Dakin, Lieut. Samuel Curtis.*Missing.* Wm. Grout, Jona. Patterson, Nath. Molton, all of Sudbury.

Of Capt. Jones's Company.

Killed. Capt. Samuel Jones of Wilmington, Lieut. Simon Godfrey of Billerica, Moses Hagget of Andover wounded and since dead.

Of Capt. Lawrence's Company.

Killed. Capt. Thomas Lawrence of Groton, Serjeant Wright and Simeon Wheeler of Westford. Corporal Gold of No. 1. Able Satel, Stephen Foster and Ebenezer [Eleazer] Eames of Groton.*Missing.* Serj. Oliver Larkin of Groton, Joel Crosby of Westford.

Of Capt. Foster's Company.

Killed. Ensign Daniel Davis of Methuen, and Abraham Harden of Pembroke.

Of Capt. Fletcher's Company.

Killed. Serjeant Russel of Concord.*Missing.* John Batman of Concord, Abner Keys and Wm. Eaton of Billerica.

Of Capt. Poor's Company.

Killed. David Payson of Rowley.*Missing.* Caleb Kimball of Rowley.

Of Capt. Fail's Company.

Missing. Isaac Little of Dedham.

Of Capt. Fay's Company.

Missing. Corporal Joshua Newton of Southborough. John Ervine and Wm. Coggin slightly wounded.

[As Capt. Fales is not mention'd in the above List among the Killed, it is suppos'd the Report of it as mention'd in our Paper was a Mistake.]

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON then presented the following communication:—

In April, 1889, I had an opportunity to see a memorial of Columbus which I think must be almost unknown in this country. It is certainly not mentioned by President James G. Wilson, in his annual address before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Jan. 13, 1888, on the "Memo-rials and Footprints of Columbus." I was walking in the prin-

cipal street of Pavia on a Sunday morning, when I saw at a small book-stall the name "Colombo" on a pamphlet, which I bought for twelve cents. The translated title is, as nearly as possible, "On the Monument erected in the University of the Ticino to Christopher Columbus. A Souvenir." The authorities of this University at Pavia consider that there is sufficient evidence that Columbus studied there for a short time, as is stated by Irving, and on June 4, 1882, dedicated a memorial tablet to him in one of the courts of the building. Of course I visited it, and found it a simple but appropriate memorial. The whole subscription list amounts to only about six hundred dollars. I did not see any photograph of it.

I wish at this time also to call attention to a portrait of Washington, of which I find no mention anywhere. It is in the museum in the historic château of Blois, and seemed to me to be by Charles Wilson Peale. It is said to have come from the château of Chaumont, and I need not say with what pleasure I should read Franklin's account of its arrival and presentation. I do not think, however, that there is the slightest reference to such portrait in any letter of Franklin. Mr. Winsor, who does not mention this picture in his chapter on the portraits of Washington in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," tells me that he remembers seeing it at Chaumont more than thirty years ago, but that it had entirely passed from his recollection till reminded of it by my question.

I wish also to put on record a fact omitted in the excellent memoir of Dr. Lothrop by Dr. Peabody. Dr. Lothrop was for many years — I think not less than forty — the Chaplain of the Independent Corps of Cadets. His duties were not heavy, consisting principally in attendance at the annual dinner, at which his short opening prayer and his after-dinner speech were among the best and most interesting features. I hardly need say that the members of the Corps both respected and admired him, and the good Chaplain mightily enjoyed every occasion. I well remember the roars of laughter with which he used to receive the comic speeches and songs of the evening. I think he considered a chaplaincy of militia to be a manifest opportunity for a minister of the Church Militant.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES communicated some notes which he had made with reference to Indian hemp, and to the dis-

crepancies in the accounts given by early writers of the manner in which the Indian tomahawk was used.

Indian Hemp.

In Mourt's Relation, under date Dec. 18, 1620, we are told: "Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable . . . and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp." To this Dr. Young appends in his edition this note (p. 166):—

"The Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*)," and quotes in corroboration of the statement passages from Wood, Capt. John Smith, and Morton, which I propose to examine more fully. The plant, whose botanical name he gives, is popularly known as *dogbane*.

Kalm (*Travels in North America*, vol. ii. p. 131) says: "*Apocynum cannabinum* was by the Swedes called *Hemp of the Indians*, and grew plentifully in old corn-grounds, in woods, on hills, and in high glades. The Swedes have given it the name of *Indian hemp*, because the Indians formerly, and even now (1749), apply it to the same purposes as the Europeans do hemp; for the stalk may be divided into filaments, and is easily prepared. When the Indians were settled among the Swedes, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, they made ropes of this *Apocynum*, which the Swedes bought and employed them as bridles and for nets. These ropes were stronger, and kept longer in water than such as were made of common hemp. . . . The Indians likewise made several other stuffs of their hemp. On my journey through the country of the *Iroquese* I saw the women employed in manufacturing this hemp. They made use neither of spinning-wheels or distaffs, but rolled the filaments upon their bare thighs, and made thread and strings of them, which they dyed red, yellow, black, etc., and afterwards worked them into stuffs with a great deal of ingenuity. . . . Sometimes the fishing-tackle of the Indians consists entirely of this hemp."

Capt. John Smith, *Description of New England*, p. 29 (Arber's reprint, p. 206), says: "The hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes . . . a kinde or two of flax, where-with they make nets, lines and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities." In his *Map of Virginia*, p. 23 (Arber's reprint, p. 69), he says: "Betwixt their hands and

thighes their women use to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grass they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, as about their housing, apparell; as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles."

William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, book i. chap. v. (Prince Soc. ed., p. 15), says: "This land likewise affoards hempe and flax, some naturally, and some planted by the English."

Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, book ii. chap. ii. (Prince Soc. ed., p. 187), says: "There is hempe, that naturally groweth, finer then our hempe of England." Mr. C. F. Adams takes exception to this statement, but without sufficient reason, as it is abundantly corroborated. Cf. *postea*, chap. v. (p. 202).

In Brereton's account of Gosnold's voyage (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. p. 91), we find: "We had also of their flax, wherewith they make many strings and cords"; (p. 96) "the ground bringeth forth without industry hemp."

In Thomas Wiggins's letter (in the same volume, p. 322) it is stated: "As good hempe and flax as in any part of the world growes there naturally."

Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (1674), chap. iii. sect. 6 (Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 151), speaks of "others [of their baskets] of a kind of wild hemp."

T. Campanius Holm, *Description of New Sweden* (Mem. Hist. Soc. of Penn., vol. iii. part i. p. 130), says: "The women spin thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp, and some plants unknown to us."

J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775, p. 422), says: "They have a wild hemp that grows about six feet high in open, rich, level lands, and which usually ripens in July; it is plenty on our frontier settlements. When it is fit for use, they pull, steep, peel, and beat it, and the old women spin it off the distaffs."

The "self-sown Wheat" of the Norse Sagas.

Prof. Gustav Storm, *Studies on the Vineland Sagas* (Mem. de la Soc. Roy. des Antiq. du Nord, 1888, p. 356), has

suggested, on the authority of Professor Schübel, that this was *Zizania aquatica*, Lin., *Hydropyrum esculentum* (wild rice, or Indian rice). He states that it "grows wild on the banks of rivers, the margin of stagnant waters, and in swampy spots along the whole eastern coast of North America, as far north as Lat. 50°." This is a much wider range for it than is given by Asa Gray, who speaks of it as a western plant. It is well known to have been largely used for food by the Indians on the Upper Mississippi.

Tomahawks.

Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (Hunnewell's reprint, p. 19), says: "The weapons they vse for offence are Bowes and Arrowes w^t a weapon like a hammer and ther Tomahawks for defence w^{ch} are shilds made of the barke of a tree and hanged on ther leaft shoulder to couer that side as they stand forth to shoote." It seems more probable that Spelman's manuscript has not been correctly punctuated, and that he wrote "a weapon like a hammer and their tomahawk. For defence," etc., than that he should be understood as calling a tomahawk a weapon for defence.

Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 23 (Arber's reprint, p. 68), says: "For their wars also they use Targets that are round and made of the barks of trees, and a sworde of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends used in the same manner. This they were wont to use also for hatchets, but now by trucking they have plenty of the same form, of yron. And those are their chief instruments and armes."

So Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (1674), chap. iii. sect. 9 (Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 152), speaks of their "tomahawks made of wood like a pole-axe, with a sharpened stone fastened therein, and for defence they had targets made of barks of trees."

The small grooved stone axe, well known to all conversant with Indian relics, is considered "the prototype of the more modern iron tomahawk"; (C. C. Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, p. 11.) "Before the tomahawk came into use among the Iroquois, their principal weapons were the bow, the stone tomahawk, and the war-club." (Lewis H. Morgan, *Report on New*

York State Cabinet of Natural History, The Indian Collection, p. 70.) Charles C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 277, says: "We incline to the belief that the smaller and medium-sized specimens [of grooved stone axes] were tomahawks or battle-axes." This is also the opinion of Charles C. Rau, *The Archæological Collection of the United States National Museum*, p. 21: "Specimens of small or medium-size doubtless were used as battle-axes, like the iron tomahawk of modern times."

A new serial, containing the proceedings at the April meeting, was announced as ready for distribution.

JUNE MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last previous meeting; and the Librarian communicated his list of donors to the Library since the May meeting.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR stated that he had received a letter from our associate, Mr. James M. Bugbee, who is unavoidably absent from the meeting to-day, with regard to the authorship of a journal kept during the expedition to Quebec under Benedict Arnold in 1775, which has been ascribed to Ebenezer Wild.¹ Mr. Bugbee writes:—

"It appears from the records at the State House that Ebenezer Wild enlisted as a corporal on the 12th May, 1775, in Capt. Lemuel Trescott's company of Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment. He is returned by Captain Trescott as serving in that company at Prospect Hill on the 6th October, 1775. The different companies connected with the Quebec expedition left Cambridge between the 8th and 13th September, 1775. The name of Ebenezer Wild does not appear on any of the lists of men drafted for that service; nor do I find it mentioned in any of the journals that have been published. John Joseph Henry's account states that the paroled prisoners embarked on the 8th August, 1776, and sailed on the 10th, arriving in New York on the 11th September. Ebenezer Wild started from Roxbury on the expedition to Ticonderoga on the 8th August, 1776; and at the end of his brief journal of that expedition, in the book, which he marked 'No. 1,' he says, under date of April 9 [1777]: 'I marched for my second champain,'—that is, for Saratoga."

The journal printed in the Proceedings is substantially the same as a portion of one printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" in 1852. It is the opinion of Mr. Bugbee that both journals are transcripts from an original kept by Ebenezer Tolman. (See "Book of the Lockes," Boston, 1853, p. 323.) It further appears from Mr. Bug-

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 267-275.

bee's inquiries that Ebenezer Wild kept a journal of his service in the Revolutionary army from Aug. 7, 1776, to Dec. 8, 1781, which contains some matter of historical value. This journal is now in the possession of Mr. Charles Tidd Wild, of Chelsea, grandson of Ebenezer Wild; and a copy will be made for the Historical Society.

The PRESIDENT having stated that Mr. Winsor purposed to go abroad early next month, to be absent for a considerable length of time, it was unanimously voted that Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR be authorized to represent the Society during his absence in Europe.

It was voted that the stated meetings of the Society should be omitted during the next three months, but that the President and the Recording Secretary should be empowered to call a special meeting at any time during that period.

Rev. Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER, from the Committee appointed at the last meeting to consider a proposal for the erection of a memorial to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven, reported that as no direct action of the Society had been asked for, it was not expedient to pass any vote on the subject; and on their recommendation it was voted that the papers submitted to them be laid on the table.

On motion of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, it was voted that two hundred and twenty-four volumes, containing the words of numerous Italian operas, given to the Society many years ago by the late William Winthrop, with authority to dispose of them as the Society should think proper, be now transferred to the Library of Harvard University.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in referring to the valuable gift of early printed books that had recently been made to the Boston Public Library, said:—

The collection was formed by the late John Allen Lewis, Esq., of this city, and given to that library by his widow. It includes many early Boston imprints, and is particularly rich in Mather publications. The collection was much used by our late associate, Mr. Sibley, when he prepared his Mather bibliographies, and for its rarities, was mentioned at a meeting of this Society in January, 1884.¹ Among the books is a

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. i. p. 13.

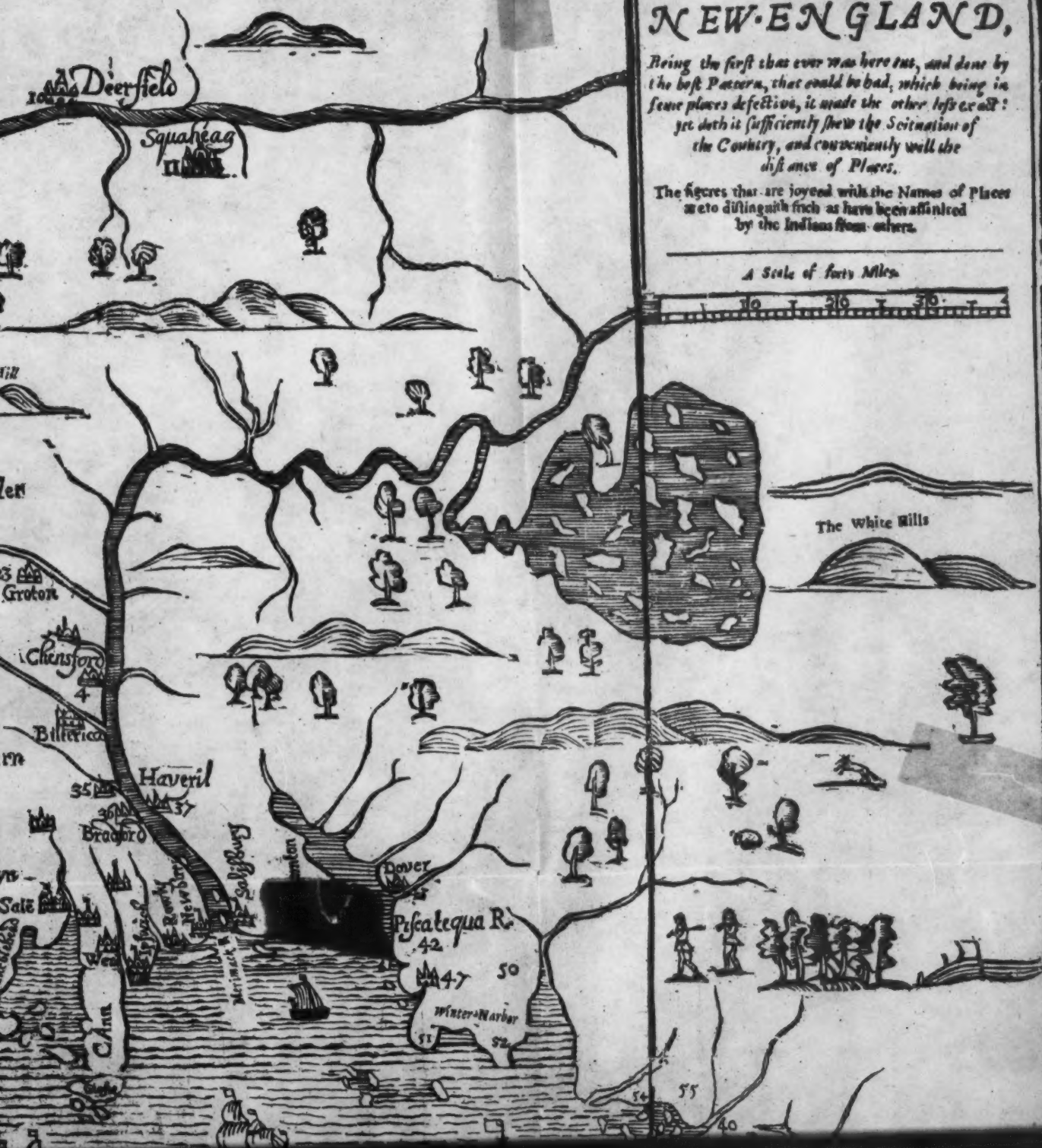


A MAP OF NEW-ENGLAND,

Being the first that ever was here set, and done by
the best Pattern, that could be had, which being in
some places defective, it made the other left exact:
yet doth it sufficiently shew the Situation of
the Country, and conveniently will the
distance of Places.

The figures that are joynted with the Names of Places
are to distinguish such as have been affixed
by the Indians from others.

A Scale of forty Miles.





A FAC-SIMILE OF HUBBA

From a copy belonging to



HUBBARD'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND.

ing to the BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, 1890.

fine copy of "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (Boston, 1677), by the Rev. William Hubbard, containing the "White Hills" map, of which only a very few copies are extant. The "Wine Hills" map, which is of less rarity, was struck from the block first made, while the "White Hills" copy was taken from the second block, which corrected numerous errors, particularly in the names of places. Both these maps of New England, in their titles, contain the statement: "*Being the first that ever was here cut,*" and on more than one occasion in these rooms have been the subject of comment and discussion; and at the meeting of the Society in November, 1888, I gave my reasons for supposing that they were engraved by John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston. By the courtesy of the Trustees of the Public Library, and with the assent of Mrs. Lewis, I am enabled to present herewith a fac-simile of the map, in exact size. It is a trifle larger than the "Wine Hills" copy — perhaps a third of an inch — both in length and in width. The copy in the possession of the Public Library has been mended in several places and mounted on linen; and perhaps in the repairs there may be some very slight defect, but not of any serious importance.

Rev. Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER then communicated by title the following paper relative to English exiles on the Continent in the latter part of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth century:—

English Exiles in Amsterdam.

1597-1625.

Robert Browne was unquestionably the earliest Congregational author of modern times; and although his later career appears to have been clouded by insanity, and he assuredly was terribly slandered by Fuller and other church historians, the fact remains that his little books are remarkable productions, and that his system, as revealed through them, was, in the main, characteristically what is now received by the Congregational churches all over the world as the true interpretation of the polity of Scripture. In one particular his system proved unworkable by the uncultured people whom he interested in his theories. They were unequal to the wise discharge of the duty of mutual friendly criticism which he enjoined as habitual; so that in their hands it degenerated into disagreeable and disruptive recrimination. It is not true that Browne was a democrat, but it is true that his actual theory — that

Christ governs His Church through the voice of each individual believer as a vicegerent — amounts in the end to much the same thing; and hence, largely, the prejudice with which, in those days when government by the people remained inconceivable or intolerable to the cultivated mind, his efforts were received.

Henry Barrowe was the next Congregational author of vigor and prominence; and he had the impression that he did a good thing when, in suggesting that Browne's self-complete local church be placed under the government of its few most intelligent, cultivated, and devout members, he introduced a fundamental Presbyterian element. This modification of Brownism, by which the mass of the membership of a Congregational church is first to elect elders out of their own number, and then to obey them in the Lord, was known as Barrowism; and in its High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church forms, it dominated the Congregational churches, even in this country, until the days when John Wise and subsequently Nathaniel Emmons purified the system of its incongenial alloy.

The first English emigrants to Holland for conscience' sake were members of the first Barrowist church, which was formed in or about 1588, in London, and spent the next nine years largely in the prisons of that city. As individuals gained release, they seem to have fled for refuge across the North Sea, until, by 1597, nearly the whole body had become "exiles" there, — leading that considerable company which enriched the Netherlands at English expense, when the otherwise astute Elizabeth and her extraordinary successor were garnering chaff at home that they might scornfully hurl the heavy wheat abroad.

It is not needful to dwell here upon the events whose natural sequence had made the Low Countries, and Amsterdam in particular, at this time the most natural resort for those within reach who desired some liberty of conscience. Mr. Prescott, and especially Mr. Motley, has given to the reader of his vivacious volumes an account of the matter, which makes it clear how a mixture of religious and commercial motives, tendencies, and policies, had gradually made the crescent city on the Amstel, for that day, a wonderfully free town as to all matters of faith and conscience; justifying, a few years later, Andrew Marvell's ¹—

"Hence Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of sects, and mint of schism grew;
That Bank of Conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion but finds credit and exchange";

and which led the famous James Howell, about 1619, to write of it: ²—

¹ Satires. Character of Holland, p. 71.

² Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ (ed. 1645), p. 12.

"I am lodg'd in a *French-mans* House, who is one of the Deacons of our *English Brownists* Church here; ¹ 't is not far from the *Synagog* of *Jews*, who have free and open exercise of their Religion here : I believe in this Street where I lodg, ther be well near as many Religions as there be Houses; for one Neighbour knows not, nor cares not much, what Religion the other is of, so that the number of Conventicles exceeds the number of Churches here. And let this Countrey call it self as long as it will, the *United* Provinces one way, I am perswaded in this point, there's no place so *Disunited*."

Perhaps the densest form into which this general thought was put, was in William Dugard's "School Probation," which, among its sentences to be done into Latin by the pupil, contains the following : ² —

"The *Atheist* went to Amsterdam to chuse his Religion."

I have said that the original London Barrowist church, of which Francis Johnson was Pastor, and Henry Ainsworth Teacher, in its entirety reached Amsterdam in 1597. This was often called, by way of distinction, the "Ancient" Church. It may aid perspicuity to glance here at others which came to be by its side. In 1606 the company which John Smyth had gathered at Gainsborough, and with which, so long as it remained in England, our fathers who lived in and around Scrooby had a close connection, also arrived. In 1607 an organization strictly Scotch Presbyterian, but usually known as an English Reformed Church, was formed by English Presbyterians in Amsterdam, John Paget being its first Pastor. Ecclesiastically connected with the Dutch Establishment, this was not, like the Non-conforming bodies, obliged to worship in a private house, but was entitled to provision from the State, and received the deserted Chapel of the *Beguin* nuns, in the centre of a private court just off of the *Kalverstraat*, where it worships to this day.³ In the summer of 1608 the immigration of the church from Scrooby, under Clyfton and Robinson, appears to have been completed. So that during the next nine months there were four congregations of English people side by side in the city. In the autumn of that year Smyth's company divided, primarily on the question of the propriety of using translations of the Scriptures in worship, and afterwards subdivided on the question of Baptism; Smyth, declaring that the genuine rite had been irrecoverably lost, re-baptizing first himself and then his adherents, — though not by immersion, as has been commonly supposed. A few

¹ John De la Cluse.

² W. C. Hazlitt: *Schools, School-books, and Schoolmasters*, etc., p. 142.

³ Its ministers have usually been ordained in the Church of Scotland; and from two of them — the Rev. John McIlraith and the Rev. W. McFarlane — I have, at different times, received kind aid in my investigations.

months later poor Smyth advanced to the position that they had all been wrong in all they had done, and, with twenty or more who clung to him to the last, was excommunicated by his last re-baptized church under the lead of Thomas Helwys and John Murton, and seeking admission in vain to a church of Dutch [Mennonite] Baptists, appears to have spent the brief remainder of his earthly life in an unchurched state.¹ In 1609 Robinson and his people removed to Leyden, partly to escape the scorching of flames of contention which they foresaw about to break out in the Ancient Church. Those flames had been kindled by the spontaneous combustion of the radically irreconcilable Congregational and Presbyterian elements which lay at the basis of its polity. The Pastor, Johnson, who had an essentially high-church nature, developed the Presbyterian element, until he published a book insisting that by "Tell it to the Church," Christ meant, "Tell it to the Elders"; while, on the other hand, the gentle and low-church Teacher, Ainsworth, with his friends, remained faithful to the very mild phase of the eldership which had originally entered into their conception of the church way. Difficulty inevitably followed. After patient months, during which Ainsworth and his friends appear to have done everything — except to violate their consciences — within the power of man, to avoid rupture, in which they had been nobly seconded by Robinson and the Leyden church, Johnson and his friends proving incorrigible, Ainsworth with about one half of the church seceded, and established separate service on the same side of the same street within one door of the "Ancient" tabernacle. They were excommunicated in a body therefor. The Ancient Church had originally received assistance from its London friends in the erection of the structure, — half meeting-house, half lodging-house, — where they made their headquarters; and curiously, as if by way of anticipating certain modern events, the donors appear to have intimated their desire that the many-times published and well understood creed of the church be the permanent basis of the administration of the body using the house. Moreover, some of the principal donors, on the ground and still alive, were in full sympathy with Ainsworth, and in full distaste of Johnson and his measures. Suit was accordingly brought, in 1612, in the Dutch courts, claiming the property on behalf of the excommunicated Ainsworth and his people; on the ground that they, and not Johnson and his party of extremists, were those who were fairly entitled to the use of the same. The court — I believe no refer-

¹ I may be permitted to refer the reader who desires in detail my authority for the statements here made, to two volumes of mine in which these subjects are treated, although now corrected by further light; namely, *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, as seen in its Literature, etc. [New York, 1880], pp. 255-355; and *The True Story of John Smyth the Se-Baptist*, as told by himself and his contemporaries, etc. [Boston, 1881], pp. 2-88.

ence to this Dutch decision appears in the rulings of our own Supreme Court on the somewhat similar and somewhat famous "Dedham" case—endorsed the claim thus made. Johnson and his disciples retreated to Emden, and the property was turned over to Ainsworth's company, who remained in quiet possession long after he had gone to his rest.

I should add, that besides these six separate English churches,—Johnson's, Ainsworth's, Smyth's first, his second, Robinson's, and Paget's,—faint traces of at least two more remain on the literature of the time.¹

It lies, of course, upon the face of this history that, in one way and another, large numbers of English people became domiciled in Holland not far from the going out of the sixteenth, and the coming in of the seventeenth century. As our fathers tarried in Amsterdam less than a twelvemonth, and in Leyden more than eleven years, it was natural, however, that American interest and inquiry should chiefly concern the latter city. And when, some seven-and-twenty years ago, the writer began to make a specialty of Dutch-English studies, he found that, so far as Amsterdam was concerned, almost nothing seemed to be accessible in regard to it; scarcely more than a half-dozen well-known names emerging from general chaos and confusion. Nor was it easy to enlarge these narrow boundaries. It soon became obvious that the two or three historians who had undertaken to give some account of the men and affairs of that period had failed to grasp main features and relations of events; had often confused the two cities; and as to individuals, had relied upon hearsay and tradition to an extent which emptied their pages of real value to any search for the actual facts.

But one course was possible,—to recover that contemporaneous pamphlet and volume literature in which men's names and deeds would naturally find place, and to search such manuscript records of the time as may survive to tell the story of its actors and events. Of the former I have examined—in a majority of cases with little or no result—in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Lambeth, York Minster, Trinity College (Cambridge), and kindred libraries, and among the stocks of the dealers in old books, a few more than one hundred issues. From the latter there seemed to be no large promise; for while the Dutch abound in records

¹ As early as 1597 Henoeh Clapham published a volume entitled "Theological Axioms or Conclusions: publicly controverted, discussed, and concluded by that poore English Congregation in Amstelredam: To whome H. C. for the present administereth the Ghospel," etc. While both Francis Johnson ["Inquire and Answer of Thomas White, his Discoverie of Brownisme," etc., p. 53] and Thomas White [Letter published in *Ibid.*] testify that for a time there was a company of "about twelve or thirteen," who "joynd them selves here as a body to gether to walk in the same faith and way as we do, reporting and calling them selves a Church distinct from us," etc.

of many sorts, admirably kept, — in this respect far surpassing England, — there seemed to be none so focused as to shed any light of value upon the darkness which especially needed illumination. It so happened, however, that being in Amsterdam on the 11th November, 1876, it occurred to me to inquire at the *Stadhuis* if any record could be found there supplementing the incompleteness of the Leyden minute in regard to the first marriage of the young man who was afterward Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, — that incompleteness consisting in the fact stated, that while he and Dorothy May were published at Leyden, Nov. 8, 1613, the marriage took place elsewhere. That "elsewhere" must almost certainly be Amsterdam, and the time within a few days of the date named. I was politely informed that such a volume was possibly among their files, but that my highly esteemed friend, Prof. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, of the Mennonite College in that city, — himself a most intelligent antiquary, and largely interested in these precise studies, — had made an exhaustive search for the names of English people through all the records, with indifferent success. Had the record of which I was in search existed, he would assuredly have discovered it. There was, therefore, no good in my troubling myself further. I gently suggested an undiminished anxiety, to which, shrugging his shoulders, the official replied that such searches were very dusty and disagreeable. Slipping a ten-shilling piece into his easily unclosing hand, I renewed my request. He soon brought the volume, well dusted for the occasion, saying, however, "I am sorry to think you will be disappointed." The book proved to be of a kind unused at Leyden, — a succession of printed blanks filled in with marriage records, in which, when they were able to write, the autograph signatures of the applicants had been required. In about four minutes I had found, under date of Nov. 9, 1613, the record which I wanted, with an obviously younger than any previously preserved autograph signature of the future governor, and the only known handwriting of poor little Dorothy May. Turning back to March, 1607, I found also the only known signature of Henry Ainsworth, the Teacher of the Ancient Church. Others opened at almost every turn. The custodian was amazed. "How is it," he said, "that you come hither three thousand miles, and in five minutes discover what our local students have all along searched for in vain?" "Because," I said, "you have given me the right book. Professor Scheffer surely never saw *this* book." Through some oversight, such proved to have been the fact; and Professor Scheffer subsequently in the kindest manner sent me the copies of *one hundred and eighteen* such marriage records, of date between 1598 and 1617 inclusive.

Drawing together all the names of English people thus catalogued, either as parties to such marriages or witnesses to the same, with such

as had found mention in the volumes aforesaid, it became possible to construct a fairly accurate partial list of English exiles who were thus in Amsterdam during the closing years of the sixteenth and the opening years of the seventeenth century. This I have done, to the number of more than four hundred and fifty. A few of the number are twice mentioned, — usually as parties to more than one marriage during the years reviewed, or to facilitate cross reference. I have arranged the names in the order of the alphabet, attaching to each my authority for its mention, in order that any student of family history so desiring, may go at once to the original source and pursue the subject, — so far as such pursuit may prove possible. Of course there must have been scores, if not hundreds, of other English people in Amsterdam at the time, whose names never came into contact with these sources of record. In a few instances, where left to their vivid imaginations, no doubt the eminently phonographic quality of the Dutch scribe's way of spelling English names may have led to an erroneous transcript. A star affixed to a name [thus *] implies an [apparently] autograph signature on the Amsterdam record. Of course many here catalogued could write who are not thus starred; as witness John Smyth and John Robinson, who had no need to sign marriage records during these years.

Abbreviations.

Act-Book : Act-Book of the High Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, preserved in the Registry at York, Eng.

A. C. : Henry Ainsworth, Counterpoison, etc. [Amsterdam], 1608, 4°, pp. 255.

A. M. R. : Amsterdam Marriage Records: [Pui boeken dier Stad. August, 1567 to January, 1617.]

B. : Christopher Lawne. Brownisme Turned the In-side Out-ward, etc. [n. pl.], 1613, 4°, pp. 36.

Brad. : Wm. Bradford. History of Plymouth Plantation, etc. Pub. by Mass. Hist. Soc. Boston, 1856, 8°, pp. xx, 478.

C. L. : Certayne Letters, tr. into English, being first written in Latine. Two by Rev. and learned Mr. Fr. Junius, Diuinitie Reader at Leyden in Holl., etc. [n. pl.], 1602, 4°, pp. ii, 58.

Cheet Soc. : Travels, by Sir W. Brereton, in Holland, etc., 1634, 1635, etc. Published by Cheetham Society, etc.

E. : B. Evans, D.D. The Early English Baptists, etc. London, 1862, 16°, pp. xxii, 276; xiv, 348.

E. R. C. R. : Records of English Reformed Church, of which John Paget was pastor, 1607-1636; still worshipping in the same *Begyn-hof*, just off the Kalver-straat.

F. : J. Fowler. A Shield of Defence against the Arrows of Schisme, shot abroad by J. de l'Ecluse in his Advertisement against Brightman, etc. Amsterdam, 1612, 4°, pp. 44.

G. J.: Geo. Johnson. A Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam, etc. [n. pl.], 4°, pp. 214.

H.: Harleian Manuscript [in the Brit. Museum], No. 7042. [Sometimes cited as Baker Ms. XVI.]

Han.: B. Hanbury. Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, or Congregationalists. From their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy, A. D. MDCLX. London, 8°, 1839-44, pp. xx, 588; xvi, 584; xvi, 652.

Howell: James Howell. Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ. Familiar Letters, Domestic and Forren, etc. London, 1645, 4°, pp. xiv, 88, 120, 40, 48, 94.

Hunter: Joseph Hunter. Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby, North Notts, in the time of James I. The Founders of New Plymouth, etc. London, 1854, 8°, pp. xvi, 206.

Hunter MS.: MS. Collections added by the author to the first edition of the above, in my possession.

J.: F. Johnson. An Inquire and Answer of Thomas White, his Discovery of Brownism, etc. [n. pl.], 1605, 4°, pp. 92.

P.: Porter-boek, or record of citizens of Amsterdam.

Pag. Arr.: John Paget. An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists, etc. Amsterdam, 1618, 4°, pp. iv, 476.

Pag. Her.: Ephraim Pagitt. Heresiography: or a description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of these latter times, etc. London, 1645, 4°, pp. xxiv, 131.

P. S.: Christopher Lawne, et al. The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists, or Separatists, etc. London, 1612, 4°, pp. viii, 88.

Still.: E. Stillington. The Unreasonableness of Separation, etc. London, 1681, 4°, pp. ii, xciv, 450.

W. C. C.: John Cotton. The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, etc. London, 1648, 4°, pp. xii, 104, 44.

W. D.: Thos. White. A Discoverie of Brownisme, or a brief Declaration of some of the errors and abominations daily practised and increased among the English Company of the Separation remayning for the present at Amsterdam in Holland, etc. London, 1605, 4°, pp. vi, 30.

Wyman: T. B. Wyman. The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, Mass. Boston, 1879, 2 vols. 8°, pp. xiv, 1178.

X.: [H. Barrowe]. A Collection of certaine Schlaunderous Articles gynnyn out by the Bishhops against such faithfull Christians, etc. [Dort.], 1590, 4°, p. 50.

As New Style was adopted in Holland, to begin Jan. 1, 1583, the following dates are all in New Style.

1. Adams, Elizabeth E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
2. Adams, Thomas [husband of No. 1] Ibid.
3. Adams, William [of the ancient church] G. J., 30, 126, 127, 137, 138,
143, 144, 145, 146, 152.
4. Ainsworth, Henry [teacher of ancient
church] [*] Passim.

5. Ainsworth, John [from Amsterdam] . . . Leyden Rec., Dec. 5, 1636,
etc.
6. Ainsworth, Margery Halie [Appelby],
[wife of No. 4] [*] A. M. R., March 29, 1607.
7. Ainsworth, "Master" [had a daughter] P. S. 17.
8. Ainsworth, Miss [daughter of No. 7] Ibid.
9. Alkin, Peter [fr. Melton Mowbray?] [*] A. M. R., July 23, 1616.
10. Allen, Thomas [sexton Eng. Reformed
Church] E. R. C. R., June 25, 1636.
11. Althey, Gregory Ibid., Aug. 18, 1621.
12. Althey, Patience [probably wife of No. 11] Ibid., Sept. 9, 1637.
13. Ames, William [the well-known *Amesius*] P. S. 47, etc., etc.
14. Appelby, R. [former husband of No. 6,
deceased] A. M. R., Mar. 29, 1607.
15. Argan, Jane [member of Smyth's com-
pany] E., 245, 252.
16. Arnfield, Alexander [member of Smyth's
company] E., 252.
17. Arnfield, Alice [ibid.] E., 244.
18. Arnfield, Edward [from Epperstone,
Notts] [*] A. M. R., Feb. 12, 1611.
19. Arnfield, John [of Smyth's company] E., 252.
20. Arnold, Alice [from Leicester?] A. M. R., July 6, 1613.
21. Arnold, Anthony [husband of No. 20] Ibid.
22. Arnold, Mary [daughter of Nos. 20, 21;
married No. 373] [*] Ibid.
23. Asplin, Ellen [wife of No. 24 ?] G. J., 42.
24. Asplin, W. [of ancient church] G. J., 152, 159, 200; W. D.,
22.
25. Aukland, Matthew [m. Eliz. Pigot and
G. van Bunschoten] [*] A. M. R., Oct. 23, 1610;
Aug. 1, 1615.
26. "A. H." [distracted in mind] W. D., 21.
27. Bannister, Gertrude [fr. Retford], [m.
No. 180] A. M. R., Oct. 4, 1608.
28. Barber, William P. S., 28, 29; Pag. Her., 59.
29. Bates, Elizabeth [of ancient church] G. J., 137.
30. Baylie, Robert P. S. 30; G. J., 160; W.
D., 10.
31. Beacham, John [fr. Northamptonshire] [*] G. J., 82; A. M. R., Jan.
12, 1608.
32. Beacham, Susanna [Sanders] [fr. War-
wickshire], [m. No. 31] A. M. R., Jan. 12, 1608.
33. Bellot, Arthur [fr. London] [deceased
before] A. M. R., June 29, 1602.
34. Bellot, Sarah [fr. London], [wid. of No.
33; m. No. 445] A. M. R., June 29, 1602.
35. Bellot, Scipio [of ancient church] G. J., 104, 106, 141, 151,
166, 207.

36. Bennet, Constance [Coward], [fr. Weymouth], [m. No. 40] A. M. R., July 13, 1602.
37. Bennet, Edward P. S., 4, 11, 12, 38.
38. Bennet, Francis A. M. R., Sept. 22, 1612.
39. Bennet, Joseph A. M. R., Sept. 22, 1612.
40. Bennet, Mary [Jones], [fr. London] A. M. R., Dec. 11, 1610.
41. Bennet, Richard [fr. Worcestershire], [m. No. 36 and No. 40] [*] A. M. R., July 13, 1602 ; Dec. 11, 1610.
42. Bishop, Ann [Johnson], [fr. Richmond, Yorkshire, sister of Francis] G. J., 199.
43. Bishop, Dea. Thomas [of ancient church], [husband of No. 42] P. S., 28 ; C. L., 54, 57 ; G. J., 8, 24, 32, 33, 102, 112, 158, 164, 199.
44. Blackwell, Elder Francis [of ancient ch.] P. S., 28 ; Brad., 38.
45. Bokin, Ann [of ancient church]. G. J., 209.
46. Bowman, Dea. Christopher [of ancient church] P. S., 4, 27, 28 ; W. D., 15 ; B. 10 ; C. L. 46, 54, 57 ; G. J., 31, 50, 164, 173, 198.
47. Bradley, Stephen A. M. R., April 19, 1614.
48. Braithwait, Dea. B. 21.
49. Brewer, Mr. Pag. Arr. 260.
50. Bridge, Alice [fr. Wells, Somerset], [wid. John Bridge] A. M. R., Aug. 14, 1610.
51. Bridge, John [deceased before] A. M. R., Aug. 14, 1610.
52. Briggs, Joane [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
53. Bristow, Dea. David [of ancient church] C. L., 54, 57 ; G. J., 32, 102, 106.
54. Bromhead, Anna [wife of No. 55] E., 244, 252.
55. Bromhead, Hugo [of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252 ; Hunter, 51.
56. Brown, John [of Bristol] A. M. R., Sept. 4, 1610.
57. Brown, Susanna [fr. Wrington, near Bath], [m. No. 56] A. M. R., *ibid.*
58. Brown, Thomas [fr. Sussex], m. Jane Adriance] A. M. R., Dec. 17, 1611.
59. Bulward, Robert P. S., 20 ; B., 13.
60. Busher, Leonard [an Anabaptist author] P. S., 56.
61. Buywater, Elnathan [of Smyth's company] E., 252.
62. Buywater, Thomas [deceased before] A. M. R., Nov. 9, 1615.
63. Buywater, Ursula [Harstaff], [m. No. 167] A. M. R., Nov. 9, 1615.
64. Canadine, Thomas [fr. London], [left ancient church for Smyth's] [*] E., 244 ; P. S., 27, 30 ; W. D., 10, 18, 26 ; A. M. R., Sept. 1, 1607.
65. Carpenter, Alexander [fr. Wrington, near Bath] G. J., 63 ; A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1600.

66. Castel, M. G. J., 63; W. D., 9, 10.
 67. Champney, Sarah [m. R. Philip] . . . E. R. C. R., Aug. 16, 1628.
 68. Cleaton, George [of ancient church] . . G. J., 212.
 69. Clerk, Anna [fr. London; m. No. 77] . . A. M. R., Nov. 7, 1598.
 70. Clerk, John [fr. Newton, Cambridge-
 shire], [m. No. 378 and No. 97] . . . A. M. R., Sept. 16, 1600;
 Sept. 15, 1604.
 71. Clerk, W. W. D., 25; F., 30.
 72. Clyfton, Anna [wife of No. 76] . . . Hunter, 44.
 73. Clyfton, Edward [member of English Re-
 formed Church] E. R. C. R., Oct. 14, 1615.
 74. Clyfton, John P. S., 16.
 75. Clyfton, Mary [member of English Re-
 formed Church] E. R. C. R., Oct. 14, 1615.
 76. Clyfton, Richard [teacher of Robinson's
 church], [d. March 20, 1616] . . . P. S., 64, 85; Hunter, 44.
 77. Cocky, Thomas [prophet in Ainsworth's
 church], [m. No. 69] G. J., 32; P. S., 58, 83; B.,
 28.
 78. Colgate, Widow P. S., 27; W. D., 15.
 79. Collgell, Henry [fr. Horncastle, Lincoln-
 shire] [*] A. M. R., May 17, 1603.
 80. Collins, Henry [fr. Nottinghamshire] [*] . . A. M. R., July 5, 1608.
 81. Colman, Anna [fr. Lincolnshire], [m. No.
 353] [*] A. M. R., Aug. 2, 1610.
 82. Colson, Jane [fr. Wisbeach], [m. Thos.
 Norwayer] A. M. R., Dec. 15, 1607.
 83. Colyer, Anne [F. Johnson's house-servant] G. J., 140, 142.
 84. Colyer, G. [one of ancient church] . . . G. J., 152; X., viii.
 85. Connall, John [of the Eng. Refor'd Ch.] E. R. C. R., Sept. 18, 1610.
 86. Cooke, H. W. D., 10, 23.
 87. Cooke, Mrs. H. [wife of No. 86] . . . W. D., 10.
 88. Cooke, William [m. No. 50] A. M. R., Aug. 14, 1610.
 89. Coombes,¹ Frances [m. No. 436], [fr.
 London] [*] A. M. R., March 24, 1601.
 90. Cotton, Frances [m. No. 262], [fr. Berk-
 shire] A. M. R., June 2, 1607.
 91. Cox, John [fr. Overton, Berks], [m. No.
 281] A. M. R., April 23, 1611.
 92. Crockendine, Abraham [of the ancient
 church] G. J., 41.
 93. Cruden, M. G. J., 152, A. C. 41.
 94. "C. G." G. J., 122.
 95. "Ch. Wid." W. D., 24,
 96. Davenport, Robert [fr. Stafford] . . . A. M. R., April 11, 1609.
 97. Dean, Ursula [wid. of John Dean], [m.
 No. 70] A. M. R., Sept. 15, 1604.

¹ Possibly "Holmes."

98. De la Cluse, Elder John [fr. Rouen], [and schoolmaster], [m. three times in A.] [*] A. M. R., Aug. 7, 1604; April 14, 1609; Nov. 12, 1616; P. S., 15, 30, 39, 58, 59, 73, 83; F., 8; W. C. C., 6; G. J., 32; Howell, 10.
99. Derrieks, John [fr. Norwich], [m. No. 230] [*] A. M. R., Dec. 15, 1607.
100. Deuksberrie, M. W. D., 17.
101. Dickens, Beatrice [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
102. Dickens, Christopher G. J., 126, 127, 143, 152; H., 267.
103. Dickens, Mary [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
104. Dolphin, Thomas [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
105. Drew, John Act-Book, [York] Mar. 22, 1607-
106. Eiles, William [of ancient church] . . . G. J., 42, 127, 146, 151, 152, 156.
107. Elkes, Margaret [wife of No. 108] . . . A. M. R., Feb. 2, 1613.
108. Elkes, Timothy [physician, fr. London] [*] Ibid.
109. Est, William [*] [Autograph signature on a document.]
110. Eton, Mr. [seems to have been a Barrowist minister] E. R. C. R., Jan. 27, 1636; Feb. 6, 1636; June 25, 1636.
111. Fleming, Alexander [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
112. Fletcher, Anthony [fr. Chelmsford?], [m. No. 317] A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1600.
113. Fowler, John P. S., 7, 12, 13.
114. Frank, Richard [of the ancient church] G. J., 152, 209.
115. Fuller, Dea. Dr. Samuel [of Robinson's church] P. S., 11, 24, 76.
116. "F. W." W. D., 16.
117. Galy, Jane [Jenkins], [w. of No. 118], [fr. London] A. M. R., Dec. 3, 1611.
118. Galy, Richard [fr. Bedfordshire] Ibid.
119. Gaskine, Elizabeth [w. of No. 120] . . . E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
120. Gaskine, Henry Ibid.
121. Gilgate, William [minister] P. S., 41-46, 47.
122. Giles, Thomas [fr. Somersetshire], [m. No. 256] A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1606; April 19, 1614.
123. Glade, Alice E. R. C. R., April 23, 1614.
124. Goodfellow, Alice [fr. Northampton], [m. No. 407] A. M. R., Sept. 1, 1607.

125. Greenbury, Catharine [fr. London], [m. No. 302] A. M. R., Aug. 14, 1604.
126. Greenbury, Rosa [sister of No. 125] Ibid.
127. Greene, Mr. [of ancient church] G. J., 32, 63.
128. Greenwich, Margaret [fr. Sutton], [m. No. 80] A. M. R., July 5, 1608.
129. Greenwood, "one" Chest. Soc., i. 64.
130. Gregory [brother of Mrs. Tomasine (Boys) Johnson] G. J., 136.
131. Grindal, John [of Smyth's company] E., 245, 252.
132. Grindal, Margaret [ibid.], [w. of No. 134] A. M. R., May 2, 1615.
133. Grindal, Mary [ibid.] E., 244.
134. Grindal, Swithin [fr. Tunstall, Yorkshire], [Anabaptist] [*] E., 222; A. M. R., May 2, 1615.
135. Hales, John [of ancient church] G. J., 200; F., 27, 30.
136. Halie, Mr. B., 10, 15.
137. Halton, Joane [of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
138. Halton, Samuel [ibid.] E., 245, 252.
139. Hamlin, Anna [Light], [m. No. 142] A. M. R., Nov. 29, 1609.
140. Hamlin, Edward [fr. Salisbury], [m. No. 356] [*] A. M. R., April 4, 1612.
141. Hamlin, Elizabeth [Smyth], [fr. Cambridge] Ibid.
142. Hamlin, Ralph [fr. Fordingbridge, Hants], [husband of No. 139] A. M. R., Nov. 29, 1609.
143. Hammond, Dorothy [of Smyth's company] E., 252.
144. Hancock, John P. S., 56; Pag. Her., 63.
145. Hanwell, Dorothy [maid of No. 227] P. S., 34.
146. Hardy, John [of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
147. Harris, Ann [fr. Handborough, Oxfordshire], [m. No. 98] A. M. R., Nov. 12, 1616.
148. Hart, John [fr. Hatfield], [witness at a marriage ceremony] A. M. R., Feb. 16, 1613.
149. Hart, Margery [Willoughby], [fr. Fowey, Cornwall], [m. No. 150] A. M. R., July 13, 1613.
150. Hart, Rainold [fr. Abbotsbury, Dorset], [husband of No. 149] [*] Ibid.
151. Haskins, John [fr. Chippenham, Wilts], [husband of No. 152] A. M. R., Oct. 22, 1605.
152. Haskins, Mary [Thomas], [fr. Frome, Somerset], [m. No. 151] Ibid.
153. Hawkins, Anna [Elinat?], [fr. Wiltshire], [m. No. 155] A. M. R., Sept. 4, 1604.
154. Hawkins, Edward [one of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
155. Hawkins, William [fr. Wiltshire], [husband of No. 153] [*] A. M. R., Sept. 4, 1604.

156. Hayes, Ann [fr. Chichester], [m. J. Hantley] [Thomaszoon — Thomas's son] . . . A. M. R., April 22, 1600.
157. Hayes, Jane [mother of No. 156, and witness at her m.] . . . Ibid.
158. Helwys, Joane [wife of No. 159] . . .
159. Helwys, Thomas [fr. Basford, Notts] . . . E., 202, 226; P. S., 56.
160. Hendrickson, Henry [fr. Stilton, Huntingdonshire] [*] . . . A. M. R., Jan. 29, 1608.
161. Hendrickson, Margaret [wife of No. 160] [*] . . . Ibid.
162. Hill, John [fr. Upton], [witness at a marriage] . . . A. M. R., April 22, 1600.
163. Hill, Maria [ibid.] . . . Ibid.
164. Hinton, Mr. . . . P. S., 22.
165. Hinton, Mrs. . . . Ibid.
166. Hodgkin, Jane [fr. Worksop], [m. No. 251] [*] . . . A. M. R., Aug. 23, 1608.
167. Hodgkin, Alexander [fr. Worksop], [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 245, 252; A. M. R., Nov. 9, 1615.
168. Hodgkin, Ursula [Buywater], [see No. 63] . . . A. M. R., Nov. 9, 1615.
169. Holder, Judith [wife of No. 170], [m. Richard Ardivey] . . . P. S., 10, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30; W. D., 7, 10, 18; A. M. R., Jan. 28, 1606.
170. Holder, William [dead or divorced before 1606]. [See No. 169] . . . P. S., 30; G. J., 32, 126, 152; W. D., 10, 18.
171. Homes, Mrs. . . . W. D., 11, 23.
172. Homline, H. . . . P. S., 16.
173. Hooker, Thomas . . . E. R. C. R., 1631 [passim].
174. Hubbard, Barbara [fr. Southampton], [m. No. 359] [*] . . . A. M. R., June 1, 1612.
175. Huntley, Ann [Hayes] [fr. Chichester], [wife of No. 176] . . . A. M. R., April 22, 1600.
176. Huntley, John [fr. Bradford], [m. No. 175] . . . Ibid.
177. Huntley, Maria [Hill], [fr. Upton], [wife of No. 178] . . . A. M. R., April 22, 1600.
178. Huntley, William [fr. Bradford], [m. No. 177] . . . Ibid.
179. Hurst, Gertrude [fr. Retford], [wife of No. 183] . . . A. M. R., Oct. 4, 1608.
180. Hurst, James [fr. Retford], [m. Gertrude Bannister] [*] . . . A. M. R., Oct. 4, 1608.
181. Hutton, Anna [fr. Poole, Dorset?], [m. No. 286] . . . A. M. R., July 13, 1613.

182. Hutton, Cuthbert [fr. Dalton], [m. Prudence Blass ?] [*] P. S., 57; A. M. R., Dec. 6, 1608.
183. Hutton, Prudence [wife of No. 180] Ibid.
184. Huysbertsen, Thomas [an Anabaptist] E., 222.
185. Hymes, Edward [fr. Hatfield], [m. Agatha Paulus] [*] A. M. R., Nov. 20, 1604.
186. "H. E." W. D., 16.
187. "I. P.," Mr. W. D., 10.
188. Jackson, Robert G. J., 141, 143, 146, 151; W. D., 9.
189. Jaques, Robert [fr. Wiltshire], [m. Sarah Parish] A. M. R., April 7, 1612.
190. Jaques, Sarah [Parish], [wife of No. 189], [fr. London] Ibid.
191. Jellison, Ann [Salisbury], [wife of No. 194], [fr. Cirencester] A. M. R., April 23, 1613.
192. Jellison, Magdalena [Jones], [fr. Ipswich], [wife of No. 193] A. M. R., Jan. 14, 1606.
193. Jellison, Robert [fr. London], [husband of No. 192] Ibid.
194. Jellison, Thomas [fr. Stratford], [husband of No. 191] [*] A. M. R., April 23, 1613.
195. Jenkins, Jane [widow of Lewis, m. No. 118] A. M. R., Dec. 3, 1611.
196. Jepson, Rosamond [Korsfield ?], [m. No. 197] A. M. R., April 11, 1609.
197. Jepson, William [fr. Worksop, Notts], [husband of No. 196] Ibid.
198. Jessop, Thomas [of Smyth's company] E., 252.
199. Johnson, Ann [sister to Francis?], [fr. Richmond, Yorkshire] G. J., 149.
200. Johnson, Dorothy [ibid.] Hunter MS.
201. Johnson, Elizabeth [ibid.], [m. No. 222] A. M. R., Sept. 16, 1600.
202. Johnson, Francis [pastor of ancient ch.] Passim.
203. Johnson, George [brother of Francis] Passim.
204. Johnson, Israel [of the ancient church] G. J., 32.
205. Johnson, Jacob [of the ancient church] P. S., 4, 6, 27, 28, 73, 83; G. J., 151, 152, 156, 159; W. D., 10; B., 28.
206. Johnson, John [father of Francis, George, etc.] P. S., 13, 14, 59, 60, 61, 64, 77; G. J., 5, 6, 104, 105, 109, 136, 206; W. D., 14.
207. Johnson, Margaret [Sley], [wife of No. 209] A. M. R., Aug. 18, 1601.
208. Johnson, Mary [sister of Francis, etc.] A. M. R., Sept. 16, 1600.
209. Johnson, Moses [fr. Leicester], [husband of No. 207] [*] A. M. R., Aug. 18, 1601.

210. Johnson, Perseverance [dau. of Francis, who m. Elder Greene, of Charlestown, Mass.] Wyman, i. 435.
211. Johnson, Mrs. Thomasine [Boyes], [wife of Francis] G. J., 94, 95, 135, 136, etc.
212. Johnson, William [fr. Taunton], [m. No. 213] [*] A. M. R., June 11, 1611.
213. Jones, Ann [fr. Broughton, Eng.], [m. No. 212] Ibid.
214. Jones, Magdalena [fr. Ipswich], [m. No. 192] A. M. R., Jan. 14, 1606.
215. Jones, Mary [fr. London], [m. No. 41] A. M. R., Dec. 11, 1610.
216. Jones, William [fr. Bowness], [m. No. 428] A. M. R., Aug. 31, 1613.
217. Kennell, Benjamin [dead before 1603] A. M. R., April 12, 1603.
218. Kennell, Margaret [widow of No. 217, m. No. 365] [*] Ibid.
219. Knowling, W. W. D., 9.
220. Knyveton, George [an Elder in the ancient church] C. L. 46; G. J., 151, 164, 171.
221. Landen, John W. D., 17.
222. Latham, William [fr. Sherborne], [m. No. 201] [*] A. M. R., Sept. 16, 1600.
223. Lawne, Christopher [of the ancient church] [*] P. S., 6, 7, 11; B., 13; A. M. R., Feb. 6, 1610.
224. Lawne, Susanna [wife of No. 223] [*] A. M. R., Feb. 6, 1610.
225. Light, Anna [m. No. 142] A. M. R., Nov. 29, 1609.
226. Light, Henry [brother of No. 225] Ibid.
227. Mansfield, Richard [one of Ainsworth's company] P. S., 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40.
228. Marshall, G. [of the ancient church] G. J., 152.
229. Marston, Thomas [fr. near Ipswich], [m. Haesgen Abrahams] [*] A. M. R., Jan. 22, 1600.
230. Martin, Alice [fr. Bray, Berkshire], [m. John Dericks] A. M. R., Dec. 15, 1607.
231. Martin, Elizabeth [fr. London], [m. No. 432] A. M. R., Dec. 11, 1599.
232. Martin, George [of the ancient church] G. J., 139, 140, 141, 152.
233. Martin, Henry [Anabaptist] P. S. 56.
234. Masie, Susan [of Wrington], [m. No. 56] A. M. R., Sept. 4, 1610.
235. Masie, William E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
236. May, Dorothy [dau. of No. 237?], [fr. Wisbeach], [m. Wm. Bradford] [*] A. M. R., Nov. 9, 1613.
237. May, Henry Ibid.
238. May, Jacqueline [fr. Wisbeach] A. M. R., April 14, 1609.
239. May, Mrs. Mary P. S., 10, 15, 16, 25, 73.

240. May, Mr. [Elder of Ainsworth's church] G. J., 161, 207, 208; W. C. C. 6.
241. Mercer, Canadine P. S., 4.
242. Mercer, Stanshall [Deacon, Elder in ancient church] C. L., 46, 54, 57; G. J., 11, 42.
243. Merryweather, Elizabeth [fr. Ingoldmells, Lincolnshire], [m. No. 249] A. M. R., July 6, 1613.
244. Mitchell, Thomas [m. No. 399], [fr. Cambridge] G. J., 30, 143, 146, 152, 159; A. M. R., April 15, 1606.
245. Morris, Margaret [of Smyth's company] E., 252.
246. Morrison, George [deceased before 1603] A. M. R., Nov. 15, 1603.
247. Mortlock, Richard [fr. Harwich], [m. Jane Thomson and Alice Dardin] [*] A. M. R., Sept. 15, 1611; July 6, 1613.
248. Mott, Henry [m. No. 267] [*] A. M. R., June 6, 1615.
249. Moyes, Timothy [fr. Penshurst, Kent], [m. No. 243] [*] A. M. R., July 6, 1613.
250. Murton, Jane [Hodgkin], [fr. Worksop], [wife of No. 251] [*] E., 222; A. M. R., Aug. 23, 1608.
251. Murton, John [of Smyth's company, and then a Baptist preacher] [*] E., 210; A. M. R., Aug. 23, 1608.
252. Neville, Jarvase [one of Smyth's company] E., 244; P. S., 56, etc.
253. Newman, Dorothy [Barret], [fr. Derby], [m. No. 254] A. M. R., Nov. 29, 1608.
254. Newman, Robert [husband of No. 253] Ibid.
255. Nicholas, John P. S., 27, 28; G. J., 32, 166, 173, 198; W. D., 13.
256. Norris, Elizabeth [m. No. 122] A. M. R., April 19, 1614.
257. Oakland, Dorothea [one of Smyth's company] E., 252.
258. Odell, Thomas [of the ancient church, and "apostated" to Smyth] G. J., 194; E., 222.
259. Offwood, Stephen [wrote against De la Cluse, etc.] Still., 48.
260. Ore, R [of the ancient church, and "apostated"] G. J., 120.
261. Osborne, Frances [fr. Berkshire], [m. No. 262] A. M. R., June 2, 1607.
262. Osborne, John [fr. Worcestershire], [m. No. 261] [*] Ibid.
263. Overton, Richard [wrote a creed, and a book] E., 256.
264. Paget, John [pastor Eng. Reformed ch.] E., 218; P. S., 5, and passim.
265. Paine, John [witness at a marriage] A. M. R., June 6, 1615.

266. Paine, Roger [fr. London] [*] . . . A. M. R., Nov. 11, 1606.
 267. Paine, Sarah [m. No. 248] . . . A. M. R., June 6, 1615.
 268. Palmson, Jonas [fr. Hull] . . . P., Jan. 20, 1591.
 269. Paris, Anna [wid. of Richard], [m. Thomas Giles] . . . A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1606.
 270. Paris, Richard [of the ancient church] . G. J., 32, 127, 152.
 271. Paris, Sarah [fr. London], [m. No. 189] A. M. R., April 7, 1612.
 272. Parker, Robert . . . P. S., 68-70.
 273. Parsons, Alexander [of Smyth's company] . . . E., 252.
 274. Parsons, Alice [of Smyth's company] . E., 245.
 275. Paynter, Ellen [of Smyth's company] . E., 245.
 276. Pecksall, "Prophet" . . . P. S., 6.
 277. Pecksall, Edward [fr. Worthing, Sussex,] [m. Justina Cox] . . . A. M. R., Nov. 19, 1611.
 278. Pedder "one" [an Anabaptist] . . . P. S., 56.
 279. Penry, Deliverance [dau. of John], [m. No. 413] [*] . . . G. J., 130, 131, 136, 142;
 A. M. R., May 14, 1611.
 280. Penrose, William [fr. Devon], [m. No. 337] [*] . . . A. M. R., Jan. 29, 1611.
 281. Perkins, Mary [fr. London], [m. No. 91] [*] . . . A. M. R., April 23, 1611.
 282. Perkins, Thomas [father of No. 281] . . . A. M. R., April 23, 1611;
 June 29, 1613.
 283. Perriman, Philip [of the ancient church] G. J., 6, 32.
 284. Phelps, John [of the ancient church] . G. J., 32, 159, 164.
 285. Philip, Robert [of Eng. Reformed Church] E. R. C. R., Feb. 16, 1628.
 286. Phillips, Edward [fr. Bedfordshire], [m. No. 181] . . . A. M. R., July 13, 1613.
 287. Pickering, Margaret [m. Thomas Cox, fr. Chichester] . . . A. M. R., Sept. 19, 1609.
 288. Pigott, Alexander [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 252.
 289. Pigott, Alice [one of Smyth's company] . E., 245.
 290. Pigott, Elizabeth [fr. Hexham], [m. No. 25] A. M. R., Oct. 23, 1610.
 291. Pigott, Francis [one of Smyth's company], [m. No. 368] . . . E., 244; A. M. R., Aug. 30, 1608.
 292. Pigott, Hannah [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 252.
 293. Pigott, Margaret [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 245, 252.
 294. Pigott, Matthew [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 244, 252.
 295. Pigott, Thomas [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 244, 252.
 296. Pigott, William [one of Smyth's company] . . . E., 210.

297. Pinnoek, Helena [of the Eng. Reformed Church], [wife of No. 298] E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
298. Pinnoek, William [of Eng. Reformed Church] Ibid.
299. Plater, Joane [wife of No. 300] Ibid.
300. Plater, Richard [of English Reformed Church] Ibid.
301. Porter, Catharine [fr. London], [No. 125], [wife of No. 302] A. M. R., Aug. 14, 1604.
302. Porter, Thomas [fr. London], [husband of No. 301] [*] Ibid.
303. Pot, Thomas [pastor of Eng. Reformed Church, 1617-1636] Steven, 279.
304. Powell, Thomas W. D., 15; J., 54, etc.
305. Pratt, Abraham [fr. London], [m. Jane Charter, fr. Salisbury] [*] A. M. R., April 14, 1612.
306. Pratt, Jane [wife of No. 305] [*] Ibid.
307. Preston, David [fr. London], [m. No. 404] [*] A. M. R., Aug. 19, 1606.
308. Preston, Jane [Watts], [fr. London], [wife of No. 307] Ibid.
309. Pring, T. G. J., 152.
310. Pulberie, Abraham [of the ancient ch.] G. J., 152, 173; P. S., 31.
311. Fuller, Henry [separated from Eng. Reformed Church, but came back] E. R. C. R., 1636, 1637.
312. "P. G." P. S., 25; F., 30.
313. "P. M." W. D., 18.
314. Reules, "Widow" G. J., 137.
315. Richardson, Frances [Yarborough], [wife of No. 89 and No. 316] [*] A. M. R., March 24, 1601; Jan. 15, 1605.
316. Richardson, William [fr. London], [m. No. 315] [*] A. M. R., Jan. 15, 1605.
317. Richmond, Jane [fr. Hilperton, Wiltshire], [m. No. 112] A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1600.
318. Roberts, John [fr. Nottinghamshire], [m. No. 319] A. M. R., Oct. 13, 1616.
319. Roberts, Mary [Thomas], [fr. London], [m. No. 318] [*] Ibid.
320. Robinson, John [pastor Scrooby-Leyden church] Passim.
321. Rockwood [Record ?], Henry [fr. Sandwich], [m. No. 322] [*] A. M. R., Feb. 14, 1615.
322. Rockwood, Sarah [Jones], [fr. London], [wife of No. 321] Ibid.
323. Rogerson, Joane [wife of No. 324] E. R. C. R., June 9, 1625.
324. Rogerson, Richard [husband of No. 323], members of Eng. Reformed Church] Ibid.
325. Romiland, Edward [member of Eng. Reformed Church] E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.

326. Romiland, Mary [wife of No. 325] . . . E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
 327. "R. R." . . . W. D., 24.
 328. Salisbury, Anna [Anson], [fr. Cirencester], [m. No. 194] . . . A. M. R., April 23, 1613.
 329. Salisbury, Elizabeth [Sharp], [fr. Notts], [m. No. 330] . . . A. M. R., Sept. 22, 1612.
 330. Salisbury, Thomas [fr. London], [m. No. 329] . . . Ibid.
 331. Salisbury, William [first husband of No. 328; dead before 1613] . . . A. M. R., April 23, 1613.
 332. Sanders, Clement . . . P. S. (title); W. D., 21.
 333. Sanders, "Mat" . . . P. S., 57.
 334. Sanders, Susanna [m. No. 31] . . . A. M. R., Jan. 12, 1608.
 335. Sanford, Thomas [fr. London], [m. No. 426] [*] . . . A. M. R., Nov. 12, 1616.
 336. Seamer, Thomas [of Smyth's company] . . . E., 210.
 337. Sharp, Anna [fr. Bedfordshire], [m. No. 280] . . . A. M. R., Jan. 29, 1611.
 338. Sharp, Elizabeth [fr. Notts], [m. No. 330] . . . A. M. R., Sept. 22, 1612.
 339. Shays, Anna [Trevirayd?], [fr. Berkshire], [m. No. 340] . . . A. M. R., July 28, 1607.
 340. Shays, Edward [fr. Suffolk], [m. No. 339] . . . Ibid.
 341. Shepheard, William [of ancient church] . . . G. J., 32, 159.
 342. Shurtleff, Anna [Thomas], [m. No. 343] . . . A. M. R., Jan. 14, 1617.
 343. Shurtleff, Charles [fr. Salisbury], [m. No. 342] [*] . . . Ibid.
 344. Simkins, Christopher . . . G. J., 41.
 345. Simon, Ann [fr. Chichester], [m. No. 346] . . . A. M. R., Sept. 5, 1606.
 346. Simon, John [fr. Boston, Lincolnshire?], [m. No. 345] [*] . . . Ibid.
 347. Simons, Comfort [member of Eng. Reformed Church] . . . E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
 348. Simons, Persisto [wife of No. 347] . . . Ibid.
 349. Simson, W. . . . P. S., 58.
 350. Slade, M. [Elder of ancient church, teacher of school, etc.] . . . G. J., 28, 116, 120, 129, 142, 144, 151, 162, 184, 213; W. D., 14, 19.
 351. Sley, Margaret [fr. Ilperton, Wiltshire], [m. No. 209] . . . A. M. R., Aug. 18, 1601.
 352. Smith, Anna [Colman], [fr. Woolsthorp, Lincolnshire], [m. No. 353] [*] . . . A. M. R., Aug. 2, 1610.
 353. Smith, Walter [fr. Bury], [m. No. 352] [*] . . . Ibid.
 354. Smith, "Mistress" . . . B., 30.
 355. Smyth, Barbara [fr. Southampton], [m. No. 359] [*] . . . A. M. R., June 1, 1612.

356. Smyth, Elizabeth [fr. Cambridge], [m. No. 140] A. M. R., April 4, 1612.
357. Smyth, John [pastor of the Gainsborough Co.] Passim.
358. Smyth, Mary [wife of No. 357] E., 244, 252.
359. Smyth, Oliver [fr. Southampton], [m. No. 355] [*] A. M. R., June 1, 1612.
360. Southworth, Jane [one of Smyth's company] E., 244.
361. Southworth, "Mr." Clyfton's "Plea," 4.
362. Staresmore, Sabin [printed notes of Ainsworth's last sermon] Han. i. 292, 449, 450, etc.
363. Staveley, Margaret [one of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
364. Staveley, Robert [one of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
365. Stevens, John [fr. Wiltshire], [m. No. 218] [*] A. M. R., April 12, 1603.
366. Stevens, Margaret [Kennel], [m. No. 365] Ibid.
367. Stevenson, John [witness at a marriage], [fr. Bradford] A. M. R., Dec. 16, 1600.
368. Struts, Margaret [fr. Bedford], [m. No. 291] A. M. R., Aug. 30, 1608.
369. Studley, Daniel [Elder of ancient church] P. S. & G. J., passim.
370. Studley, Mrs. D. G. J., 143; P. S., 22, 23.
371. Studley, Miss [daughter of Nos. 369, 370] P. S., 15, 22, 27; G. J., 193.
372. Studley, D. [a son-in-law to] G. J., 22.
373. Sylvester, Giles [m. No. 374] [*] A. M. R., July 6, 1613.
374. Sylvester, Mary [Arnold], [No. 22], [fr. Leicester], [m. No. 373] [*] Ibid.
375. "Sh. I." Paget Ar., etc., p. 7.
376. Tattam, Joseph [fr. Leicestershire] [*] G. J., 32; A. M. R., Sept. 29, 1601.
377. Tattam, Juliana [Williams], [fr. London], [wife of No. 376] A. M. R., Sept. 29, 1601.
378. Taylor, Elizabeth [widow of No. 379], [m. No. 70] A. M. R., Sept. 16, 1600.
379. Taylor, Francis [first husband of No. 378, dead before 1600] Ibid.
380. Thatcher, Anthony [member of ancient church] G. J., 63, 152.
381. Thatcher, Martin [brother of No. 380] G. J., 63.
382. Thomas, Anna [fr. Warminster, Wilts], [m. No. 409] A. M. R., April 28, 1601.
383. Thomas, Anna [fr. Ipswich], [m. No. 343] A. M. R., Jan. 14, 1617.
384. Thomas, John [fr. London], [m. Aaltje Bockel] A. M. R., May 7, 1605.
385. Thomas, Mary [fr. Frome, Somerset], [m. No. 151] A. M. R., Oct. 22, 1605.

386. Thomas, Mary [fr. London], [m. No. 313] [*] A. M. R., Oct. 13, 1616.
 387. Thomassen, Anthony [an Anabaptist] E., 222.
 388. Thomassen, Elizabeth [an Anabaptist], [wife of No. 387] E., 222.
 389. Thomson, Dorothy [of Smyth's company], [fr. Hexham] E., 252; A. M. R., July 14, 1612.
 390. Thomson, Isabel [of Smyth's company] E., 244, 252.
 391. Thomson, Jane [fr. Ingatestone, Essex], [m. No. 247] A. M. R., Sept. 15, 1611.
 392. Thomson, Solomon [of Smyth's company] [*] E., 252; A. M. R., July 14, 1612.
 393. Tolwine, Edward ["y^e ancientest" of the ancient church] P. S., 16, 18, 19.
 394. Trafford, Anthony [fr. London] [*] A. M. R., Aug. 15, 1609.
 395. Trafford, Elizabeth [fr. Tenbury, Worcestershire], [Jones], [wife of No. 394] Ibid.
 396. Trappes, John P. S., 30, 82.
 397. Upton, Ellen P. S., 16.
 398. Urchin, Christopher [first husband of No. 399, dead before 1606] A. M. R., April 15, 1606.
 399. Urchin, Margaret [Williams], [m. No. 244] Ibid.
 400. Walden, William [fr. Gosport, Hants?], [m. No. 402] A. M. R., Aug. 29, 1615.
 401. Walker, Edward [father of No. 402] Ibid.
 402. Walker, Ruth [fr. Market-Overton, Rutlandshire], [m. No. 400] Ibid.
 403. Waterer, Roger [a messenger between London and Amsterdam] G. J., 119.
 404. Watts, Jane [Smyth], [survived No. 405, and m. No. 307] A. M. R., Aug. 19, 1606.
 405. Watts, Richard [first husband of No. 404, and dead before 1606] Ibid.
 406. Watts, Samuel P. S., 68.
 407. Webb, Edmund [fr. Berkshire], [m. No. 124] [*] A. M. R., Sept. 1, 1607.
 408. Wheateley, Anna [Thomas], [w. of No. 409] A. M. R., April 28, 1601.
 409. Wheateley, John [fr. Westbury, Wiltshire], [m. No. 408] Ibid.; G. J., 152.
 410. Wheler, J. [of the ancient church] G. J., 152.
 411. Whitaker, Anna [mother of No. 89] A. M. R., March 24, 1601.
 412. Whitaker, Geoffrey P. S., 19, 20, 30.
 413. Whitaker, Samuel [fr. Somersetshire], [m. No. 279] [*] A. M. R., May 14, 1611.
 414. White, Elizabeth [one of Smyth's company] E., 252.

415. White, Rose [wife of No. 417] [*] . . . P. S., 29; A. M. R., April 10, 1604.
416. White, Samuel [published "Orthodox Foundation," etc., 1641]
417. White, Thomas [had a small company from the West of England with him] [*] . . . P. S., 27, 28, 30, 31, 71, 72, 81, 82; W. D., 25; J., 54.
418. Whitehead, John [of Eng. Reformed Church] E. R. C. R., Aug. 18, 1621.
419. Williams, Alice [wife of No. 421] . . . A. M. R., Feb. 21, 1604.
420. Williams, Delia [fr. London], [wife of No. 427] A. M. R., June 30, 1607.
421. Williams, Edward [fr. Barrington], [m. No. 419] A. M. R., Feb. 21, 1604.
422. Williams, Elizabeth [fr. Essex], [m. No. 437] A. M. R., April 28, 1601.
423. Williams, John [fr. Retford], [m. Margery Dale, fr. Launde] A. M. R., Dec. 10, 1608.
424. Williams, Magdalena [mother of No. 426] A. M. R., Nov. 12, 1616.
425. Williams, Margery [wife of No. 423] . . . A. M. R., Dec. 10, 1608.
426. Williams, Mary [dau. of No. 424, and m. No. 335] A. M. R., Nov. 12, 1616.
427. Williams, William [fr. Bedfordshire], [m. No. 420] [*] A. M. R., June 30, 1607.
428. Willis, Anna [widow of No. 429, and m. No. 216] A. M. R., Aug. 31, 1613.
429. Willis, Simon [first husband of No. 428, and dead before 1613] Ibid.
430. Willoughby, Margery [fr. Fowey, Corn. ?], [m. No. 150] A. M. R., July 13, 1613.
431. Wilson, Thomas [fr. Bevercoates, Nottinghamshire] [*], [m. Jenneke Marissen] . . . A. M. R., Nov. 15, 1603.
432. Wright, Benjamin [fr. London], [m. No. 231] [*] A. M. R., Dec. 11, 1599.
433. "W. R." W. D., 15.
434. "W. M." J., 53.
435. Yarborough, Frances [widow of No. 436; m. No. 316] [*] A. M. R., March 24, 1601.
436. Yarborough, Frederick [first husband of No. 435, dead before 1605] A. M. R., Jan. 15, 1605.
437. Zetwell, Jarvis [fr. Nottinghamshire], [m. No. 422] A. M. R., April 28, 1601.

The following names of parties sworn in and entered on the roll of citizens of Amsterdam have come to my knowledge since the foregoing were sent to the printer:—

438. Andrews, John [fr. Scotland] P., Mar. 23, 1600.
439. Barrett, Bartholomew [fr. York] Ibid., Sept. 4, 1599.

440. Bland, James [fr. York] P., Aug. 8, 1602.
 441. Champneys, George [fr. England] . . . Ibid., Jan. 12, 1603.
 442. Chaucer, Richard [fr. London] . . . Ibid., April 20, 1602.
 443. Coolidge, William Ibid., April 10, 1601.
 444. Georges, John [fr. England] Ibid., July 7, 1592.
 445. Hatmercer [Hatmer?], Hans [fr. Berkshire], [m. No. 34] A. M. R., June 29, 1602.
 446. Holder, William [fr. England]. [See No. 170] P., July 18, 1596.
 447. Jacobs, Ralph [fr. London] Ibid., Aug. 27, 1593.
 448. Killingworth, Robert [fr. England] . . Ibid., July 4, 1601.
 449. Leonard, John [fr. Scotland] Ibid., Jan. 24, 1600.
 450. Major, Joshua [fr. London] Ibid., July 26, 1602.
 451. Peters, Leonard [fr. England] Ibid., Oct. 26, 1595.
 452. Porter, Thomas [fr. England] Ibid., Jan. 28, 1603.
 453. Smith, Jacob [fr. England] Ibid., Sept. 20, 1597.
 454. Stephens, John [fr. England] Ibid., Feb. 27, 1595.
 455. Williams, John [fr. London] Ibid., April 26, 1594.
 456. Williams, William [fr. London] . . . Ibid., Jan. 16, 1603.
 457. Winsor, William [fr. England] . . . Ibid., Nov. 14, 1597.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP presented a large framed photograph of a proposed monument to the Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, the Apostle to the Indians, and said : —

While I was in New York, on my way home, a few weeks ago, I visited the studio of Mr. John Rogers, the sculptor, and saw the noble monument of the Apostle Eliot, of which he has recently completed the design. It seemed to me an admirable work, and one especially interesting to all Massachusetts and New England people. At my suggestion, Mr. Rogers kindly placed at my disposal a large framed photograph of the monument, from the full-sized model, for presentation to this Society, and I have brought it here for that purpose. The life and labors of John Eliot are too familiar to us all to require any rehearsal. As the pioneer in the attempt to civilize and Christianize the Indians, and as the author of that wonderful translation of the whole Bible into the Indian language, he must ever hold a unique place in our earliest Colonial history ; and his example as a devoted, self-sacrificing Christian philanthropist can never fail to be admired and revered.

Most of our memorials and monuments have not unnaturally of late been assigned to those who have died in war, but there would be something of peculiar beauty in recalling to

the public mind that peace, too, has had its heroes. The photographic group tells its own story so perfectly that I will add nothing except the expression of a hope that the work may commend itself to our Art Commission and our community, and that the monument may soon be ordered for some appropriate place in our city or its environs. Mr. Rogers, the artist, is a native of Massachusetts. He has executed one or two large works, and particularly the equestrian statue of General Reynolds in Philadelphia. But he is well known throughout the country by his statuette groups, of which not less than eighty thousand are said to have been sold. His long residence in Roxbury, where Eliot was the pastor for so many years, rendered him familiar with all the old traditions of the Apostle to the Indians, and prompted his selection of the subject. The monument would seem to be peculiarly appropriate for Roxbury, — now a part of Boston. It could not be otherwise than appropriate in any part of Massachusetts or New England.

Mr. Winthrop was thereupon requested to communicate to Mr. Rogers, the artist, the Society's grateful acceptance of his gift.

The PRESIDENT then spoke of some erroneous statements which had been made with regard to the burial-place of Mr. Eliot, and said that the entry in Sewall's diary was conclusive on that point.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN inquired if any member knew of the existence of any manuscript sermons in the Indian language.

The PRESIDENT then gave some interesting reminiscences of two visits which he had made to New York with Ex-President John Quincy Adams.

Rev. Dr. ANDREW P. PEABODY spoke of a portrait of our late associate Mr. George Livermore, in a volume which was shortly to be published by the City of Cambridge.

Incidentally remarks were also made by Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG, Rev. Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER, Hon. GEORGE S. HALE, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, and Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE; the latter of whom made some inquiries in regard to the authenticity of the letter purporting to have been written by Richard Saltonstall.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1890.

THE first meeting after the summer vacation was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the June meeting and of the names of the donors to the Library, the Cabinet-keeper exhibited a bearer's mourning-ring given at the funeral of Gov. William Burnet, in September, 1729, which had been presented to the Cabinet by Miss Chandler, of Lexington, a lineal descendant of Samuel Chandler, the representative of Concord in the General Court in that year.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

Our long vacation has closed, and we resume our meetings. It may be that the word *vacation*, with what it covers and suggests, may at some time furnish the subject of an interesting historical paper. For the word and the thing have a history, and like so many other things in our days, an evolution, a development. Our venerated associate, the late Dr. J. E. Worcester, was satisfied to define the word in his Standard Dictionary as meaning an intermission in the task-work of schools, colleges, and academies. The oldest of us here, when we were young, knew no other meaning for the word. The new edition of Webster, the so-called International Dictionary, just issued, recognizes the modern extension of the term, and puts that definition before its academic usage. The word now covers so broad a compass as to include a relief from work and duty of whole classes of grown persons whose offices and responsibilities were long regarded as not admitting of any intermission. But even as now used, the word marks a sharp distinction between those who may enjoy a free vacation and those who must provide substitutes when they are relieved. For more than three quarters of the century of existence of our Society, the members, constant and regardless of summer heats and diversions, maintained their monthly meetings. It was in the summer of 1874 that, except during

the reconstruction of our building, we first skipped July and August, and ten years after that, in 1884, we obliterated September also.

We have occasionally been favored at our meetings with the presence of Dr. George H. Moore, of the Lenox Library, New York, for half a century the most laborious and efficient of the officers of the New York Historical Society, and one of our Corresponding Members. We know what to expect when he rises here to read one of his vigorous papers. We know only through the press of some other of his productions which have brought our State and some incidents and actors in our history under his keen criticisms. We are familiar with the penetrating research with which he unearths buried secrets, and with the strength of championship which he gives to the rectification of accepted historic narrations. A recently published pamphlet of his, substantially founded on a lecture delivered by him before the New York Historical Society, shows the strongest and best characteristics of his method of elucidating and correcting some confused and mistaken statements in personal and general narratives. The matter to which I am to refer is one, not of local, but of national interest. It is in its whole import a vindication of the full and wise and ardent patriotism, in the period of our Revolution, of John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. We all know how the estimate of his character and course of action was clouded and qualified by some of his patriot contemporaries and peers, like John Adams, and that the same shade and qualification have accompanied his repute in some of our digested histories. Dr. Moore's special aim is to assert for Dickinson — what has been boldly challenged — that he was the sole author of that able and noble State paper prepared at the request of, and accepted by, the Congress of 1775, being "A Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of their Taking up Arms." Incidentally, in his pamphlet Dr. Moore gives us a summary sketch of the career and service of Dickinson in our annals; but this is illustrative of, and subsidiary to, his main purpose of reclaiming for the wise and discreet patriot the unshared authorship of that cogent manifesto. The facts to be recognized are, that Dickinson did not approve or vote for the Declaration of Independence by the Congress, in July, 1776; that he was dropped by his constituency as a delegate to the next Con-

gress ; that his name does not appear among the signatures to the Declaration of August 2 ; and that he did not recover his place in Congress till 1779. These facts are alleged as qualifying his full and earnest patriotism. Let us take note of them.

John Dickinson came of an honored lineage, family, and parentage. He was highly educated, and after graduating at the College of New Jersey, he studied for three years in the Temple, London. His name is borne by the college which he founded. He entered upon successful and lucrative law practice on his return home. By birth, marriage, and burial, he was of the Society of Friends. He wore their garb, and used their grammar and dialect. He was in the full vigor of manhood when he became a delegate from Pennsylvania to the first Congress, in 1774. Studying his whole character and career, we readily discern that, like many other conspicuous, able, and eminent men in crises of enthusiastic and popular commotion, the very qualities of distinction and superiority above some of his associates which led him sagaciously to deliberation and forecast, were judged by them to be hesitancy and half-heartedness. John Adams charged Dickinson with "timidity." In the full light of truth his patriotism was courageous and wise, entire in self-devotion, discreet, inciting and helpful to others, and most valuable to his struggling country. His calm and deep solidity of mind, his wise deliberation, his prudential regard for opportunity and circumstance, gave him an advantage over some of his fervid and enthusiastic associates. These, his finest characteristics, found from some so inadequate an appreciation as to lead to misjudgment and even distrust of him. But his course and influence were steady and consistent. More than ten years before the Congress he had written an able and earnest protest on the aggressive action of Government toward the Colonies, besides his famous "Farmer's Letters," in which he denied the right of Parliament to tax unrepresented Colonies. Friend though he was, he wrote in 1768 a rollicking "Song for American Freedom," popular and inspiring. He wrote for Congress the two Petitions to the King, respectful, but sinewy and muscular in their tenor.

He did not approve or vote for the Declaration of Independence. And why? Simply and solely, as he afterwards explained in most frank and manly argument, because, as he

said, it was, with reference to time and circumstance, *inopportune*, and therefore, for the time, *impolitic*. Purity and sagacity, as well as patriotism, appear in the reasons that had weight with him for constraint and pause. But the Declaration having passed, he gave it his entire, earnest, and still deliberate approval, steadfast and unwavering. Yet the formal document of August 2 does not bear his signature. And why? The reason was, — and it was more consistent with his patriotic zeal than with his profession and principles as a Friend, — instead of being in his place in Congress, he was actually in command of his regiment at Elizabeth, New Jersey, to resist an expected attack from the enemy in New York. After being restored to Congress, he was elected successively as President of the States of Delaware and Pennsylvania. As a candidate for the latter high office in 1782, when he had bitter opponents, he wrote to the printers of Philadelphia asking them to publish everything that was offered against him, but not a word in his favor. After his triumphant election, he published in a paper, almost unique in the manliness and cogency of its argument, the reasons of his sole objection to the Declaration of Independence as at the time inopportune. Yet he frankly admitted the right and authority of Congress to issue the Declaration, and the justice of it.

To return now to the special matter of Dickinson's sole authorship of the "Declaration of the Reasons for Taking up Arms." His immediate contemporaries had recognized him as its writer. In a collection of his works which he published in 1801, this paper was included. But there are contingent risks in such matters. In 1804 appeared the first two volumes of Judge Marshall's *Life of Washington*. Dickinson's name is on the printed list of subscribers to the work. Having included in his own collection, published three years previously, both the petitions to the King, he read, to his amazement and mortification, the words of Marshall, that "the first petition to the King was generally attributed to Mr. Lee." Dickinson wrote to the Judge, sharply complaining of this reflection on him as having in print claimed what was not his. The Judge, in promptly correcting his error in his fourth volume, added that Dickinson's paper was in fact substituted by Congress for one written by Lee, which was not satisfactory. Of course, Dickinson's plea to the Judge covered also his authorship of

the "Declaration," etc. Dickinson had been in his grave nearly a quarter of a century, when, in 1829, the works of Jefferson were published from his manuscripts by his nephew Randolph. Among these manuscripts were certain *memoranda* which, under the date of Jan. 6, 1821, Jefferson sets down when, as he writes, he was seventy-seven years of age. It is well known how many of his statements have been challenged as incorrect, his errors being explained or palliated as of an old man's memory. Jefferson writes that on June 24, a Committee of Congress brought in a report drawn, he believed, by J. Rutledge, of a Declaration of the Causes of Taking up Arms. The report being unsatisfactory, it was re-committed by the House, himself and Dickinson being added to the Committee. He proceeds: "I prepared a draft of the Declaration committed to us. It was too strong for Mr. Dickinson. He still retained the hope of reconciliation with the mother-country, and was unwilling it should be lessened by offensive statements. He was so honest a man and so able a one, that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples. We therefore requested him to take the paper and put it into a form he could approve. He did so, preparing an entire new statement, and preserving of the former only the last four paragraphs and half of the preceding one. We approved and reported it to Congress, who accepted it." Thus far Mr. Jefferson claims as his a certain portion of the "Declaration" which Dickinson published as from his own pen. It was but natural, therefore, that Jefferson's admiring biographer in 1837, Mr. Tucker, should quote that part of the Declaration which Jefferson had claimed, with the added compliment that it was the most effective part of it. The next biographer of Jefferson, Mr. Randall, extolling the power and popularity of the Declaration, and noting the rapture with which it was read in pulpits, market-places, and camps, adds: "It will not probably be denied that this celebrated production owed most of its popularity to the last four paragraphs and half of the preceding one. It would have been a very ordinary affair without these. This was the only part the admiring historians quoted." Randall extols the humility with which Jefferson quietly "suffered all the reputation of it to rest with Mr. Dickinson." Mr. Parton's enthusiasm carries him even farther. Even Mr. Bancroft accepts, without crit-

icism, the reiterated statements founded on Jefferson's old man's memoranda.

And now Dr. Moore, with the boldness of full assurance, writes: "I will defend, against all comers, the absolute, sole, and undivided right of John Dickinson, to that 'imperishable trophy of his pen,' the original draft of which in his own handwriting I hold in my hand." Dickinson had published the whole paper as his own composition. Jefferson claimed to have written a portion of it, and his biographers have pronounced that the most effective part of it. Following Dr. Moore, we read that when, some fifty years ago, he began his diligent and faithful labors as an officer of the New York Historical Society, his attention had been only cursorily drawn to a mass of miscellaneous papers slumbering in the crowded cabinet of the Society. On his later examination of them, a manuscript drew his notice, which proved to be that of the famous "Declaration." Furnished with many of the most important autograph papers of Dickinson, by his grandson, the late Dr. John Dickinson Logan of Baltimore, Dr. Moore fully identified the patriotic document, and triumphantly affirms: "The original manuscript draft proves that the author of any part was the author of every part,—that there was but one hand in the work, and that the hand of John Dickinson." That his readers may share the grounds of his confidence, he has had a full and faithful fac-simile of the manuscript, which is in two folio sheets, reproduced by Bierstadt. The only plea that might be advanced, to the effect that Dickinson might have had in his hands the manuscript of the report which Jefferson says he wrote, and might have simply copied on his own paper that portion which Jefferson claimed was retained as his own,—is precluded by the visible fact, that that portion, like all the rest of the document, shows the process of original composition and construction by the writer, with many corrections, additions, interlineations, and revisions. The last four paragraphs and a half are not a copy from anything, but faithfully wrought, assiduously studied, and frequently varied and amended. The whole of the manuscript—the portion of it under question not the least so—bears all the marks of a process of careful selection of words and construction of sentences, and the substitution of preferred terms which show an original as distinct from a copied document. *Sum Cuique* is Dr. Moore's motto.

The Hon. MELLE CHAMBERLAIN expressed his concurrence with all that had been said in praise of Mr. Dickinson, and spoke briefly of his services as a member of the Congress of 1765, remarking that the Resolutions of that Congress written by him contained the best exposition of the Constitutional Rights of the Colonies ever drawn up.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then spoke as follows : —

I present to our Library this afternoon a volume recently published in Cincinnati, entitled "Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler, prepared from his Journals and Correspondence by his daughter, Julia Perkins Cutler, with Biographical Sketches of Jervis Cutler and William Parker Cutler."

Ephraim Cutler, the principal subject of the volume, was a son of MANASSEH CUTLER, whose career and character have been recently portrayed in two most interesting and valuable volumes which are in our library, and with which we all are, or ought to be, familiar. The present volume can hardly be named in comparison with those ; but it contains much supplementary information, both about the family of which Manasseh was the head, and about the State of Ohio, which he was so instrumental in founding.

In turning over the pages of this new volume cursorily, — for I do not pretend to have read it carefully, — I have been attracted by its references to two men, long since dead, with whom I was intimately associated in Congress, and for whom I formed a high regard and respect.

One of them was JEREMIAH MORROW, who represented the "Highland, Clinton, and Warren" Congressional District of Ohio in 1841. He was born at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, — then a little village, more recently a celebrated battle-field, — in 1771, and was, of course, nearly forty years older than myself. He had been a member of the Northwestern Territorial Legislature in 1801, and of the Ohio Constitutional Convention in 1802. He was the first member of Congress from Ohio, and continued a member from 1803 to 1813. He was a Senator of the United States from Ohio from 1813 to 1819, and Governor of Ohio from 1822 to 1826. He had now, at seventy years of age, consented to be returned as a Representative in the twenty-seventh Congress, — the Congress which was called together for a special session by his friend,

President William Henry Harrison, but which, alas! his friend William Henry Harrison did not live to see assembled. It was a midsummer session, beginning in the last week of May, and not ending, if I rightly remember, until about the 13th of September. There was intense heat; but that was the least of our troubles. It was the session of bank acts, and bankrupt acts, and bills for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, when Congress was almost daily brought into controversy and collision with President Tyler, when veto followed veto in quick succession, and when cabinets and even parties were broken up.

In those days members of Congress had no salaries, — a pitiful *per diem* of eight dollars during the continuance of the session was their allowance; and of course they could not afford to build or hire fine houses to dwell in. They lived in what were called “messes,” — small parties clubbing together in boarding-houses. It was in such a mess that I formed the acquaintance and friendship of Jeremiah Morrow. We were seven: two Senators, — John Leeds Kerr, of Maryland, and Oliver H. Smith, of Indiana, — and five Representatives, — David Wallace, of Indiana; Isaac D. Jones, of Maryland; Jeremiah Morrow, of Ohio; Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; and myself. I recall them all with warm regard; Oliver H. Smith with something higher than regard; Leverett Saltonstall with respect and affection; Jeremiah Morrow almost with veneration. He was older even than his years; but he bore the burden and heat of that trying session with more patience than any of us. He was an example to us all, and had wisdom and experience enough in public affairs to instruct a whole Congress. Amid all the excitements and provocations of that memorable session he remained calm and collected, discharging his duties as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands with untiring diligence, while in the private associations of our little mess he was a genial and most instructive companion. I was most glad to be reminded, in some of the pages of this Cutler volume, of kind old Jeremiah Morrow, whom I never saw again after the twenty-seventh Congress ended, and who died early in 1852.

The other old associate in Congress to whom I have found repeated references in this new Cutler volume, is one whom I knew much longer and more intimately. He was a native of

Massachusetts, and I am glad of an opportunity to speak of him to a Massachusetts Historical Society. I refer to SAMUEL FINLEY VINTON, who was so distinguished a member of Congress for a great many years from the State of Ohio. He was born in South Hadley, in our old county of Hampshire, on the 25th of September, 1792, and was graduated at Williams College in 1814. Having pursued the study of law, he was admitted to the bar in 1816, and soon afterwards removed to Gallipolis in Ohio, where he practised his profession with great success and distinction.

It was to him that Ohio owed the passage of a law authorizing and empowering her Legislature to sell the school lands which had been granted her by Congress in 1803, and which covered a full thirty-sixth part of her whole territory, and to invest the proceeds in a permanent fund of which the income should be forever applied to the support of schools. The benefits of this law have since been extended to all the new States. Mr. Vinton is thus most honorably associated with the first great measure of that national aid for education which has recently been the subject of discussion in other relations.

He was a Representative in Congress from 1823 to 1837, and again from 1843 to 1851, — twenty-two years in all. On his retirement from Congress, and after his defeat as a candidate for Governor of Ohio, at the same election and under the same circumstances with a similar defeat here in Massachusetts, which I have special reason to remember, he continued to reside at Washington in the practice of the law; and he died there in May, 1862, in the seventieth year of his age. His last public service of importance was as a member of the celebrated Peace Convention in 1861.

He was a man of eminent ability, of great political experience and wisdom, and of the highest integrity and personal excellence. He might at one time have been Secretary of the Treasury, had he been willing to accept that office. He might have been Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States in 1847, had he not positively declined the nomination. As Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the Thirtieth Congress, he rendered distinguished and invaluable service. It was my privilege to enjoy his friendship and confidence during all my congressional career. We were

in sympathy and accord, as members of the old Whig party, during that whole period of eleven or twelve years, without the slightest disagreement on any important question of public interest. Our friendship and confidential correspondence ended only with his death, when I contributed a brief notice of his character and services to I forget which one of our Boston newspapers, and of which I have no copy.

I look back with pleasure and with pride to an intimate association in Washington with not a few of the most eminent men of Ohio: with old Jeremiah Morrow, — of whom I have already spoken, — the very first Representative from that now imperial State of the West, afterwards her Governor and one of her Senators; with John McLean, so long an ornament, and more than an ornament, *decus et tutamen*, of our Supreme Bench; with Thomas Ewing, repeatedly one of her Senators, and successively Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of the Interior, one of the most acute lawyers and ablest financiers of our country; and with others of hardly less distinction, dead or living, whom I need not name. But there are none of them whom I recall with greater respect, or with a warmer or more affectionate regard, than SAMUEL FINLEY VINTON.

It may be imagined under these circumstances that it was with something stronger than astonishment that in running my eye over the pages of the first volume of Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," I found myself represented as having been chosen Speaker "over" Mr. Vinton, though he was my senior in age and in service, and as having thus occasioned "no little feeling in the West," where Mr. Vinton "was widely known and highly esteemed." And this as "a reward for my vote for the Wilmot Proviso," — as if Mr. Vinton and I had ever disagreed about that Proviso! Now, the truth is, that we never disagreed about anything, and that I was nominated and elected Speaker after he had declined the nomination on account of his age and health, and with his earnest advocacy and support.

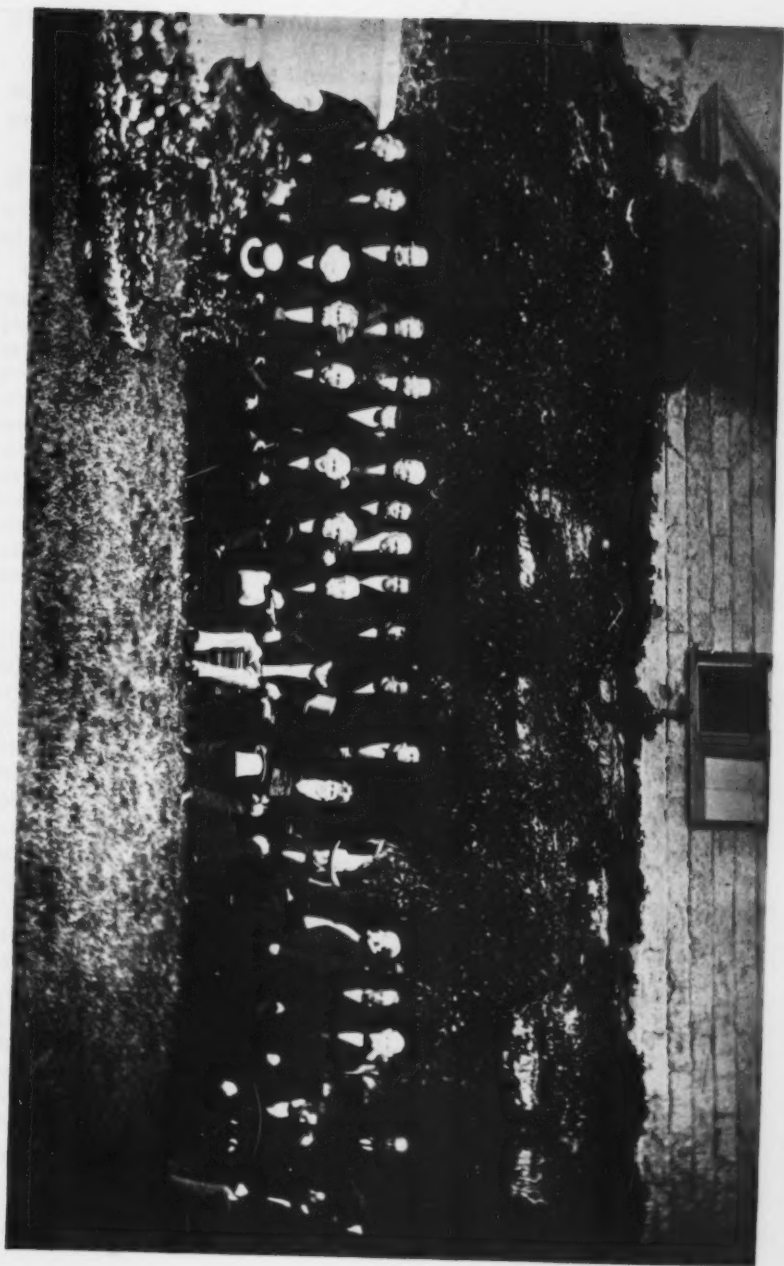
I do not refer to this matter with any view to cast reproach on Mr. Blaine's History. On the mistake being brought to his attention, he took pains to insert a brief correction in the appendix to his second volume, where it will be found at page 678. The only wonder is that there are not more mistakes

to be found in a work so hastily prepared, and covering the proceedings of Congress during many years previous to his becoming a member. His account of my election as Speaker in 1847, and of my failure to be re-elected, after sixty-three ballots, in 1849, are both extremely inaccurate, though I have not the slightest belief that they were intentionally so. Both events were long anterior to his own entrance into Congress. Of course he had no personal knowledge of the facts, and was obliged to borrow his accounts from newspapers or letter-writers' reports. His History is an able and interesting one, and I have no doubt of the general accuracy of the portion of it in which he describes the doings of Congress after he himself became a Representative from Maine, in 1863. I am glad, however, of an opportunity to place this brief correction where it will more easily be found than in the small type of an appendix to a different volume of his History from that in which the errors occurred.

I may add that a daughter of my friend Mr. Vinton, now residing at Washington, is the widow of the late Admiral Dahlgren, whose distinguished services in the War for the Union are matters of history. I have sometimes hoped that from her ready and practised pen we might have a more adequate memoir of her honored father than is now to be found.

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT said that although he had been in England many times he had not visited Chester until the last summer, and gave an account of some recent excavations in that city. Among other objects of interest discovered was a Roman column, of which he presented a photograph, showing the exact appearance of the column when the earth was first removed.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called the attention of the Society to a photographic group of the members, which was originally taken at a stated meeting held at Mr. Tudor's house, Nahant, on August 11, 1858. A full account of the meeting is given in the printed Proceedings (vol. iv. pp. 112-122), but there is no reference whatever to the fact that a picture was then taken. The manuscript records, however, mention the circumstance, as follows:—



A GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TAKEN AUGUST 11, 1898.

"In the course of the day several stereoscopic views were taken of Mr. Tudor's cottage, with the members of the Society grouped on the lawn in the foreground."

At the meeting on Feb. 11, 1864, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, at that time the President of the Society, in announcing Mr. Tudor's death and in referring to this meeting at his house, used the following language:—

"A beautiful stereoscopic picture of the mansion and grounds, with the Society assembled on the lawn, was taken before we parted. That picture has a melancholy interest for us all at this moment, reminding us how many of those whom we loved and honored most have been stricken from the roll of our living members during the few years which have intervened. Prescott, Chief-Justice Shaw, Nathan Appleton, Dr. Luther V Bell, and Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch were among those who were most prominently clustered around our departed friend on that occasion, and whom he has now followed to the grave. Their forms and features, with his own, are already beginning to fade in the pictured group; but it will be long before the memories of any of them will be effaced from our hearts." (Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 305, 306.)

The Society owns four different stereoscopic views of the group on glass, which were doubtless given soon after they were taken; but unfortunately the records do not show either when or by whom they were presented. Two of the views were taken with the camera at such a distance from the group that the figures are too small to be reproduced distinctly. Of the other two, with the camera nearer to the group, one is better than the other; and of this a photographic copy, considerably enlarged, has been made, which is, in the main, satisfactory. It represents twenty-eight persons, besides one or two very indistinct figures which cannot be identified; and of these twenty-eight, only three are now living,—namely, Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Ellis, and Dr. Wheatland. The following are the names of the members in the front line of the picture, beginning with the President and those seated nearest to him on each side: Mr. Winthrop appears, holding his white hat over the right knee; and on his right are seated in regular order Jared Sparks, Nathan Appleton, Charles Brooks, Joseph E. Worcester, and William Minot; and on his left are seated Frederick Tudor, Lemuel Shaw, William H. Prescott, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, and John H. Clifford. In the rear line,

beginning at the extreme left of the picture, stand in regular order William Newell, Richard Frothingham, George E. Ellis, Henry W. Longfellow, Ellis Ames, Thomas Aspinwall, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Thomas H. Webb, Samuel K. Lothrop, George W. Blagden, Chandler Robbins, George Livermore, Luther V Bell, Solomon Lincoln, Henry Wheatland, Emory Washburn, and Edmund H. Sears.

Two similar groups, one earlier and the other later, have been taken of the members present at meetings, and both are given in the Proceedings of the Society. The first one was originally taken on May 17, 1855, and appears as the frontispiece in the second volume; and the second, on June 10, 1869, as the frontispiece in the third volume (second series).

In the absence of Mr. JAMES M. BUGBEE, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH presented, in the name of that gentleman, some extracts from the Journal of Ebenezer Wild, to which reference was made at the June Meeting.

*The Journal of Ebenezer Wild*¹ (1776-1781), who served as Corporal, Sergeant, Ensign, and Lieutenant in the American Army of the Revolution.

[Ebenezer Wild was born (probably in Braintree, Massachusetts) in 1758, and died in Boston, Dec. 4, 1794. He enlisted as a corporal, May 12, 1775, in Capt. Lemuel Trescott's company, of Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment, and was probably in the battle of Bunker Hill. He began to keep a daily journal on the 7th of August, 1776, the date at which Captain Trescott's company began its march to Ticonderoga. In the following year he was made a Sergeant in Captain Hancock's company of Col. Joseph Vose's (First) regiment, and served in that capacity in the campaign against Burgoyne, 1777, and the campaign in New Jersey and Rhode Island, 1778. He was commissioned Ensign Jan. 1, 1780, and Lieutenant May 11, 1781, and was on active duty in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, including the arduous campaign which ended with the surrender of the British army at Yorktown.

¹ See *ante*, p. 39, for a statement in relation to the Journal of Arnold's Expedition to Quebec in 1775, published under the name of Ebenezer Wild, in the Proceedings, 2d ser. vol. ii. pp. 265-276. In the Journal here published the author wrote his name so that it appears to be "Wilds." The signature to the "Institution" of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was an original member, also appears to be "Wilds," and it is so printed in Saffell's list of "Officers Entitled to Half-Pay." But the family name was "Wild"; and Mr. C. T. Wild, the grandson now living, says that what appears to be the letter "s" was merely a flourish of the pen.

The original journal, contained in seven small books of unequal size, is in the possession of Mr. Charles Tidd Wild, of Chelsea, the grandson of the author. There is no doubt as to its genuineness. Whatever value it has is due to the fact that the writer jotted down from day to day the things that seemed to him the most important in connection with his own doings and the doings of the military bodies to which he happened to be attached. He indulges in no flourishes. His statements are generally concise and clear. He was only eighteen years of age at the time he began his journal, and having little facility in the use of a pen, he was not tempted to enlarge upon his daily experiences. There is a certain modest reticence in the daily entries which impresses one favorably as to the integrity and simplicity of the writer's character. He appears to have been a good representative of the best element in the army of the Revolution, — patriotic, courageous, truthful, — doing the thing he was set to do honestly and with singleness of purpose.

The journal gives a good idea of the routine of camp life, the punishments inflicted, and the endurance of the men in their long marches; and here and there among the entries will be found a statement of some historical value.

Many of the entries in the original journal consist merely of a statement concerning the weather, and that "nothing remarkable" occurred in camp that day. In the copy here given those entries (except where they have some relation to what precedes or follows) are omitted. In the first six books of the original most of the words are misspelled, and there is no punctuation. In this copy the spelling of ordinary words is corrected, and the matter is punctuated so as to make it easily intelligible. Wherever there is the slightest doubt as to the meaning of words or sentences, and in every instance in which the spelling is peculiar, a literal transcript has been made; and what is supposed to be the correct rendering is inclosed in brackets. No addition has been made to the original text without being so designated.]

[Book No. 1.]

Wednesday, the 7th day of August, 1776. This morning all our men were cleansed of the small pox and got ready for our march. In the afternoon we marched to Roxbury, and took up our lodging in the barracks there.

8 Aug. This morning at daylight we began our march for Ticonderoga. Marched 5 miles, and stopped in a field at Little Cambridge, to rest ourselves and to eat some victuals. After some stop there we set out and marched as far as Waltham Plains, where we stopped till 3 o'clock. Then we set out again, and we reached Concord about sundown. Our men all slept in the Metten Hose [meeting-house]. I lodged with Mr. Brown.

9 *Aug.* This morning at 6 o'clock we marched from Concord. Marched 5 miles, and stopped in Shirley [Acton] and got some breakfast. After some stop there we set out again, and reached Littleton about 3 o'clock. Our men put up in the meeting house, and cooked provisions there for the next day. The officers dined at Mr. Prentiss', and lodged there at night.

10 *Aug.* This morning at 6 o'clock we marched from Littleton. Marched 6 miles, and stopped to rest and eat some victuals [at Groton]. After stopping there till 3 o'clock, we marched again, and reached Lunenburg about sunset, and encamped there on a piece of low ground some distance from the road. Lodged in camp this night.

11 *Aug.* This morning something wet and lowering. We rested all here in camp. We were forbid going to Meetten [meeting], because the people here were afraid of the small pox; but after meeting in the afternoon the parson preached a sarmond [sermon] to the regt. One of our com'y begun to break out with the small pox here.

12 *Aug.* Last night it was very rainy all night. Something lowering this morning. We set out on our march about 7 o'clock. Left an officer and party of men to bring up the tents of the regt. We marched 5 miles, and stopped in Fitchburg to breakfast. We stopped there sometime; then set out again, and reached Ashburnham about 4 o'clock. The road began very bad here, and the weather was rainy all day; so that we were very uncomfortable, and we could not get anything for our refreshment here. We lodged in the meeting house this night.

13 *Aug.* We set out this morning at 6 o'clock. Marched as far as Winchendon, where we stopped to rest and refresh ourselves to go further; but the roads were so bad that our wagons did not come till night, so we tarried there and slept in the meeting house.

14 *Aug.* We marched this morning at 6 o'clock. Went 7 miles, and stopped to breakfast. After stopping there some time, then we marched again, and reached Fitzwilliam [N. H.], at 3 o'clock. Here the regt. put up [in] a very scattered manner for a mile and a half. Our company was in rear of the whole; and we got very good entertainment here, and got all our clothes washed. This part of the country very mountainous and not much settled. Our wagons came up here in good season. We lodged in a barn this night.

15 *Aug.* This morning early on our march. Travelled about six miles, and stopped to rest and refresh ourselves. After some stop there we marched again through a very thick pine woods, and we got into Swanzey [N. H.], about 3 or 4 o'clock. We were very wet, having had a very hard shower through the woods. Our company stopped here for the wagons to come up, & to cook some provisions which it ate about 9 o'clock at night. We set out to go to Keene to the rest of the regt. We had not gone far before we lost our way. Travelled

one mile into the woods and up a large hill. It was very dark, and bad going. We came to a house, & the man that lived there went back and put us in the right road; and we marched on for Keene, and reached there about 12 o'clk at night. Our company lodged in the school house this night.

This place is very pleasant and thick settled. The roads here are very level.

16 Aug. This morning the regt. marched about half after 5 o'clk, and we travelled as far as Surrey and stopped here to breakfast. We stopped here till 3 o'clk, then set out again on our march and reached Wallpool [Walpole, N. H.] meeting house about sunset. 4 companies put up in the meeting house, and the other 4 went to Coll^o Belouss [Col. Benjamin Bellows'] tavern, about a mile further. I got milk for supper, and lodged in the meeting house this night. The roads this way are pretty good, and this place is much settled; but there are very high mountains here.

17 Aug. This morning, lowering. We set out very early, and marched as far as Coll^o Bellowss to the rest of the regt. Here we stopped some time, and got some milk for breakfast. This Coll^o Bellowss is a very old warar [warrior], and his house stands on a small eminence, and there is an old Fort there with one 4 pounder mounted in it. After making some stop here we marched and reached Number 4 [Charlestown, N. H.] about 12 o'clk, and encamped there on a piece of low ground some distance from the sreet [street] and a little above the meeting-house. This town lieth by the side of Connecticut river, and is very thick settled. The people here are of a very disobliging make. We drew provisions here to carry us to Ticonderoga.

18 Aug. Very warm and pleasant all day. We rested here in camp. In the afternoon I went to meeting. After meeting Coll^o Phinnes [Phinney's] regt., came into town. They had no tents, but got covering in houses and barns.

19 Aug. This morning we had orders to get ready to march at 12 o'clk, but could not so soon, because we could not get all our provisions at that time. We left one of our Company in this town sick. We set out about 3 o'clk on our march. Travelled 3 miles, and crossed Connecticut river. This river is not very deep, but very rapid; and we found it very difficult crossing on account of our baggage and wagons, for we were forced to bring them over in small scows. It was near sunset when [we] got over. Here was a very large new house and some old buildings. There was a block-house that was kept last war as a garrison. We could not get entertainment here, so we set out to go further, it being after sunset when we set out. It was very bad road, up mountains and down valleys, through very thick woods, very dark and miry. Thus we travelled about 6 miles before we could

[find] any place for our lodgings. Then we stopped at a place called a tavern, and lodged in a barn, being very tired and fatigued.

20 Aug. This morning something lowering. We rested here all day, waiting for the rest of our regt. and wagons to come up, — which did not till late, and we took up our quarters here again. This place is called Springfield [Vt.]. This is New York government. This place is not much settled and very mountainous.

21 Aug. This morning we set out about 7 o'clk, travelled about 7 miles, and stopped at a hut in Weathersfield [Vt.]; and there we cooked one days provision. The roads so bad that our wagons did not come up till late; so we pitched our tents here in the woods.

22 Aug. This morning we struck our tents and put them up in the wagons, and took all our own baggage out of the wagons, because the roads were so bad; and set out on our march about 7 o'clk, and marched 6 miles through very thick woods, and stopped there some time and cooked some provisions. Then marched a little further and took up our lodgings in the woods. This place is called Cavendish; it is very wild and unsettled.

23 Aug. This morning we set out on our march pretty early. Marched as far as Black river Pond in Saltash County,¹ where we stopped the rest of the day waiting for the wagons to come up, which did not till late. We took up our lodgings here in the woods. This place looked in the most gloomy manner. It is by the side [of a] very high mountain and very thick woods, and we could not sleep for the howling of wild beasts around us. Thus we spent this night.

24 Aug. This morning we did not set out till 9 o'clk. Here our provisions began to grow scant, and we were obliged to leave the most of our pots and kilds [kettles], and throw away our tentpoles to lighten our wagons, the way was so bad. We travelled as far as Ludlows camp, where we cooked some provisions and prepared our lodgings in the woods. Here was one small hut.

25 Aug. We marched this morning at 7 o'clk. Travelled 7 miles, and stopped there till 3 o'clk; then set out and went 4 miles further, and stopped at a place called Derum [Durham]. This place is settled, but is very pleasant, and we got good entertainment here. We slept in a barn this night.

26 Aug. This morning we removed to main road, where there were 2 or 3 huts close together. Here we cooked the last of our provisions, and stayed here all day waiting for our wagons to come up, which did not till night. Then the Maj^r gave orders for every Capt. to

¹ There was no county of that name. A settlement in the western part of Windsor County was first known by the name of "Saltash"; in 1797 it was named "Plymouth."

go to his respective quarters and be ready to march at 4 o'clock in the morning.

27 Aug. This morning being rainy, we did not march till 8 o'clock; then set out for the creek, where we reached about 11 o'clock. It being rainy and the freshet raised, we found it very bad getting over; but we did by falling some trees and much trouble, and stopped the other side till 3 o'clock. Then set out and travelled 3 miles further, crossing several other bad places, till we came to a pretty deep river, where we crossed in a connew [canoe] and lodged in a barn the other side.

28 Aug. This morning wet and lowering. The regt. on the other side made a raft to bring over baggage. We got it all over, and the regt. ready to march at 2 o'clock. Then marched to the saw mills in Castletown, and built some huts with boards, where we lodged this night.

29 Aug. This morning early we set out from the saw [mills], marched half a mile, and came to a river 5 foot deep and 3 rods across. We met with much trouble in getting over. After we got over we marched about 4 miles further, where we had to cross another river, but it was not so deep; but the stream ran very swift. We got over by falling some trees over the river. We were now in great want of some provision, for we had none for 2 days. We travelled about 4 miles, where we came to a small hut in the wood. We could [get] nothing to eat here except some green corn. We stopped here till the regt. got together; then we marched to Skeansbro [Skenesborough, now Whitehall, N. Y.], where we reached about sunset. This place lieth on a kind of swamp by the side of the lake. It hath a large stone building in it. We were obliged to take up our lodging on the ground without anything to cover us.

30 Aug. Last night it rained very hard the biggest part of the night. This morning we removed over the lake and dried our baggage, and got ready to go to Ticonderoga. We prepared our batteaux [batteaux], and got the most of our baggage on board this night.

31 Aug. This morning early we embarked for Ticonderoga. We arrived there about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and encamped there on the side of the lake. I mounted the quarter of the regt. It rained all night.

1 Sept. 1776. This morning the weather wet and very foggy. We drew a half a pound of pork per man — and the first provision we drew in Ticonderoga.

3 Sept. This morning Lt. Allen, with a party of men, set out to go to Skeens' with the batteaux that we came here in. Capt. Cramp-ton, with another party, went to clearing a spot of ground for our encampment.

4 Sept. About 3 o'clock this afternoon we removed our encampment to the hill near the French lines. Nothing remarkable to-day.

6 Sept. This afternoon Coll^o Phinney's regt. arrived here, and went to Mount Independence.

7 Sept. This morning the Major gave orders for all the cappers [carpenters] to go to work getting lumber for the regt.

8 Sept. Coll^o Phinney's regt. received orders to be in readiness to march to Fort George.

9 Sept. This day I went on fatigue at the French lines. About 12 o'clk Coll^o Phinney's regt. marched for Fort George.

10 Sept. This morning I mounted the quarter guard.

11 Sept. This morning I was relieved from the quarter guard. Left one prisoner there confined for neglect of duty.

12 Sept. One of our regt. was flogged 39 lashes for desertion and 39 [for] intyting [enticing?] into another company.

13 Sept. This day Sergt. Major Orr was appointed Ensign of Capt. Danforth's Comp'y; Sergt. Daniel M^cLane was appointed Sergt. Major.

16 Sept. This afternoon our invaldeas [invalids] arrived here from Boston. They brought no news.

17 Sept. This morning I mounted the batteaux guards.

18 Sept. About 9 o'clk I was relieved from guard, and nothing remarkable happened all day.

20 Sept. This forenoon Capt. Stevens Comp'y of artillery removed their encampment from Mount Independence to the heights of Ticonderoga, near the French lines.

21 Sept. About 10 o'clk I relieved a Sergt. at Gen^l St. Clair's, and went with the Gen. to visit all the new guards, it being the first day of their being posted.

22 Sept. This morning about 10 o'clk I was relieved from the Gen^l. After breakfast all our brigade turned out to go to prayers.

23 Sept. This morning before daylight I set out on the scout. We went about 7 miles in the woods towards Crown Point. We saw nothing remarkable; and returned to the camp again about 10 o'clk.

24 Sept. A number of sick men of our regt. went to the hospital to-day.

26 Sept. About 10 o'clk this evening our camp was alarmed. The occasion was by some drunken Indians firing guns.

28 Sept. This afternoon one of Capt Haynes's men died, being the first of the regt. since we have been here.

30 Sept. This morning I mounted the main guard. I went the grand rounds at night. Found the guards in general very dilatory of their duty.

2 Oct. 1776. About 11 o'clk I went to attend a general Court Martial. After the Court was adjourned I went over to Mt. Independence. 2 Gallies sailed from here this afternoon to join Gen^l Arnold's fleet.

3 Oct. About 10 o'clock this night a party of our invalids got here from Boston.

6 Oct. About 11 o'clock the sick men of our regt. went to Fort George, under the care of Capt. Allen.

13 Oct. This morning I went on fatigue at the French lines. About 10 o'clock we heard a very heavy firing of cannon down the lake, which continued till about 12 o'clock. Soon after that we heard that the biggest part of our fleet was destroyed by the enemy, and that they had Crown Point in their possession; which alarmed our camps very much.

14 Oct. This morning very foggy. We turned out before daylight and manned the lines, expecting that the enemy would pay us a visit; but they did not. We returned from the lines about 8 o'clock. About 9 I mounted the quarter guard. About 10 o'clock all our men that were not to bear arms went to Fort George. About sunset Lt. Cushing with 2 more of our comp'y arrived here. They belonged to the Congress galley, which they run ashore and blew up, and made their escape through the woods. About 11 o'clock at night our picket turned out and was ordered down the lake to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy; and my guard was doubled.

17 Oct. This morning I went to the Gen^l and attended there for orders all day. At night I returned to our camp again.

18 Oct. This morning one of our regt. was flogged 39 lashes for desertion.

19 Oct. This morning I went over to Mount Pleasant with a party of men to cut fasheans [fascines], and worked there all day. At night I mounted picket.

20 Oct. This morning all our brigade turned out and went to prayers. After prayers I mounted the Jarseys redoubt guard.

22 Oct. This day I was on fatigue at the old French fort. About 1 o'clock our sick men went to Fort George Hospital.

23 Oct. This morning before daylight I set out with a party of men on the scout. We went as far as 3 Mile Point; stayed there a little while; then returned to a place near our camp and stayed there, as a covering party for some that were cutting down trees, till about 5 o'clock, then returned to our camp again. Last night as our men were going to the landing one of our Comp'y was so bad that he could not walk. As 2 men were carrying him along by a thick wood a number of savages rushed out and killed the sick man and took the other 2 prisoners.

26 Oct. This morning about 11 o'clock returned the 2 men that were taken by the savages.

28 Oct. This morning before daylight I set out on the scout. Went as [far as] 3 Mile Point. We had not been gone long before we made some discovery of the enemy coming up the lake in batteaux. We

returned to our camp with all speed, according to our orders. Before we had got into camp, there was a large party of the enemy landed on 3 Mile Point, and 2 or 3 of their batteaux came up within cannon shot of our redoubts, to which our people fired several well aimed shots and drove them back again. We were under arms all day in camp, expecting every moment when to see the enemy advancing upon our lines. But they were not so neighborly as to pay us a visit at all. We kept a very strong picket all night.

29 Oct. This morning we all turned out and manned the lines at daylight, and stayed there till about 8 o'clk. In the afternoon I went up to Mt. Hope with a recruiting party, and bed [beat] up for volunteers.

2 Nov. Nothing remarkable to-day in camp. This evening about 9 o'clk there was a large party of men sent to Putnam's Point upon some expedition—I know not what. Very pleasant weather, but cold. I mounted picket this night.

3 Nov. Last night there was some snow fell in the forepart of the night. This morning clear and very cold. Nothing strange to-day in camp. This evening I mounted picket.

6 Nov. This forenoon I went up to Mount Hope to see an acquaintance of mine. At night I mounted picket.

12 Nov. After roll call Sergt. Bowles and I went down to the Gen^l and helped Sergt. Cary home. He was taken sick there 2 days before.

15 Nov. This day I was orderly for the officer of the day. Went the rounds by day and night. Found the guards in general pretty alert on their posts.

16 Nov. To-day Sergt. Meacham was taken sick with the camp distemper. Now we have 2 sick messmates.

18 Nov. This morning I went on fatigue. Went up the lake about 3 mile in a scow and got a load of wood.

19 Nov. This afternoon Maj^r Frazer set out to go to Albany. Sergt. Sanford went with him.

20 Nov. This morning early Capt. Trescott set out to go to York. I went to headquarters, and attended there for orders all day and night.

23 Nov. This forenoon Col. Wigglesworth's rgt. embarked for Skens^o [Skenesboro']. 3 Companies of Col. Read's set out to go to the Landing.

26 Nov. This day I went on fatigue at the French lines. Col. Welocks [Col. Marinus Willett?] and Woodbridge regts set out to go to Skeans^o [Skenesboro'] by land.

30 Nov. This day I went on fatigue. Took a party of men and went all over the encampment, and picked up all the intrenching tools, and carried them into the fort.

4 Dec., 1776. Last night died Daniel Badger of our Company.

5 Dec. This morning about 9 o'clk there were 6 men fog^d [flogged] at the whipping-post. I went on fatigue. Took 15 men and went up to the mills in a scow and got a load of flower [flour] and slabs. I got back again about sunset.

7 Dec. This evening Capt. Trescott arrived here from Albany.

8 Dec. At 9 o'clk all our troops turned out to be reviewed by Col. Wane [Wayne], our Commander-in-Chief.

11 Dec. This forenoon I went up to the Landing to carry some letters to send to Boston and Albany.

15 Dec. Last night the lake froze all over.

17 Dec. This morning about 10 o'clk all our troops turned out and fired a fudejoy [*feu de joie*], on account of some good news from our army at New York.

21 Dec. In the evening we went up to the Mills, and to supper there, and boud a cheas [bought a cheese].

22 Dec. This morning I went to headquarters and got a furlough to leave camp; then returned to our hut again, and got ready to proceed on my journey.

23 Dec. About 10 o'clk I set out on my journey for Boston. I travelled 18 miles before I came [to] any sort [of a] habitation. Then I came to a hut, where I stopped and got a glass of spirits. Then I travelled on 4 miles further and came to [a] hut, where I stopped and got some supper, and lodged on the floor this night before the fire. This place is called Hubbardton [?].

24 Dec. I set out this morning before daylight and travelled 7 miles, and stopped at one Bennets in Castletown and got some breakfast. After stopping there some time I set out and travelled about 6 miles, to one Col. Meads. Stopped there some time, and got some refreshment. Then set out and travelled 7 miles further, and stopped at one Mr. Fosters in Fearfield [Fairfield, ?], on Otter Creek. I got supper and lodging here this night.

25 Dec. I set out this morning at daylight and travelled 6 miles, and stopped at one Whites and got some breakfast. Then set out and travelled to Ludlows Camp, about 7 miles further, where I stopped and got some refreshment. Then set out again and travelled about 15 miles further, and stopped at one Coffins in Cavendish. This is called a tavern, but I could get nothing to eat nor drink here. It was about 8 o'clk when I got here. Very bright moonshine this evening; and I lodged on the floor before the fire this night.

26 Dec. I set out about 7 o'clk from my lodgings, and travelled about 11 miles, and stopped at one Major Grants and got some breakfast. Then set out for Number 4, where I [arrived] about sundown.

I went to Mr. Walkers tavern, where I put up for the night. I got a very good supper and lodging this night.

27 Dec. I went out and bought me a pair of shoes, and returned to my lodging and went to breakfast. About 11 o'clock I set out from Number 4, and travelled about 14 miles, and stopped at one Mr. Bundays in Wallpool, and got supper and lodging there.

28 Dec. I set out from lodgings a little after daylight and travelled 5 miles, then stopped and went to breakfast at a private house, then set out and travelled about 19 miles further, and stopped at one Deacon Appletons in Swanzey, and got supper and lodging there.

29 Dec. I set out a little after daylight and travelled 7 miles, and stopped at Col. Reads tavern to breakfast. After stopping there some time I set out and travelled about 13 miles further, and stopped at Mr. Nickelzs tavern in Winchinton [Winchendon], where I got supper and lodging this night.

30 Dec. I set out about sunrise and travelled 7 miles, and stopped in Ashburnham and breakfasted there. Then I set out again and travelled as far as Luinburge [Lunenburg], and put up here this night.

31 Dec. Set out from Luinburge a little after sunrise, travelled 5 miles, and stopped in Shurley to breakfast. After stopping there some time I set out again, and reached Littletown about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I went to Mr. Prentises, where I stayed all night.

1 Jan'y. [1777]. I breakfasted at Mr. Prentiss. About 10 o'clock I set out from Littletown and travelled as far as Concord, and dined there about 2 o'clock. Then set out again and travelled as far as Waltham, where [I] stopped and put up this night.

2 Jan'y. I set out before sunrise from my lodgings, travelled 7 miles, and stopped in Little Cambridge. After stopping here some time I set out again and travelled for Brantre [Braintree], where I reached about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

4 Jan'y. To-day about 11 o'clock I set out to go to Boston. I stayed in Boston till Tuesday, the 7th day of the month. Then I came to Brantree, and stayed here till Saturday, the 11th; then I went to Boston, and stayed there till Thursday, the 16th; then I came to Brantree, and stayed here till Saturday, the 18th; then I went to Middleborough, and stayed there till Monday, the 20th. Monday, in the afternoon, to Capt. Gannets, and stayed that night. Tuesday morning I set out to come to Braintree. I reached here about 3 o'clock. Wednesday I went to Boston, and stayed there till Saturday, the 1st day of February. Then I came to Braintree, and stayed till Friday, the 7th; then I went to Boston again, and stayed till Friday, the 21st; then I came to Braintree, and stayed till Friday, the 7th day of March; then I went to Boston again, and stayed till Apr. 9, 1777, [when] I marched for my second champain [campaign].

[Book No. 2.]

Wednesday, the 9th April, 1777. This day about 1 o'clk we marched from Boston, and stopped at the Punch Bowl tavern till 4 o'clk. Then marched to Watertown and put [up] for the night. Our men lodged in barns.

10 *April.* This morning at 7 o'clk we marched from Watertown. Marched about 7 miles, and stopped in West-town [Weston] for breakfast at 9 o'clk. After stopping there till 12 o'clk we set out and marched 10 miles to Col. Hows tavern in Mallbrough [Marlborough], and put up our men. All had supper cooked here this night.

11 *Apr.* This morning at 7 o'clk we marched from Mallbrough. Marched about 9 miles, and stopped at Man Rows tavern in Northbrough and went to dinner. After stopping there till 4 o'clk we marched to Woster [Worcester], where we reached about 9 o'ck and put up.

12 *April.* This day we tarried all day in Woster, and drew provisions to carry us to Springfield.

13 *April.* This morning at 7 o'clk we marched from Wooster. Travelled 8 miles, and stopped in Spencer to cook provisions. At 3 o'clk we set out again and marched 12 miles, and stopped in Brookfield this night. Very rainy all this afternoon, and great part of our men fell in the rear on account of the storm. I got supper and Lodging in a private house.

14 *April.* This morning very windy, and something late before all our men and baggage got up. We stopped and cooked provision. About 2 o'clk we set out and marched 10 miles, and put up in Kingston [Kingstown, now Palmer] at Mr. Bliss tavern. I got supper and lodgings at a private house.

15 *April.* This morning at 7 o'clk we marched from Kingston. Travelled 5 miles, and stopped at Scotts tavern to breakfast. Then set out again and marched 9 miles further, and stopped to rest ourselves. After stopping some time we set out again, and got into Springfield a little after 3 o'clk. I got supper and lodging at a private house.

16 *April.* I breakfasted at my lodgings at Mr. Ferys. We drew 8 days provision here for our march. About 12 o'clk we crossed the river, and stopped the other side to cook one days provision. About 3 o'clk we set out and marched 10 miles, and put up at Mr. Cants tavern, Surffeld [Suffield]. I got supper and lodgings in a private house.

17 *April.* This morning something lowering. We did not set out till 10 o'clk on account of the weather. Then we set out and marched about 7 miles. Stopped in a place called Turkey Hills. After stopping there till 1 o'clk we marched to Simsbrough [Simsbury], and put

up at Mr. Eamreys tavern. I got supper at the tavern, and lodged in the barn.

18 *April*. This morning I breakfasted at my lodging. The weather something lowering. We stopped to cook here. About 12 o'clk we set out and marched 8 miles, and stopped at a tavern in Simsbrough to eat our dinner. About 5 o'clk we set out again, and marched 4 miles and put up in Newharford [New Hartford], and cooked provision for the next day. I ate supper of my allowance, and lodged in the barn.

19 *April*. We set out about 8 o'clk and marched about 4 miles, and stopped for the wagons to come up, and ate some victuals. After stopping till 11 o'clk we set out again and marched about 10 miles further to Linchfield [Litchfield]. Our men put up in the Sate Hose [State House], and cooked provision for the next day. I got supper and lodging at Mr. Stantons tavern.

20 *April*. This morning I breakfasted at my lodgings. The weather was so bad it did not allow to march. Our men stayed in the State House all day. In the afternoon our men cooked provisions for the day. After roll call I went to Mr. Stantons tavern and got supper and lodging.

21 *April*. We set out at 7 o'clk and marched 6 miles, and stopped in Cant [Kent] to breakfast. Then we set out and marched as far as New Millford, where we stopped and cooked provision for the next day. I got supper and lodging at a private house.

22 *April*. This morning at 8 o'clk we marched. Went about 4 miles and stopped to breakfast. After stopping some time we set out again, and marched about 9 miles and stopped to dinner. Then we set out and reached Danbery about 6 o'clk. Our men put up and cooked provision for the next day.

23 *April*. We met with much trouble to get wagons to carry our baggage, which detained us all day. At night a party of our men mounted guard. A little after sundown Major Vouse [Elijah Vose] arrived here.

24 *April*. About 9 o'clk we set out on our march, and marched 9 miles and stopped in Sallom [Salem, Ct.] to dinner. After stopping there sometime we set out again and marched about 6 miles further, and stopped in a place called Coltners Manner. Our men put up in barns. I lodged in house on the floor. We mounted a picket of 24 men.

25 *April*. This morning we stopped to cook our days provision before we marched. At 11 o'clk we set out and marched 7 miles, and stopped to dinner. After stopping there till about 4 o'clk we set out again, and reached Picks Kill [Peekskill] about sundown. We marched 4 miles below the town, and encamped on a hill.

10:59

26 April. We went to draw provision, but could get nothing but some hard bread.

27 April. About 9 o'clk there came an express to the Gen^l, the British troops had landed at Danbury and destroyed the most of our stores and burnt part of the town. We had our arms reviewed and ammunition delivered out, and had orders to be ready to march at a moments warning.

28 April. Last night about 8 o'clk we had orders to march to Bedford. We set out immediately, and marched as far as Crum pond and got some refreshment. Then marched on again, and made no halt till we came to Bedford, where we reached about 11 o'clk in the morning. After we got there the Gen^l received an express that the enemy had all embarked and gone off. The Gen^l and officers dined in Bedford. At 3 o'clk we set out again to come home. We had not advanced far before I felt so sick that I was obliged to stop, and lodged in a barn about 3 miles in the rear of the party.

29 April. This morning I got some breakfast and set out on my journey, but I felt very poorly. I travelled on as fast [as] I could, but was obliged to stop every little wayes. I got as far as Crum pond and could get no further, and lodged there on a straw bed on the floor.

30 Apr. This morning I got breakfast at my lodgings and set out to come to camp again, but I felt so poorly that I could hardly get there.

5 May, 1777. This afternoon I set out; came from camp and came to Mr. Tomkings, where I took up my quarters while I was sick.

7 July [1777]. This day I returned to camp, after being sick nine weeks.

24 July. This afternoon I set out from the camp and went to Robbosons Landing, and lodged on board a sloop.

25 July. About 1 o'clk the regt. embarked on board the sloop and hauled off in the river. About 6 o'clk we came to and went about a mile up the river and came to and lay till sun down; then we came to sail again. I lodged on deck with my messmates.

26 July. This morning clear and very calm. Very pleasant sailing up the river. About 8 o'clk the wind breezed up. About 1 o'clk it began to rain and lighten till night. About 2 o'clk we came to anchor about a half a mile below Albeny. I rolled myself up in my blanket and went to sleep on the quarter deck.

27 July. We wad [weighed] anchor and came up to the city, but none of the men were allowed to go ashore. About 10 o'clk we landed and encamped on the hill above the barracks.

28 July. This morning about 9 o'clk the sloop got in with the rest of the regt. About 4 o'clk in the afternoon we struck our tents and marched down to the wharf, in order to embark on board some batteaux

10.596

to go up the river to encamp with the rest of the brigade, but were prevented by a very hard shower of rain; so we went on board the sloop for shelter. I lodged in a private house ashore.

29 July. This morning at 10 o'clock landed, and marched for the place of our destination. We marched 2 miles, and stopped to dinner. After stopping there we marched about 7 miles and crossed a ferry; then marched about three miles and crossed Half Moon ferry, and pitched our tents there.

30 July. This morning between 10 and 11 o'clock we marched. Went about 8 miles, and stopped to dinner. After stopping there some time we marched as far as Still Warter [Stillwater], and pitched our tents there.

31 July. This morning about 10 o'clock we marched from Still Warter, and making several stops to refresh ourselves, we got into Saratoga about 5 o'clock, and pitched our tents there in a field above the Gen'l.

1 Aug., 1777. This morning clear and pleasant, but soon became overcast, and was very lowery all day & night. Our camps were in great confusion.

2 Aug. This afternoon our sick men were carried away from the hospital.

3 Aug. This morning about 8 o'clock we had orders to strike our tents and get ready for a march. Two regts. of our brigade were sent on scout,—we hearing the enemy was very nigh. It began to rain about 10 o'clock, and rained very hard till about 4 in the afternoon. About 6 o'clock we set out from Saratoga and marched 8 miles, and stopped there for the night. We had nothing to lodge on but some boards. Some of us tore off fences, which did not serve but for few of us. The rest lay on the ground.

4 Aug. This morning at daylight we mustered up and got ready to march as soon as we could; and making several short stops, we got into Sill Warter [Stillwater] about 9 o'clock, and pitched our tents there on some rising ground above where the fort was and in very thick bushes. This afternoon a large Scout went out. Col^o Vorse [Joseph Vose] commanded them. This evening our men discharged their arms that were loaded. This day I returned to my duty.

10 Aug. This morning came out orders for all that were not able to march to go to Half Moon. Our boats [?] great part of them were carried away last night. This afternoon our brigade turned out to be reviewed by the Gen'l.

12 Aug. We had orders to get ready to march, but did not march. The reason I dont know.

13 Aug. This afternoon the regt. was turned out, and had orders read to us for marching. The tents were to be struck and rolled up at 2 o'clock [A. M., the 14th], & we to march off at 4 o'clock.

14 Aug. The orders we had for marching this morning so soon were countermanded; but we had orders to have all our provision cooked and our baggage all rolled up ready to march at a moment's warning. About 11 o'clock we struck our tents. About 12 o'clock marched off. Went about 6 miles, and stopped and encamped in the woods.

15 Aug. We drew one days provision. No orders to march, yet Patterson's Brigade marched by us. A very wet and uncomfortable day. I had a very [bad] fit of fever and ague.

18 Aug. About 11 o'clock this forenoon we struck our tents and got ready for a march. We marched to Half Moon, and encamped on an island [?] there amongst the woods.

19 Aug. This forenoon we cleared away the woods round our encampment. Dark and unsettled weather. This forenoon Sergt. King to the hospital.

23 Aug. This forenoon I went over to New City to bring over a prisoner, but he was not there. This afternoon 5 men of Capt. Tuckermans Comp'y were discovered going to desert. They were caught, and are now under the quarter guard in irons.

27 Aug. In the afternoon three of our regt. were flogged;—2 of them received one hundred lashes apiece for attempting to desert; the other received 80 for enlisting twice and taking two bounties. This evening Sergt. King returned from the hospital.

30 Aug. I had a hard fit of the fever and ague. I received a letter from my brother this evening.

3 Sept., 1777. This afternoon our regt. turned out to be reviewed by the commt. of clothing.

7 Sept. This day we had orders to get everything ready to march, and the wagons ordered to be delivered to each regt. This evening we drew one days provision and cooked it. We also had orders to strike our tents at 4 o'clock and march off at gun firing in the morning.

8 Sept. This morning we turned out at 4 o'clock and struck our tents and loaded our baggage. At 8 o'clock we marched and crossed the ——— and waited there for [the] rest of the continental troops to come over. About 11 o'clock we marched, and making several short stops we arrived at a place 9 miles this side Still Warter, where we pitched our tents for this night. Drew one days provisions late this evening, and cooked it ready to start early in the morning.

9 Sept. We turned out, struck our tents and loaded our baggage, and got ready to march at 7 o'clock; but waited some time after that before we marched. About 9 o'clock we marched. Went as far as Stillwarter, and pitched our tents there about 12 o'clock in the forenoon.

11 Sept. We received orders to strike our tents in the morning at gun-firing and march in a half an hour after. We marched about

5 miles, and pitched our tents in a field. A large party went out this evening under the command of Gen^l Arnold.

13 *Sept.* This morning a part of our scout brought in 3 prisoners which they took in a field below Gen^l Skileys [Schuyler's] house in Saratoga. This afternoon 2 more prisoners were brought in from the enemy.

15 *Sept.* This evening we had orders to lay upon arms and not pull off any of our clothes.

16 *Sept.* This morning we turned out at 2 o'clk, and stayed under arms expecting the enemy would pay us a morning visit. A very large party of our men have been to work to day cutting down trees and building a breastwork in the front of our encampment. This evening our scout came in, and brought an officer and 2 tories prisoners from the enemy.

18 *Sept.* This morning we turned out at half after 3 o'clk, and struck our tents and loaded our baggage. After that we drew bread and half a gill of rum a man. The regt. grounded their arms, and went and got tools, and went to work building a breastwork in the front of our encampment, expecting the enemy upon us. About 8 o'clk our scout returned that went out in the night. About 10 o'clk we left work and got in preparation to receive the enemy. Soon after we heard a number of guns fired, supposed to be our advanced party. About 11 o'clk we marched from the place of our encampment to the top of an eminence about half a mile from the camp. Between 12 and one o'clk part of our scout brought in a prisoner from the enemy. About sundown the rifle men returned from nigh the enemy, and brought news they had taken 36 prisoners & killed 4 of the enemy. We returned to our camp again. After sundown had orders to lay on our arms and be ready to turn out at the shortest notice.

19 *Sept.* This morning we turned out before daylight and stayed on the parade till after sunrise. Just after daylight a very thick fog rose, and continued till after sunrise. About one o'clk we were alarmed by the enemy. We marched from our encampment and mained the works above us. About 2 o'clk an engagement ensued between their advanced party and ours which lasted 15 minutes without cessation. Our people drove them and took some prisoners. Then there was a cessation of firing till 4 o'clk when Gen^l Arnold on our left wing began an engagement with the enemys right wing which lasted 3 hours without any cessation at all. Great numbers fell on both sides. I mounted picket at night in the front of our encampment.

20 *Sept.* Very dark and foggy this morning. The regt. struck their tents and loaded their baggage, and at 8 o'clk marched off to the works on our right wing. Between 10 & 11 o'clk the fog cleared away, and the sun shone very warm. Between 11 & 12 o'clk our

picket moved further into the woods. At sundown the regt. returned and pitched our tents on the same ground they were on before. About 8 o'clk I was relieved from picket. The enemy have lain very still to day.

21 *Sept.* This morning we turned out at 4 o'clk, and ground our arms on the regt. parade. About 12 o'clk we turned out under arms and manned our larum posts, expecting to see the enemy; but it turned out to be for a rejoicing for the success Gen^l Venkonne [Lincoln?] met with at the Norard [Northward].¹ This afternoon our Indian scout brought in two Tories that had painted themselves and passed for savages. After our Indians had brought them to the Gen^l he examined them and gave them up to the mercy of the Indians. It has been very rainy all day.

22 *Sept.* This morning we turned out at daylight. After we had grounded our arms on the parade, we struck our tents and loaded our baggage and marched off and manned the works on Prospect hill. Between 8 and 9 o'clk we marched from the larum post and pitched our tents on the ——— of a hill further to the right of our army than we were before. Just as we got our tents pitched, it began to rain very steady. This forenoon our Indian scout brought in two regular prisoners and one scalp. Between 11 & 12 o'clk we were alarmed, and all turned out.

23 *Sept.* This morning we turned out and manned the alarm post about 8 o'clk. We heard a number of guns fired in the enemys camp this afternoon. We were armed, and manned the lines. Our Indian scout brought in five prisoners this afternoon from the enemy. Very pleasant weather today.

24 *Sept.* This morning after we came from the alarm post, we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. At 9 o'clk we marched off and grounded our arms on the ground where we were encamped before. Our Indian scout brought in some prisoners this morning. After laying on our arms till 4 o'clk, we returned and pitched our tents near our alarm post on Prospect hill.

25 *Sept.* This morning at 1 o'clk I went out with a scouting party commanded by Capt. McKinster [?]. His intent was to take an advance guard of the enemy. We marched within a quarter of a mile of them. The fog and darkness of the morning prevented our going any further till after daylight, when we rushed on the guard and a very hot fire ensued for the space of two or three minutes. The guard ran into their lines as fast as they could. We killed and wounded 8 of them and took one prisoner, and returned to our camp again about sunrise. Four men of this party that went out with us are

¹ Probably the success of the detachment sent by General Lincoln from Manchester, Vermont, to Ticonderoga.

missing. It's supposed they tarried with the enemy, as they were all Old Cuntreemen. It has rained very steady the biggest part of this day and night.

26 *Sept.* Our Indian scouts have brought in 15 prisoners to-day.

28 *Sept.* About 8 o'clk there was a cannon fired in the enemy's camps. Between 10 & 11 o'clk we were alarmed. We struck our tents and marched out as far as our advance picket. Lay on our arms there till 2 o'clk; then we returned and pitched our tents again, and cooked all the provision we had, and drew one day's allowance more of pork and hard bread. About 9 o'clk we were alarmed & turned out and manned the lines.

29 *Sept.* Last night between 12 & one o'clk a scout of C L S C P¹
1 1 1 1 30
went out of this regt. The occasion of our being alarmed last night was a scurmige [skirmish] between a sergt. & 12 men of ours and the enemys relief. 3 of our men got wounded. The scout that went out of our regt. returned this morning about 8 o'clk. This evening between 10 & 11 o'clk I set out on scout. There went from our regt. C L S C P
1 2 2 2 39, and we were joined by other regts. to 100 men properly officered. We carried 3 days provision with us. We went as far as our advanced picket on our left wing, and stopped there for the night. We made large fires and lay by. The fore part of the night till 11 o'clk was very foggy, but after that it cleared away starlight.

30 *Sept.* Last night, coming through the swamp, Capt. McKinster, one of our Captains that commanded our scout, was so unfortunate as to sprain his ankle so as to disenable him to go the scout with us, which detained us in the morning longer [than] we should otherwise [have] stayed. He was relieved by Capt. Nap [Moses Knap] of Col^o Shepards Regt. At 8 o'clk we set out on our scout. We went about 8 miles through the woods, towards Saratoga lake, which brought us near the west end of it. We stopped there & ate some victuals and refreshed ourselves. After stopping some time we set out again on our way through the woods. Just before night we took 3 tories, and sent them with a sergt. and party of men to headquarters. We proceeded on our way through the woods round the end of the lake. We went through woods till we got nearly opposite Saratoga, where we stopped and took up our habitation for this night, it being about 8 o'clk and very dark, and very heavy dew falling.

1 *Oct.*, 1777. This morning we started at daylight and went round through the woods, stopping to eat our victuals at proper times. We went through woods till we came within about a mile of the main road,—about 2 miles above the barracks in Saratoga. The party halted there.

¹ 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 30 privates.

About one o'clock Capt. Cushing, with myself and two more, went to see if he could make discovery of the enemy. We went within a stone's throw of the barracks, and Capt. Cushing got up on top of a large high tree, — looked all round, — could see nobody, nor hear no noise of any thing. We returned to the party again about 3 o'clock, after being much troubled to find them. While we were gone the party took two boys and cows going up the road. From there we marched down to the main road and so down by the barracks as far as Skylers [Schuyler's] Mills. We marched up on a rising ground above the mills and ground our arms, and a party of us, with axes, went cutting away Skylers bridge. After we had destroyed it with axes as much as time would admit of, we set fire to it. We stopped till it got well afire, and then marched off in a different road from which we came in. We marched about 2 miles up the road, and stopped there this night, it being a very pleasant starlight evening, and about 8 o'clock when we stopped.

2 Oct. We started at daylight and went about a mile, and came to a mill called Jones [Jonesville] up Skylers Creek, where there [are] a number of houses pretty close round it. We set fire to the mill and several other buildings and a large quantity of grain, and took 7 prisoners here. We were discovered by a party of the enemy on the other side of the river, which caused us to leave the place quicker than we should otherwise have done. Notwithstanding, we took a considerable booty, and proceeded on our way home as fast as we could conveniently. We arrived at headquarters between 8 & nine o'clock in the evening with 10 prisoners, 3 of which were commissioned officers, and 12 horses and 18 horned cattle. After we delivered our [prisoners] to the guard, and our cattle were [taken] care of, we marched to the commissary's store, where there was a gill of rum and one hard biscuit delivered to each man. After we had refreshed ourselves we marched very silent to our camps & were dismissed. What was very remarkable we never exchanged a shot the whole scout.

6 Oct. Very warm but something rainy. Last night about 2 o'clock went out a scout of 500 men with one days provision, commanded by Col^o Vose. The scout Col^o Vose commanded returned this evening just at dark. 16 deserters from [the] enemy came in to us to-day.

7 Oct. A very pleasant morning. This afternoon about 3 o'clock we were alarmed. We marched out as far as our advance picket; stayed there till about sunset. About 5 o'clock an engagement began on our left wing which lasted till after sunset, — very brisk on both sides. About sunset our B^d Major brought us news that we had gained the ground on the enemys right wing and made a great sloter [slaughter] of them, — taken a great number of prisoners with a considerable booty. Our brigade marched off from our lines in order to attack their lines upon their left; but it being pretty dark, and not to our

advantage to attack them at that time of night, we returned to our camps again.

8 Oct. This morning something foggy, but very warm. About 8 o'clock we marched from our camp in pursuit of the enemy. We marched as far as their lines, and made a halt there a little while. The enemy had retreated to some works they had in their rear, where they fired from and did us some damage. As we were marching along inside their lines, they fired a number of cannon at us. Col^o Voses had his horse shot from under him. We marched through their lines to the left, and so up through the woods, up opposite Saratoga, and halted there some time. The Gen^l discovered that [it] would not be for our advantage to proceed on our expedition; so we returned to our camps again without any loss. We heard when we returned to our camp that Gen^l Vinkearne [Benjamin Lincoln] was wounded.

9 Oct. This morning very cloudy and cold. 10 or 12 deserters came to us from the enemy's army this morning. About 9 o'clock Gen^l Gates sent in a flag of truce to see where the enemy were, which, when he returned, brought news that the enemy had retreated from their encampment, leaving great part of their provision and stores. About 10 o'clock this morning it began to rain, and held on very steady all day and till about 9 o'clock, and then cleared away — cold and very windy.

10 Oct. This morning clear and very cold. We had orders to pack all our things up and be ready to march at the shortest notice. About 10 o'clock we started in pursuit of the enemy. After we had passed their encampment we found great destruction of [the] enemy's emnishon [ammunition] and stores, particularly one amushon [ammunition] wagon with 300 weight of gunpowder in it and many other valuable articles. And we likewise saw a number of dead horses which appeared to be hured [hurried] to death. We marched within a half mile of the enemy, and encamped in the woods. There was a considerable firing on both sides.

11 Oct. This morning very foggy. We drew a gill of rum a man, & about 8 o'clock we marched from our encampment in the woods to a small eminence above the meeting houses. After staying there awhile we marched into the woods nearly where [we] lodged last night. After making a small halt there we marched back again into woods near the mills up Skylers creek, where [we] lay all day and at night encamped here in the woods. This morning our people took the enemy's advance picket, consisting of an officer and 36 men, all British troops. The enemy have been fortifying and defending themselves as well as they could; but our people almost elbowed [?] them, and fired on them and did them much harm.

12 Oct. This morning clear and pleasant. We remained here in

the woods all day. A considerable smart cannonading the biggest part of the day on both sides, and we fortified against the enemy considerable on the hills all round us. There was some rain in the first of the evening.

13 Oct. This morning dark and cloudy. There was no firing on nare a side [either side] till about 8 o'clk, when we fired some cannon from our side. After that there was considerable firing on both sides all day. We continue still here in the woods.

14 Oct. This morning very foggy. The enemy lay very still yet. There has been a cessation of arms all day. Very pleasant weather.

15 Oct. Very pleasant weather all day. Gen^l Burgine [Burgoyne] and Gen^l Gates have this day agreed on terms of capitulation.

16 Oct. Very dark and foggy this morning, but cleared away very pleasant about 8 o'clk. All things have lain very still to-day.

17 Oct. This morning very dark and foggy. About 10 o'clk we marched from our encampment in the woods in order to receive Gen^l Burgoyne and his army. We marched round the meeting house and came to a halt. Gen^l Burgoyne and his Chief Officers rode by us there, and then we marched further down the road and grounded our arms and rested there. At half after 3 o'clk Gen^l Burgoyne's army began to pass us, and they continued passing till sunset, when we marched down the road a little and into the woods, where we encamped for that night.

18 Oct. This morning at 9 o'clk we marched from our encampment in the woods, and between 11 & 12 o'clk we passed the prisoners in Still Warter, and marched as fast as we could for Green Bush. We marched the biggest part of the night, in order to prevent the enemys coming up to Albany. It has been very warm all day, and we marched between 40 & 50 miles this day.

19 Oct. Last night, I being very tired and fatigued with the march, Sergt. King & M^r Moger [?] with myself stopped in the woods some ways in the rear of the B^d. About sunrise we waked and set out for the regt. We missed the road, and went some ways out of the way. We came up to the regt., and marched into Greenbush about 11 o'clk, and grounded our arms in a field aside of the river and opposite Albney. About 1 o'clk we crossed the river and marched about a mile above the town. After much trouble we got our baggage, and pitched our tents in a very scattered manner about sunset.

23 Oct. This day Gen^l Poors Brigade marched for Rodeiseland [Rhode Island]. The rifle men also marched for Phylladefa [Philadelphia] with two small pieces of cannon with them. Our regt. drew part of their clothing this day.

26 Oct. (Sunday). This afternoon our B^d went to the meeting house and had sermon preached to us.

28 Oct. It remains very stormy and cold. We drew a gill of rum p^r man this morning. The water run through our tent, which made it very uncomfortable.

29 Oct. Between 1 & 2 o'clk it began to rain, & we were obliged to leave our tent & seek out quarters in Albney. After much trouble we got shelter in a house at the south end of the town, where we lodged very comfortably on the floor by the fire.

30 Oct. About 11 o'clk we struck our tents and got ready to march. About 3 o'clk we marched down to the wharf and embarked on board of the sloops to go down the river. In getting on board the batteaux Capt. Hill's Comp'y overset a batteau, but the water not being deep there was no loss sustained. After we had got on board the sloop, Sergt. Williams was getting down the foc'sle, when he unluckily fell and hurt himself very much. I lodged on the quarter deck this night.

31 Oct. About 10 o'clk we set sail and sailed about 12 miles down the river, and landed and marched about a quarter of a mile up in the woods and pitched our tents. This place is called Quemans overslaw.¹

2 Nov., 1777. Last night M^r Moger was taken very sick. About 11 o'clk I went with Sergt. Williams to get a house to stay in while he was sick.

3 Nov. Our mess has been to work raising our tent to day.

5 Nov. We cleaned ourselves ready to be mustered, but was not mustered. We built a chimney to our tent this day.

7 Nov. This morning at roll call there were orders read to the regt. to hold ourselves in readiness to march. Col. Sheperds to join Gen^l Patterson's brigade, and that B^d to embark this evening, and a militia regt. to join our brigade. About 10 o'clk we received orders to march tomorrow morning. At roll call this eveg we had orders to strike our tents at 6 o'clk and be ready to march at sunrise.

8 Nov. About sunrise our regt. paraded and grounded our arms, and then struck our tents and carried them with the rest of our baggage down to the side of the river and loaded them on board of batteaux. About 10 o'clk we marched from our encampment, went about 6 miles and crossed the river. It was after sunset before we all got over and ready to march. Then we marched about 6 miles, which brought us to Center hook [Kinderhook]. There we lodged in barns. This town is thick settled, and has one small wooden meeting house in it.

9 Nov. We marched from Centerhook to Cloverrick [Claverock], and were billeted in barns here this night. This town is thick settled,

¹ Probably the place now known as Coeyman's Landing. "Overslaugh" is from the Dutch "Overslag," and means a bar in the river, making the passage of vessels difficult at low water.

and has one large bick [brick] meeting house and one small wooden Church [church] in it.

10 Nov. This morning I received one months pay of Capt. Cushing. About 10 o'clk we set out on our march. We travelled 6 miles, and stopped to rest ourselves and eat some victuals. After stopping some time we marched again, but had not gone far before it began to rain; but we marched in the rain till [we] came to a place called Read hook [Red Hook] and stopped there. Put up in a barn. We have marched 20 miles this day.

11 Nov. It being dark and rainy last night, we missed our road & travelled about a mile out of our way. About 10 o'clk we marched from our lodgings and joined the regt. Then we set out and marched all day without stopping to rest. We marched through a fine town called the Flatts [?], with one large meeting house with a steeple to it. Our B^d was billeted to houses. Our billet was at one Mr. Strates, about two miles below the meeting house, where we got very good entertainment. We drew one days provision here of fresh beef and flour.

12 Nov. This morning a considerable of a snow storm. About 8 o'clk we set out from our quarters and travelled about 4 miles. The storm increased so that we were obliged to stop. After stopping till the storm abated, then we set out again and travelled about 7 miles further and took quarters for the night. The man of the house was very kind. We got our flour baked here, and I lodged in a bed.

13 Nov. We marched from our quarters at sun rise, and joined the regt. which [was] all in the front of our company. After the regt. got together, we were counted off in divisions and marched on for Purcipse [Poughkeepsie], where we arrived about 12 o'clk. Before noon Capt. Tuckerman's Comp'y & our own took quarters at Mr. Levenstons about mile out of town and near the river.

14 Nov. We marched at sun rise and joined our regt. After we had joined we marched on for fish Kills [Fishkill], and arrived about 3 o'clk. We marched to the barracks and took our quarters this night. We drew one days salt provision here.

15 Nov. Just after sun rise we marched for Peekskill, and arrived about 4 o'clk in the afternoon. We found the barracks and all public buildings burned. We took quarters in the housing that was left there, and drew provision for two days, and had orders to cook our provision and be ready to march at sunrise.

16 Nov. A little after sunrise we marched the regt. together and marched to Kings Ferry, where we crossed and marched about a mile below and encamped for the night.

17 Nov. About 8 o'clk we struck our tents in order to march, but was detained sometime delivering out some clothing that was brought

to the Brigade after we struck our tents. About 11 o'clk we marched and went about 6 miles and made short halt there, and then marched till after sunset and encamped in the woods. Sergt. King & Corporal Barnerd and Gibbs with myself went about a mile further out of the road, where we got supper and lodging this night.

18 Nov. Just after daylight we started from our quarters and joined the regt. in the woods. The regt. marched about 4 miles, and halted and drew provision and cooked it. About 10 we marched as far as a place called the Ponds, and took quarters in housens.

19 Nov. A little after sunrise we marched from our quarters and arrived in Pumton [Pompton] about 11 o'clk, and were quartered there in housen there. We drew two days beef and three days bread here.

20 Nov. This morning a little after sunrise I got my breakfast and went to the company. The regt. marched together, & about 8 o'clk we marched, and about sunset we arrived in Moristown [Morristown, N. J.] and took quarters and drew provisions there.

21 Nov. About 10 o'clk we marched from Moris Town. Marched about ten miles, and encamped in Boston Ridge in the woods.

22 Nov. This morning at daylight we struck our tents. About 8 o'clk, we marched off the ground, and arrived in Sumersett [Somerset] about half after 4 o'clk and pitched our tents in a field there.

23 Nov. We struck our tents before sunrise this morning and loaded our baggage, and about 8 o'clk marched off and arrived in Princetown. We marched about 2 miles out of town, and encamped in a field which was very full of briers and by the side of a very thick woods.

24 Nov. We struck our tents about sunrise and loaded our baggage, and about 8 o'clk our regt. paraded and we had our arms examined and ammunition delivered to us. After that we formed a surkell [circle], and the prisoners of the regt. were brought in and sentence passed on them. The first were two privates which were confined for leaving their company without leave; the other were two sergts. belonging to the same company and confined for the same crime. The privates were sentenced to be whipped, but were forgiven on their promising better behavior for the future. One of the sergts. was reduced to the ranks, and the other was reprimanded by the Col^o on the parade. About 10 o'clk we marched and arrived in Burningtown [Burlington] about 3 o'clk, where we were to have halted for the night, but the Gen^l received an express to march on as fast as the troops could march. We marched about 7 miles farther, and encamped in the woods.

25 Nov. About 9 o'clk we set out on our march and arrived in Mont holley [Mount Holly] about 1 o'clk. We marched about a half a mile below the town and encamped in the woods.

26 Nov. This morning about 3 o'clk we marched from our encampment in order to attack the enemy. We left all our baggage in the

camp. We marched within about 7 miles of Philadelphia, and halted in a woods and built fires and lay there for a reinforcement. We arrived here about sunrise and lay here till about 10 o'clk, and then we advanced about 3 miles further. We passed through a small town, called Mores Town [?], and lay in the woods till about 4 o'clk. Then we marched back to our camps again at Mont halley. The reason of our not engaging the enemy was because they crossed the river and went back again to their man body.

27 Nov. About 10 o'clk we struck our tents and loaded our baggage, and between 12 & 1 o'clk we marched from Mont holle and arrived in Burlingtoun about 4 o'clk. We took up our quarters in housen, and drew one days provision. The wagons were crossing the ferry the most of [the day].

28 Nov. This morning we were mustered before day light in order to cross the river, but did not cross the ferry till about 9 o'clk, & then we marched about 20 miles and stopped in a place called the Croked Billit. I stopped about 4 miles before we came there and got supper and lodging.

29 Nov. This morning about 8 o'clk I set out to the regt. I found them at Croked Billit, but the weather was so stormy that we could not go any further till the storm abated. The weather held so bad we tarried here all day.

30 Nov. The weather still remains wet & stormy. We have no orders to march yet. About 3 o'clk our baggage came up to us & we had orders to get ready to march to head quarters; about half after 4 o'clk we marched, but it was very bad marching. We marched about 3 miles, and encamped in the woods in the front of Genl Greens Division, about a mile from headquarters. We encamped here about 10 o'clk, and had orders to cook all our provision and be ready to march at 5 o'clk in the morning.

1 December [1777]. We turned out before day this morning and dressed ourselves; then we had orders to turn in again, but not pull off our clothes. We rested all day in our tents.

3 December. This morning we turned out and paraded at day light, & were counted off in platoons, and marched about a mile to a place near headquarters, and were reviewed there about 9 o'clk. We returned to our camps again.

5 Dec. This morning just before 4 o'clk we were alarmed by the firing of three cannon. We turned out and were counted off in platoons, and marched to our alarm post and lay there for a reinforcement. About day light our tents were struck and loaded with the rest of the baggage, and set out to go to Newtown. In the forepart of the day there was considerable of an action between the enemy and our troops. We lay on our alarm post till after dark. Then we marched to the place

where our tents were [had been?] pitched, and lay there in the woods without any covering. We drew some fresh beef and flour, but had nothing to cook in, but were obliged to broil our meat on the fire and bake our bread in the ashes.

6 Dec. This morning at daylight our regt. paraded our arms, and then we drew a gill of whiskey a man; and a little after sunrise we marched to our alarm posts & grounded our arms. In the afternoon it clouded up. We moved back a little in the woods and built huts with the dry bushes, for we had no axes to cut any. We drew beef & flour, and we had two camp kettles to our comp'y to cook our provision in.

7 Dec. We paraded and grounded our arms where we were yesterday; but it soon began to rain, and we took up our arms and went into the woods again. About 2 o'clk we were alarmed. We turned out and formed a line of battle, and primed and loaded, as the enemy seemed to be very high [high?], and a very hot fire on both sides. The enemy seemed to gain ground and be getting round on our left. We marched about a mile towards our left, and formed another line and stayed there till after dusk. Then we ceased on both sides, and we returned to the woods where we were before; but had no axes to cut wood for fires nor covering. We drew some fresh beef, but no bread nor flour.

8 Dec. This morning we turned out and marched to where we came from last night, and our brigade formed a solid column on the ground where we were encamped when we first came [from] the northward [northward]. We lay there all day, and at night we returned to our encampment in the woods. Just at dark it begun to rain and storm; but luckily for us it did not storm long. We drew one day's allowance of beef and flour.

9 Dec. Last night the enemy left their ground and returned to their main army. Part of our brigade marched into the enemy's encampment last night. We cooked all our provision this morning and got ready to march, but had no orders to march this day.

10 Dec. About 1 o'clk we marched to our old encampment and pitched our tents there. After our tents were pitched I took a walk with Sergt. Denston after some clothes, but did not get them.

11 Dec. We struck our tents at 5 o'clk this morning and loaded our baggage. About daylight we marched. We went within about a mile of Scallkill [Schuylkill]. We found the enemy had possession of a hill that commanded the bridge, so we went no further that road, but countermarched back into the woods and lay there till about 4 o'clk in the afternoon; and then we marched about 4 or 5 miles up Lancaster [Lancaster] road and lay in the woods this night without our tents.

12 Dec. About 2 o'clk this morning we drew two days allowance of fresh beef. We were turned out about daylight, and packed our clothes and provision ready to march off. After that we had orders to stay

and cook all our provision. We built ourselves huts with brush and leaves, and got ourselves cleverly settled for the night. We drew one day's more allowance of fresh beef and flour. But after sunset we had orders to pack up our clothes and provision and march directly. We marched about 5 miles and crossed Scollkill. This river is not very deep but very rapid. We marched about 3 miles, and stopped on a very high hill and thick woods. We had no tents, nor axes to cut wood to make fires. It was a very bad snow storm when we stopped.

13 Dec. We lay here in the woods this forenoon. We drew one day's provision, and had orders to cook it and be ready to march; but did not march then, but drew one day's more of provision, and had orders to cook it & make ourselves as comfortable as we could for the ensuing night, and be ready to march at 4 o'clock in the morning.

14 Dec. We did not march this morning agreeable to the orders we received last night. Drew two days provision this day.

15 Dec. Last night there were two huts were burnt in our regt. This forenoon our regt. was mustered. Afterwards we were ordered to turn out at 4 o'clock.

16 Dec. We had orders to march at 10 o'clock. We did not march this day, but stayed in our huts all day. It rained very steady all day.

17 Dec. We had orders to march at 10 o'clock, but the weather prevented it. We turned out at 11 o'clock to roll call, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

18 Dec. We had orders to turn out to roll call at 9 o'clock, but it began to rain so fast we did not turn out then. About 12 o'clock we turned out to roll call with arms. We had orders read to us that the Genl determined to take up winter quarters in this place. The troops are to make huts for themselves, and make ourselves as comfortable as we can, in order to keep the army together. We should have moved to day, but this being the day set apart by the Congress for a day of public thanksgiving, the troops are ordered to lay still; and the Chaplains [chaplains] of the different Brigades to perform divine services, and officers and soldiers are desired to attend. We had no Chaplin in our brigade, and we had but a poor thanksgiving, — nothing but fresh beef & flour to eat, without any salt, & but very scant of that.

19 Dec. About 12 o'clock we marched off for the place where we were to take our winter quarters. We marched about 6 miles up Lankester road and encamped in the woods.

20 Dec. We remain here in camp, & shall till we build our huts.

21 Dec. We drew a small quantity of salt pork. We still remain here in camp.

22 Dec. We drew three days allowance of fresh beef and two of flour. The tools were given out and ground laid out to build our huts upon. This evening we had orders to cook our provision and be ready

to march at the shortest notice. There were two parties of men out of the regt. this eveg.

23 Dec. This morning we turned out just after sunrise to roll call. After the rolls were called the whole brigade formed a line and was counted off. After that we marched on our own parade and locked our arms. On the afternoon we went to work on our huts. At sundown we parade to roll call and took in our arms later.

24 Dec. This morning we went to work on our huts, but there was some misunderstanding about the ground, and we left off work & went to camp again. We worked no more today.

[The entries for several days following are illegible.]

2 Jan., 1778. We had orders to lay on our arms. It was very rainy the most of the night.

9 Jan. I went to the grand parade at 10 o'clk in order to see the man executed, but he was reprieved till tomorrow morning at 10 o'clk.

10 Jan. At 10 o'clk I went on the grand parade in order to see the man executed. After the troops had formed a surcel [circle], the prisoner was brought under the gallows in a wagon. The rope was made fast to gallows. Then the prisoner had time to make a speech or to say what he had a mind to. At 11 o'clk the wagon was drawn from under the gallows and the man swung off; but the rope broke and he fell to the ground; but he [was] taken up again, and the wagon backed under the gallows again & the man put up in it. The rope was doubled and made fast again, and wagon drawn from under the gallows. The man swung off the second time, and hung till he was dead. Then there was a hole dug in the ground just under him, and the rope was cut and he dropped in the ground and [was] covered over. In the afternoon there were two men flogged in our regt. belonging to Capt. Tuckerman's Comp'y.

20 Jan. This morning about daylight a party of the enemy came out to our lines and had a curmige [skirmish] with our guards. Major Durban [Dearborn?] was wounded in the wrist; but there were two of the enemy, light horsemen, killed and one more wounded.

22 Jan. This afternoon there was one of Col^o Wigelsworths [Wiglesworth's] regt. flogged.

2 Feb. [1778]. Capt. Cushing, in company with Capt. Hunt and Ensign Webb, set out for Boston.

13 Feb. This morning there was a large party detached from the whole army went off on some expedition. They carried a week's provision with them.

16 Feb'y. Lieut. Ulmore set out to go to Boston this day.

15 March [1778]. After roll call I went on the grand parade, where there was a very large concourse of people assembled. After the guards were paraded, Lieut. Enslin was brought on the parade

under a strong guard and his crime was read, which was for attempting to commit sodomy and swearing to false returns. He was sentenced to be drummed out of camp, never to return any more. His coat was turned wrong side outwards, and then he was drummed off the parade and through the camps down to the side of the Skool Kill, where a guard took him and carried him over the bridge and dismissed him.

18 March. This evening after roll call the regt. turned out and attended the funeral of Sergt. Hopper.

21 March. This evening there was a detachment of men sent to reinforce the picket at the lines.

1 April [1778]. This evening Col^o Jackson's regt. arrived here.

4 April. This forenoon our regt. passed muster. About 12 o'clk Col^o Jackson's regt. marched from here to the gulf, where they were to be stationed.

5 April. About 1 o'clk the One^b [Honorable?] Gen^l Lee was exchanged [exchanged], and dined at H. Quarters this day. This evening John Strong of our Comp'y was buried.

22 April. In the afternoon I went to meeting, and heard a fine sermon preached from Judges the 5th & 23^d verses.

23 April. Last night Capt. Cushing arrived here from Boston.

26 April. This evening Col^o Varskorts [Van Shaick?] regt. arrived here from the Norward.

6 May [1778]. This day has been spent in great rejoicings for the happy news we received from France and Spain.

7 May. In the afternoon I went over Scoolkill to see Mr. Adams.

12 May. This afternoon Sergt. Dinston arrived here from Boston.

14 May. This afternoon at 4 o'clk we turned out to exercise. Gen^l Glover's, Poor's, and Larned's Brigades formed a Division, and went through a number of manœuvres before his Excellency Gen^l Washington and members of the grand Congress.

18 May. This morning about 10 o'clk there was a detachment of 4,000 men marched off the grand parade, and five pieces of cannon, under the command of the Markes [Marquis de Lafayette?]. This evening at roll call we had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

20 May. About 11 o'clk we were alarmed. The enemy came out as far as Swead's ford [Swedesborough, N. J. ?]. We turned out and had forty rounds delivered to each man; then grounded our arms, and were to turn out again at the firing of cannon from the park. We not being alarmed any more, our arms remained grounded on the parade all day. At sun down we took up our arms, and were dismissed and returned to our quarters as usual.

25 May. This morning we turned out to exercise at 4 o'clk. The whole of the front line of the army exercised together, and the same manner in the afternoon at 4 o'clk.

2 June, 1778. In the afternoon our Bd passed muster. This afternoon the left wing of the front line turned out & formed a line of march.

3 June. This morning at roll call there were 3 men flogged in our regt.

4 June. This morning at guard mounting Thom^s Shank [?] was hanged on the grand parade for being a spy for the enemy from Philadelphia.

9 June. This afternoon we had orders to move our camp tomorrow morning at 8 o'clk.

10 June. About 8 o'clk the General¹ was beat before the B^d. We struck our tents & loaded our baggage, and about 10 o'clk we marched away from our huts about a half a mile in the front of our works, & encamped there in a very pleasant place near wood & water.

16 June. This morning there was one of our regt. flogged 50 lashes, and another forgave [?] 30 lashes.

18 June. This day noon we learned the enemy had left Philadelphia. About 12 o'clk Gen^l Poor's, Varnon's [Varnum's], & Huntington's Brigades marched off. At three o'clk the 2^d Pennsylvania & another Setherne [Southern] Brigade marched off; and we had orders with the rest of the whole army, to march tomorrow morning at 5 o'clk.

19 June. At 5 o'clk the General was beat before the Brigade, & we struck our tents & loaded our baggage. Between 9 & 10 o'clk we marched off, and making several short stops on the road to rest ourselves; we pitched our tents in a field. We had orders to cook all our provision, & be ready to march at 4 o'clk tomorrow morning. We have marched 9 miles this day. This place is called Noringtown [Norristown, Penn.].

20 June. This morning at half after 3 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents and loaded our baggage. At 4 o'clk the Troop² was beat. We fell in & were counted off, & about 5 o'clk we marched. Went about 8 miles, and stopped to rest & eat some victuals between 9 & 10 o'clk. After stopping there till about 1 o'clk we marched about 6 miles further, & pitched our tents in a field, and had orders to march tomorrow morning at 4 o'clk.

21 June. About 9 o'clk it ceased raining. We struck our tents & fell in & were counted off in order to march. About 11 o'clk we marched off, and made no halt till we got within about a quarter of a mile of the Dilewear [Delaware], where we pitched our tents

¹ A particular beat of drum or march, being that which, in the morning, gives notice to infantry to be in readiness to march. — *Century Dictionary*.

² A particular beat of the drum. — *Scott's Military Dictionary*.

on an eminence; and we had orders to be ready to cross the ferry tomorrow morning at 4 o'clk.

22 June. At 5 o'clk the General was beat. We struck our tents and loaded our baggage. Between 6 & 7 o'clk we fell in & were counted off in order to march. About 8 o'clk we marched down to the ferry & crossed. We marched about a mile and a half in the Jerseys, and made a halt there till about 1 o'clk. Then we marched about 2 miles further, where we came up with Gen^l Lee's Division and encamped in a field.

23 June. This morning at 5 o'clk the General was beat, & we turned out & got ready to march. About 7 o'clk we marched off, but left all our tents standing & our heavy baggage behind us. We marched about 10 miles, & halted on the road about 4 hours, & turned into a field to cook provision, & had orders to march at 11 o'clk at night. Our tents did not come up this night, but what little time we had to sleep we slept in the open field, which was only from 11 o'clk at night till 4 in the morning. The reason we did not march at 11 o'clk was because we could not get provision till late.

24 June. This morning at 4 o'clk the General was beat. We got up, fell in & were counted off in order to march, but we did not. Our tents came up to us, & we pitched them on the field, where we lay all night. We had no orders to march this day, but slept very quietly in our tents all day.

25 June. This morning at 5 o'clk the General was beat throughout the whole army; at 6 o'clk the Troop beat. We fell in & were counted off in order to march. We left all our tents standing & our heavy baggage behind us. We marched off, and making several short stops on the road to rest we arrived at Kingstown between 12 & 1 o'clk. We marched into a large field there and made a halt, it being very hot weather. Just after we halted we sent out a large detachment, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy, under the command of the Markis Delefiat [Marquis de Lafayette]. About sundown we moved ahead about a quarter of a mile further, into a field where we expected to take up our lodgings for the night. But we had not been here above a quarter of an hour before the long roll beat. We fell in to our arms and marched about 5 miles, and halted in the road all night.

26 June. At 5 o'clk we fell in to our arms & were counted off in order to march. About half after — o'clk we began our march & marched about 5 miles, and halted in the road & drew two days allowance of pork & flour. We cooked our provision. Between 4 & 5 o'clk we began our march again, but we had not got but a very short way before it began to rain, which caused us to stop. It held raining above an hour successively, and was attended with very heavy

thunder and sharp lightning. It being late when it stopped raining, we took our lodgings in the road without anything to cover us, or anything to lodge on but the wet ground, & we in a very wet condition.

27 June. This morning at 5 o'clk the General beat. We got up & fell in to our arms and were counted off in order to march. We drew a gill of whiskey a man, and about 7 o'clk we began our march, and marched about 4 miles & stopped in the road to rest and get water. After stopping about a half an hour we marched again about a mile further, and it being excessive hot, we halted again. I expected we should go further, but we stopped here all day. We had no orders for marching at sundown. I had the flank guard while we marched this day. We lay in the open field. Hard thunder, &c., &c.

28 June. This morning about 6 o'clk the General beat; in about an hour afterwards the Troop beat. We fell in & marched off. Went about 4 miles, & made a little halt to sarch [search] our arms and ammunition. Every man was compeated [accommodated?] with 40 rounds apiece. We left all our packs and blankets, and marched on in pursuit of the enemy as far as we could. About 2 o'clk came up with them. Our Division formed a line on an eminence about a half a mile in the front of the enemy, and our artillery in our front. A very smart cannonading ensued from both sides. We stayed here till several of our officers & men were killed and wounded. Seeing that it was of no service to stand here, we went back a little ways into the woods; but the cannonading still continued very smart on both sides about two hours, when the enemy retreated and we marched up & took possession of their ground. This place is called Monmouth. It has been very hot all day. Numbers of our men had fainted and given out with the heat before we came up to the enemy. We lay here all night in the field.

29 June. Very warm this morning. We lay still here till 5 o'clk, at which time the General beat, and we marched to the ground where we left our baggage yesterday, and lay there all night without any tents.

30 June. Excessive hot this morning. We lay still here all day.

1 July [1778]. This morning between 1 & 2 o'clk the General was beat. We got up & fell in, & were counted off in order to march; but we were delayed till almost daylight, and then we marched off & went 9 miles without making of any halt, which brought us to a place called Spots Wood. We arrived here about 8 o'clk in the morning, and made a general halt here. We had orders to march at 1 o'clk to-morrow morning.

2 July. The General was beat at 12 o'clk; the Troop just afterwards. We began our march at 1 o'clk in the morning. We went as far as Brunswick, where [we] came up with our baggage. We went about 2 miles from the town and pitched our tents in a field.

3 July. We remain still in camp. Very rainy weather all day. No orders for marching yet.

4 July. Dark & cloudy weather this morning. This afternoon at 5 o'clock the army turned out & fired a fudey joy [feu de joie] to celebrate the Glorious Independence of Americay. This evening we had orders to march at 3 o'clock tomorrow morning.

5 July. This morning at half after 2 o'clock the General beat. We turned out & struck our tents and loaded our baggage. We fell in & were counted off in order to march; but we grounded our arms and stopped here till almost sunrise, & then began our march. We went about 5 miles & stopped to rest & eat some victuals. After stopping here about an hour we marched on again, about 3 miles further, and stopped in a field, where we pitched our tents.

6 July. This morning at 5 o'clock we set out on our march. We went as far as Springfield, which was 10 miles from where we set out from. We pitched our tents in a field near the meeting house.

7 July. This morning at 5 o'clock we set out on our march. Marched 10 miles, which brought us to New Arck [Newark]. We went about a mile above the town and encamped on an eminence.

9 July. At 12 o'clock the General beat, and at 1 o'clock in the morning we began our march, and making several short stops on the road to rest, we arrived at a place called Sloter Dam. We forded the river, which was 3 feet deep, & pitched our tents on an eminence the east side of the river. We have marched 12 miles this day.

10 July. Between 1 & 2 o'clock this morning we began our march. Went about 7 miles and made a short halt to rest, and then marched on again about 3 miles further, which brought us to a place called Perambart, where we pitched our tents in a field near the meeting house. It was about 8 o'clock this morning when we got here.

11 July. This morning about daylight we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. About sunrise we began our march, went 3 miles and encamped in a place called Sadel river.

12 July. At 12 o'clock the General beat. We struck our tents & loaded our baggage. At 1 o'clock this morning we began our march. Marched about 11 miles & encamped in a field about 9 miles below Kings Ferry. It was 7 o'clock this morning when we got here. It being very bad road, our wagons did not get up till 11 o'clock.

13 July. This morning at 5 o'clock the General beat. We struck our tents & loaded our baggage. About 6 o'clock we began our march. Went about 8 miles, and encamped on an eminence about a mile below the ferry.

14 July. This morning at roll call there were four men flogged belonging to Capt. Miller's Comp'y, — 100 lashes each. About 5 o'clock this afternoon we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. We fell

in and marched down to the ferry, where we crossed & marched onto our ground where we were to encamp. Our tents did not get over till the morning.

15 *July*. This morning we pitched our tents on the ground we came onto last night. I got liberty to go [to] Peaks Kill this day.

16 *July*. I spent this day in Peaks Kill. About 8 o'clock in the evening I set out to go to the regt., but I met M^r Floyd, which persuaded me to go back to my lodgings, where we spent the night.

17 *July*. About sun rise this morning we set out to go to the regt. We went within a half a mile of Crum Pond meeting house, where we heard our B^d had orders to go back again to the place they marched from last night. We went back again to our lodgings, where we stopped to rest ourselves; after which we set out to go to the regt. again, which we found encamped at Peaks Kill Landing. We lay waiting for orders.

19 *July*. This afternoon we struck our tents and marched off. We marched as far [as] Crum Pond meeting house, and went into a field, where we lay down to sleep, but pitched no tents.

20 *July*. This morning the General beat at 2 o'clock. We marched off, went about 18 miles, stopped in a field just within Connecticut government, where we pitched our tents.

21 *July*. This morning we had orders [to] get ready to pass muster this afternoon at 5 o'clock. Between 4 & 5 o'clock this afternoon I set out to go back to Peaks Kill, where I arrived between 11 & 12 o'clock at night.

22 *July*. This morning at daylight I set out from Peaks Kill to join the regt. again. I found them encamped at Stamford [Conn.]. I have travelled 56 miles this day. I got to the regt. just before sundown.

23 *July*. This morning at 3 o'clock the General beat. About half after 5 o'clock we marched off. We marched as far as Norwick [Norwalk], where we halted 2 hours. Then we marched about 8 miles further, where we pitched our tents. We have marched 18 miles this day. This place is called Green's farms.

24 *July*. This morning at daylight we began our march from Green's farms. We went as far as Farefield [Fairfield], and halted there about 2 hours. Then we marched as far as Statford [Stratford], and encamped at the side of the river, ready to cross the ferry in the morning. We have marched 15 miles this day.

25 *July*. Between 4 & 5 o'clock we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. We marched down & crossed the ferry, & then marched as far as New Millford, & encamped in a field near the meeting house.

26 *July*. This morning about 3 o'clock we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. Soon after we marched off. We marched as far as New haven, where we halted to draw our clothing. About 4 o'clock we

marched again & went about 7 miles further, to a place called East haven, where we pitched our tents.

27 *July*. This morning about 3 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents & marched. We went as far as Old Gilford [Guilford], & made a halt till 4 o'clk. Then we marched on to a place called East Gillford, where we pitched our tents on a lane near the meeting house.

28 *July*. This morning about 3 o'clk we began our march. We went about 5 miles, to a place called Killingsford [Killingworth], where we halted till 6 o'clk. Then we marched on again about 9 miles further, to a place called Seabrock [Saybrook], where we made another halt till between 11 & 12 o'clk. Then we marched on again as far as the ferry and crossed immediately, & marched about a mile, and pitched our tents in an orchard about 5 o'clk in the afternoon. We have marched 18 miles this day.

29 *July*. This morning about 3 o'clk we began our march, and making several short stops to rest on the road, we arrived at New London between 11 & 12 o'clk in the forenoon. After marching through the town & making a short halt there, we marched onto the Island, where we pitched our tents. We have marched 20 miles this day.

30 *July*. This morning about 3 o'clk we began our march, and between 11 & 12 o'clk we arrived at Norege [Norwich], and pitched our tents in a field. We have marched about 14 miles this day. This evening at 6 o'clk our Brigade turned and marched up into the town and heard prears [prayers].

31 *July*. We lay still today for the men to wash their clothes. At 6 o'clk this [evening] we turned out and went to the town to prayers.

1 *August, 1778*. This morning about 4 o'clk we began our march from Norwich, and making several short stops, we arrived at Plane fields [Plainfield], where we pitched our tents. We have marched 15 miles this day.

2 *Aug*. This morning about daylight we began our march. We went as far as Greens Tavern and stopped till 4 o'clk. Then we marched on again as far as Angels Tavern, about 12 miles from Providence, where we halted & pitched our tents. We have marched 18 miles this day.

3 *Aug*. This morning about 3 o'clk we began our march. We went within about 3 miles of the town, and stopped in an orchard till 4 o'clk; then we set out and marched within a mile of the town, and stopped where we were to pitch our tents; but it being bad ground, we marched into town, and marched onto an eminence and pitched our tents.

6 *Aug*. This morning at 5 o'clk we struck our tents, and about 7 o'clk we marched off. Went about 12 miles; halted & pitched our tents in a place called Rehoboth.

7 Aug. This morning about 3 o'clock we struck our tents and marched off, & about 10 o'clock we crossed Taunton river. We marched about 2 miles and stopped in a field, where we lay all night; but it was so late when our tents got up we did not pitch them this night.

8 Aug. This morning about daylight we began our march. We went about 7 miles, which brought us near Howlands Ferry, where we pitched our tents.

9 Aug. This morning between 6 & 7 o'clock we paraded in order to go over the river. About 8 o'clock we marched down & crossed Howlands Ferry onto Rhode Island. We marched onto the hills above the forts and stopped there for our baggage to come up. Then we pitched our tents and stayed here all night.

10 Aug. A very smart cannonading began from the French fleet about 8 o'clock this morning, which lasted two hours. We lay still in camp yet.

11 Aug. We drew three days provision, and had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march towards New Port tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock.

12 Aug. It is very stormy weather this morning, which hinders our marching agreeable to yesterdays orders. It continued very stormy all day.¹ In the evening the storm increased very much; it blew to such degree that there were but very few tents standing in the brigade by 10 o'clock. Our tent stood very well till about 1 o'clock; then it blew up, & we found it impossible to pitch it again. We took our blankets and set out to look for shelter. We got inside a barn among some horses & hogs, where we stayed till day light.

13 Aug. We set out from our lodgings & went up to the regt., but found [it] in a deplorable condition, scarcely a tent standing in it. We went to the sutler's & got a dram of brandy, & then went to blacksmiths shop, where [we] stayed till the afternoon, [when] the storm abated. We came up & pitched our tents, & got some dry hay & made ourselves considerable comfortable.

[Book No. 3.]

Rhode Island, Friday, 14th of Aug., 1778. This morning about daylight our camps were alarmed, but I don't know the occasion of it yet. There was a large detachment from our brigade went out. Between 9 & 10 o'clock we turned out & had our arms & ammunition searched; then we were dismissed, but had orders to turn out at the shortest notice.

15 Aug. This morning about 6 o'clock we struck our tents & loaded our baggage. About 7 o'clock we marched off our ground. Marched

¹ This storm wrecked and scattered both the French and British fleets at Newport, and did a great deal of damage throughout the State.

about 5 miles and stopped in the road till about 12 o'clk. Then we marched about a mile further, & halted in a field where we had a plain view of the enemy's works. Our tents did not come up to us this night.

16 *Aug.* This morning our tents came up, and we pitched them in the field where we lay last night. The duty very hard on the men. This afternoon about 5 o'clk the weather came up very foggy.

17 *Aug.* Very thick & lowering weather. About 11 o'clk this forenoon it cleared away. As the fog cleared off, the enemy discovered our troops intrenching near their lines, at which they fired several shots. Just before sundown the weather came up very thick & misty.

18 *Aug.* Dark & misty weather. The enemy seem to be very angry. They fire at our men that are intrenching very brisk. The enemy have kept up a cannonading at our works all day.

19 *Aug.* Last evening one of our sentries was taken off his post by the enemys rounds. About 9 o'clk the fog cleared, and the cannonading began from both sides, which was continued all day.

20 *Aug.* The enemy is very peaceable as yet. The weather remains unsettled. In the afternoon there were several shots fired from both sides.

21 *Aug.* This morning our people threw several shells at the enemys works, & the cannonading was kept up as usual on both sides.

22 *Aug.* Dark & windy weather. Nothing remarkable today, only there is no firing.

23 *Aug.* Nothing remarkable today. Several shells thrown from both parties in the night.

25 *Aug.* Our people keep up a very smart cannonading and bombading [bombarding] against the enemy this morning till about 11 o'clk. Orders to parade all the men unfit for action at 6 o'clk this morning. Everything seems to be very still on both sides at present. A return of all the sick called for in the regt. This evening Lieut. Grace arrived here with his party from Philadelphia.

26 *Aug.* No firing this morning from either side, & everything seems to be very still.

27 *Aug.* Warm & muggy weather. Things remain very still.

28 *Aug.* Last evening there was a cannon shot fired from the enemy's lines which entered a house of one of the inhabitants and struck an infant as it was sucking at its mother's breast. It tore the infant in pieces but did not hurt the mother, but wounded an aged woman in the same house. This afternoon one of our men was hanged on the grand parade for attempting to desert to the enemy. This evening just after roll call we had orders to pack up all our clothes and be ready to start at the shortest notice, but did not know whether we were to advance or retreat. At 8 o'clk we struck our tents & loaded our baggage in the most silent manner. About 9 o'clk we began our retreat. We

marched with great silence and moderation to the north end of the island, and halted on the same ground we encamped on when we first landed on the island. We stopped here all night.

29 Aug. This morning about 4 o'clk our pickets and advance left the lines. About daylight the enemy advanced upon them. About 7 o'clk in the morning they attacked our rear, and drove them some ways very fast. Our party was reinforced, & then we held our ground by a very smart engagement both with cannon & muskets. For some time our main body kept their ground; but the enemy drove our detached party several times, until they came within shot of our heavy cannon, which were placed on an eminence on our right. We played on the enemy from there very warm for some time, which obliged them to retreat. We followed them very close till they possessed themselves of some hills in their rear, where they made a stand. A very warm engagement ensued between our right and the enemys left for several hours. Sometimes our party gave way, & at others the enemy; but at the last our party got much the advantage of the enemy. The enemy seeing they could gain no advantage on our right, they advanced on our left, where we repulsed them and drove them back to their hills. One of the enemy's sloops of war and two tenders ran up the river and came to anchor round the north end of the island, in order to cut off our retreat from the island if we should find it needful; but our people run down two 18 pounders, which we played from and soon obliged them to slip their cables and make off themselves. We kept up a constant fire on the enemy all the afternoon till sundown, when the firing on both sides ceased. We lay down under a stone wall about a quarter of a mile from the enemys hills. We were alarmed several times in the night by the firing of small arms. We took one prisoner in the action, which deserted from our side when Fort Mungunney [Montgomery] was besieged by the enemy. We shot him in about an hour after we took him prisoner.

30 Aug. The enemy keep possession of their hills yet, and we still remain on the ground we stayed on last night. Our scouting party and theirs keep a constant firing at each other. At sundown this evening we fell in to roll call. After the rolls were called we were counted off in platoons, after which we stacked our arms and lay down, but had orders not to go to sleep. About 8 o'clk we fell in and began our march towards the ferry in the most silent manner. We marched about a mile and stopped in the road. Our brigade stopped here till all our stores were carried off our hills & all our army had marched by us except our rear-guard, which consisted of Col^e Wigglesworth's regt. and our light corps. About 10 o'clk we marched on again, and made no more halt till we got to the ferry, where the boats were waiting for us. We embarked and crossed the ferry. After we all got over the ferry we

marched up onto the ground that we pitched our tents on before we landed on the island, and halted; but it being dark we did not pitch our tents this night.

31 Aug. This morning before daylight our retreat off the island was completed without the loss of any men, artillery, or baggage. After daylight we got our tents and pitched them on our old ground. This afternoon all our spare cartridges were returned to the Q^r Mr.

Howland's Ferry, Sept. 1st, 1778. This morning just after daylight we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. About 7 o'clock we began our march for Providence. We marched 8 miles, which brought us to Tantun [Taunton] river. We crossed the river in flat bottomed boats. We marched about 8 miles after we crossed the river, and halted in a place called Rehboth [Rehoboth].

2 Sept. This morning we drew one gill of rum a man. About 7 o'clock we begun our march. We made no stop till we arrived at Providence. We marched onto hills above the town and halted. Our tents did not come up till about 9 o'clock at night. We did not pitch them this night.

3 Sept. We pitched our tents this morning on the hills. Nothing remarkable today.

5 Sept. This evening we had orders to move our encampment as soon as it was convenient.

6 Sept. This morning our brigade paraded and was counted off in divisions and marched to meeting. After the service was over we marched to camp again in the same order. In the afternoon we attended divine service in the same order.

7 Sept. This morning Col^o Jacksons regt. struck their tents & loaded their baggage in order to march to Bedford; but their orders were countermanded, & they pitched their tents again on the same ground.

10 Sept. There was one of Coll^o Eliots [Robert Elliot] regt. flogged 100 lashes for desertion.

13 Sept. This morning about 10 o'clock I left our camp and set out on my journey for Boston. I travelled as far as a tavern in Attelborough, where I stopped and dined. After stopping here some time I set out again and travelled about 11 miles further, and stopped and got my supper and lodging at a private house. This place is called Rentam [Wrentham].

14 Sept. This morning about 7 o'clock I set out from my lodging. I travelled about 9 miles, which brought me into Deadam [Dedham]. I stopped here and got breakfast. Then I set out again, & making several stops by the way, I arrived in Boston about sundown.

15 Sept. I breakfasted this morning at Mrs. Haynes's; dined at my brother's & spent the evening at Mr. Porter's.

24 *Sept.* About 3 o'clk I set out on my journey to Providence to join my regt. again. I travelled as far as my fathers at Braintree, and tarried there all night.

25 *Sept.* About 10 o'clk I set out on my journey towards camp. I travelled as far as my brother's in Middleborough, and stopped here for the night.

27 *Sept.* About 8 o'clk I set out on my journey to camp, and arrived there about 8 o'clk in the evening.

28 *Sept.* This morning our brigade turned out & marched onto a plain some distance from our camp. We performed several manœuvres; then marched back to our camp and was dismissed till 3 o'clk, at which time we turned out & marched onto the plain again, where we were reviewed by the Gen^l & performed several manœuvres; after which we marched into the town. The brigade was divided, in order to perform a sham fight. The right wing went down the front street; the left down the back street. There were two field pieces with each party. The left marched down the back street, turned and came up the front street as far as Gen^l Glover's quarters, where they met the right. They began the engagement with field pieces which were discharged several times on both parties; after which they fell in the rear, & then the musketry began, which was fired by platoons in great order. The left wing retreated over the bridge. The right pursued them very close till they got to the bridge, where the artillery of both parties was brought in the front. They disputed the bridge some time with the field pieces, but the left wing gained the bridge and the right wing retreated as far as where the engagement began. By this time it had grown quite dark; the general officers came to a parley, and the firing ceased on both sides. Both parties passed to the right-about, & marched to the camp again in the same order as before mentioned. All this was performed with the greatest order and activity possible.

5 *Oct.*, 1778. About 10 o'clk the B^d turned out & went into the field for exercise. We went through several manœuvres & were reviewed by the Gen^l. Between 1 & 2 o'clk we returned to our camp & were dismissed. — This evening were brought to town, under a strong guard, ten Tories that were taken as they were going from the Main out [to] the island in a boat, — they had been plundering the inhabitants on the Main, — amongst which was the infamous Will^m Crosden,¹ an inhabitant of Rhode Island. He and two more were put in irons, and the whole of them were committed to the main guard.

¹ William Crosson, of whom some account is given in Peterson's History of Rhode Island, pp. 222, 223. He subsequently escaped from his place of confinement in Providence, and accompanied the British troops when they withdrew from Newport.

7 Oct. This forenoon Sergt. Willams arrived here from Princetown hospital.

17 Oct. This afternoon at 2 o'clk the brigade was turned out, in order to attend the execution of John & James Battel, soldiers in Col^o Shepard's regt. The criminals were brought from the Provost under a strong guard. Their coffins were borne just before them. The Dead March was played behind them. In this manner they were brought to the place where they were to be executed. Where the brigade was paraded, the Criminals were brought in front for every one to see them; after which their sentence was read, which was to be shot. Their coffins were set down by the edge of their graves. The men that were to be their executioners had their guns loaded for that purpose, and marched up within about a rod of the coffins. The criminals were made to kneel down by the side of their coffins in order to receive the fatal blow; but at the moment they were to be shot their reprieves were read. The brigade marched back to our camp & was dismissed.

18 Oct. The brigade went to meeting all day at the Babtis [Baptist] meeting house. I dined with Mr. Welds.

25 Oct. I went to meeting at Mr. Snow's meeting in the forenoon. In the afternoon I went with the brigade to the Babtis meeting house.

26 Oct. This afternoon we turned out and were joined by Col^o Jackson's detachment & the Gen^ls Life Guards, & performed a sham fight in the field.

4 Nov. [1778]. This afternoon at 3 o'clk we struck our tents and marched to our winter quarters at the upper part of the town.

22 Nov. This afternoon the regt. paraded & went to meeting at Mr. Maning's meeting [house], where we had a sermon delivered to us by our Chaplain on the occasion of the death of the consort of our worthy and much esteemed Gen^l Glover; likewise to John Bushby, who is under the sentence of death and is to be executed on Monday.

23 Nov. This afternoon between 3 & 4 o'clk John Bushby of Col^o Vose's regt. was shot to death for desertion — on the common near Gen^l Glover's old encampment.

5 December [1778]. This afternoon Eben^r Williams was to be shot, but the weather would not admit of turning out.

6 Dec. This morning at roll call there were three prisoners brought onto the parade, and were to be flogged; but the Col^o forgave them that part of their punishment. We have orders to parade at 1 o'clk to attend Divine service. — This afternoon the regt. attended Divine service at Mr. Manning's meeting house.

7 Dec. This morning at 10 o'clk the regt. paraded in [order] to attend the execution of Eben^r Williams; but for reasons unknown

to me he is reprieved till next Saturday afternoon. Dan! Wilkings was flogged one hundred lashes on the grand parade, for mutiny.

9 Dec. This evening at roll call there were four men flogged — belonging to our regt. — for embezzling public stores.

10. At 12 o'clk the regt. turned out to roll call, and there were 7 men flogged; three of them 2 hundred lashes each; three of them one hundred each, and one sixty lashes, — all for embezzling public stores.

[BOOK No. 4.]

19 December [1778]. This morning at roll call we had orders to parade at — o'clk to attend the execution of Eben^r Williams, who has been reprieved from time to time. — Upon repeated examination the Gen^l finds that said Williams was not the promoter of the mutiny for which he was to suffer death. The Gen^l has therefore been pleased to pardon said Williams, and he has this evening returned to his duty.

27 Dec. This afternoon the regt. was turned out without their arms, and marched, or rather run, about three miles out of town. I can't give any reason for so doing, except it was to beat a path for the teams to bring in wood.

28 Dec. This day being St. Johns, the free masons walked in seshon [procession] from the Court house to the Church, where one of the brothers delivered a short oration. After the solemnety [solemnity] was over, the masons walked in the same elegant manner from the church to the place where they held the Lodge.

29 Dec. This forenoon the B^d was turned out and went to shovelling snow.

3 January, 1779. This evening just after sundown my friend Ulmer & I walked down in town as far as Mr. Walker's, where we met a number of respectable gentlemen and ladies. As soon as we were seated we were presented with a glass of wine in very genteel manner. Between 6 & 7 o'clk we had the pleasure of seeing M^r Sam^l Welds and Mrs. Susanah Walker enter into the blissful state of marriage. After the nuptial seremonies were over, we were again seated & very genteelly entertained with cake and wine, & spent the evening very agreeably till near 10 o'clk, at which time the company began to retire. Mr. Ulmer and I came home to our quarters.

6 Jan. About 2 o'clk this afternoon the regt. turned out to attend the execution of John B. Molten, Petter [Peter] Peney, & John Ratford, which were to be hanged for embezzling public stores. We marched onto the grand parade, where the B^d was formed, & marched onto the Common, near our old encampment, where the gallows were erected. The unhappy criminals were brought under a strong guard, and the

cart and one coffin in it brought under the gallows; the said B. Molten cas^d [caused] to get up onto the cart, & there sentence was read. Just at the time he was to be swung off, the minister came with their reprieves from the Gen^l. We marched to our respective quarters & were dismissed.

15 Jan. About 12 o'clk there was a large command called out of the Brigade. They were paraded & had their arms searched & served with ammunition, and then dismissed for a while; but was to be ready to turn out again at the shortest notice.

3 Feb. [1779]. About 1 o'clk our regt. was mustered. This evening at roll call two of our regt. were flogged for theft.

8 Feb. This morning the B^d turned out, & was joined by the Gen^l-guard and Col^o Jacksons Detachment, — all the artillery in town. After we were reviewed by the Gen^l, we marched onto the hill above the town and performed a sham fight, after which we marched to our barracks and were dismissed.

16 Feb. About 12 o'clk there was a detachment went from our Brigade. — It is thought the enemy have a mind to land down the river. About 9 o'clk in the evening there was another detachment went off that took the biggest part of the men in the B^d that were fit for duty.

28 Feb. About 10 o'clk this morning I set out to go to Warwick [Warwick] to take Sergt. Dennison's place on the detachment there, and arrived there about 1 o'clk. — At sundown I carried my men to roll call. After the rolls were called I mounted guard with sixteen men under my command. I marched with my men about 2 miles towards the Point, where I left my guard. I sent a corporal and four men down to the Point. At 11 o'clk I sent a corporal and four men out as a patrolling party, which went down to the Point and all round the shore. They discovered nothing remarkable. Came in again about 1 o'clk, at which time I sent out another party, which went the rounds as before and came in about three o'clk; at which time I sent another party, which went the rounds as usual and came in between 4 & 5 o'clk, and then I sent another party, which patrolled till daylight and then came in with the other corporal and four men from the Point. I went to the commissary's, and got a gill of rum p^r man. After I gave it to them, I dismissed them.

24 Feb. About 7 o'clk this morning we set out to go to Grinege [Greenwich]. We marched about half a mile to the water side, and embarked on board two batteaux. We arrived at Grinege about ten o'clk. We landed and marched above the town, where we stacked our arms. About 11 o'clk Maj^r Coggell's [Thos. Cogswell's] detachment came into town from Boston Neck. We marched and joined them. Col^o Green's detachment, with Gen^l Sollavens [Sullivan's] Life Guard and a detachment from the Artillery, joined us; and we were all sup-

plied with a sufficient number of sporting cartridges to perform a sham fight, after which we were reviewed by Gen^l Sollovann [Sullivan]. Then we marched into a field above the town and performed a sham field fight; after which we marched back into the town and performed a street fight till about four o'clk, at which time we ceased from our sporting. Gen^l Sollovⁿ ordered the troops a gill of rum p^r man. After we had drawn our rum we were billeted amongst the inhabitants for the night; but our quarters were so poor that Capt. Barnes thought it best to go back to Warick again. We went to our boats and set off, and about nine o'clk in the evening we got to our quarters at Warick again.

25 Feb. This morning I went to the commissarys, and drew four days allowance of provision for the detachment.

28 Feb. About 12 o'clk Sergt. Williams came to relieve me. About 1 o'clk I set out to come to Providence, where arrived between 4 & 5 o'clk.

26 March, 1779 Orderly Sergt. Green arrived here from Boston.

29 March. About 12 o'clk this day Gen^l Sullivan left this town [Providence] and began his journey for Head Quarters.

3 April [1779]. Between 10 & 11 o'clk the regt. paraded and marched onto the grand parade and joined the rest of the Brigade; and the whole was counted off [in] Divisions and marched out of town to meet Gen^l Gates, and escorted him into town in the grandest order.

6 April. This day the Hon^{ble} Gen^l Gates dined at Hackor's Hall with the chief of the officers of this department.

18 April. This afternoon 1 Sergt., 1 Corp^l, and 12 men from our Brigade set out to Boston with Crosens¹ prisoners from the main guard.

25 April. It is said there is an express arrived in town this day for our Brigade to march to the Nor^d [northward].

27 April. About 1 o'clk Sergt. Copinger and his party arrived here from Boston. He brought 3 prisoners from there.

2 May, 1779. This evening our D Master [Drillmaster ?] arrived here from Boston.

4 May. This afternoon at 5 o'clk the Brigade paraded, and Wm. Luckey received his punishment, — which was to go from the guard house to the gallows with a halter round his neck, — there to be stripped naked and run the ganlote [gantlet, or gantelope] through the Brigade.

5 May. This evening at roll call there were three men of our regt. flogged 50 lashes each.

6 May. This morning about 7 o'clk our regt. was mustered for the months of March and April. In the afternoon the Brigade paraded together and went to meeting.

¹ See note relating to William Crosson, *ante*, p. 118.

8 May. This morning about 5 o'clk we were alarmed by a report [that] the enemy in a number of boats had gone up Tanton [Taunton] river in order to land there. The regt. was turned out and kept under arms till about 9 o'clk, and dismissed with orders to turn out again at the shortest notice.

21 May. This forenoon we were alarmed. We turned out and marched down to fore Pint [Fore Point?], and from there back again over the bridge. After some time we marched back again to our quarters, and were dismissed.

25 May. This morning just after day light the General beat, and we turned out and marched off the regt^l parade in order to encamp; but the tent poles not being all ready for us, the B^d formed together and performed several manœuvres. After that we marched to our respective quarters again, and were dismissed.

26 May. This morning before 5 o'clk the General beat, and we turned out again in order to take the field; but before we marched off the regt^l parade it began to rain, which prevented our encamping.

29 May. This morning after roll call we turned out a fatigue party to pitch our tents.

31 May. This morning just after daylight the General beat, and we turned out, and about 6 o'clk we marched off the regt^l parade over to our camp, it being already pitched.

12 June [1779]. This morning the B^d turned out before sunrise, and marched into town and then back again to camp. This forenoon I was orderly at a Gen^l Court Martial.

16 June. This morning I mounted the West Redoubt Guard with Lieut. Phelan, of Col^o Wigglesworth's regt.

18 June. This day was printed, at the printing office in this town, the grand success of Gen^l Linkorn's [Lincoln's] army at the Sutherd [Southward].

21 June. This morning I went to Head quarters to relieve the orderly Sergt. there, but he refused to be relieved.

24 June. This morning I mounted the West Redoubt guard. About an hour after guard mounting I got Sergt. Williams to relieve me. This evening I had the pleasure of seeing married by the Rev^d Mr. Snow, M^r George Ulmer & M^{rs} Polley Tanner. Their company consisted of about 15 couple. We were entertained genteelly with cake and cheese and wine. About 11 o'clk the company broke up.

4 July, 1779. This morning there is a very strong report that our B^d is going to march to Peaks Kill. This evening at roll call we had orders to march tomorrow morning at 4 o'clk, but our destiny is not known.

5 July (Monday). We did not march this morning agreeable to last night's orders, by reason of not being able to provide wagons sufficient

to carry our baggage so soon. The destination of our march remains a secret yet. This day being four years since the independence of Amarick [America], it was celebrated by firing 13 cannon from the park of artillery and the several posts round this shore. Our orders are to march tomorrow morning at 4 o'clk.

6 July. We have not marched agreeable to last night's orders; but we remain in all the preparation possible for troops to be in. This evening at roll call we had orders to march at daylight, as before.

7 July. Just after daylight the General beat, and we struck our tents and loaded our baggage. About 7 o'clk the B^d marched off; but I tarried behind with one Corp^l and 12 men for a guard to bring up some clothing to the B^d as soon as wagons could be provided for the same.

8 July. About 12 o'clk there was an express arrived here from the B^d for the Gen^l, all the officers and soldiers to move on to the B^d as fast as possible.

9 July. This morning about 5 o'clk the Gen^l's baggage set out to go to the B^d. The Gen^l not thinking it proper to send on the clothing to the B^d, I was ordered on with the Gen^l's Guard and baggage. The weather prevented our going but about two miles before we stopped, for it rained very fast. We stopped here about two hours, and the shower abating some, we moved on again. About 12 o'clk it ceased raining, but still continued dark and cloudy. After we had marched on about 12 miles, one of our wagons broke, which obliged us to stop again at Angel's tavern. We set the carpenters to mending our wagon, and pressed a cart to carry on the rest of our baggage. About 5 o'clk we moved on again, and marched as far [as] Brown's tavern in Scituate [Scituate, Conn.], where we halted for the night. Here we dismissed our pressed cart, and took another to carry our baggage till our wagon came up. We have marched 18 miles this day.

10 July. This morning about 5 o'clk we began our march; travelled 8 miles, and stopped at —— tavern in V[olun] town till 12 o'clk, at which — [conclusion missing].

[Book No. 5.]

11 July, 1779. This morning at 2 o'clk the General beat. We turned out, struck our tents and loaded our baggage, and about three o'clk marched off, and made no halt till we arrived at New London, it being about 9 o'clk in the morning. About 12 o'clk our baggage came up to us. We pitched our tents.

12 July. About 8 o'clk we struck our tents and loaded our baggage and marched off. Went about 6 miles, and halted for the men to rest.

In about half an hour marched on again, and made no halt till we got to Sebrock [Saybrook] ferry. We crossed the ferry and marched two miles, and halted for the night. Our baggage not coming up, the men were quartered in houses and barns.

13 July. This morning we turned out just after sunrise and drew provision and rum, and had to cook our provision and be ready to march at 8 o'clk. A regt^l Court Martial sat in our regt. this morning before we moved. About 8 o'clk the General beat. We fell in and were counted off in order to march; but we stacked our arms and stopped till 10 o'clk, and marched about 6 miles, and stopped to rest and refresh ourselves. After a short stop here we marched on again, and making several short stops, we marched into a fine town called Kilingsworth. Here we halted about an hour, and marched on to East Gilford, where we pitched our tents for this night.

14 July. This morning at 2 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents, loaded our baggage, and marched off. Made no halt till we marched through [a] fine large town called West Gilford. Here we halted to draw provisions and cook. Between 10 & 11 o'clk we set out again and marched as far as Branford, where we pitched our tents. This evening I mounted guard with Lieut. Hunt. He marched the guard about quarter of the encampment, and set three sentinels for the purpose of stopping soldiers from passing and repassing.

15 July. About 5 o'clk the Brigade marched by us. Our guard brought up the rear of the Brigade. We marched as far as East Haven, and encamped there, it being about 8 o'clk. Our guard was dismissed as soon as the Brigade halted. We have no orders to march to-morrow morning.

16 July. The men have orders to clean their arms and keep in camp after roll call. I with several other sergts. of the regt. took a walk into the pastures to pick whortleberries, where we found them very plenty. After we had satisfied ourselves with them, we returned to camp again.

17 July. This afternoon the Brigade was turned out in order to exercise; but some dispute arising between Col^o Vose & Biglow concerning their rank, the B^d was dismissed without marching off the parade.

18 July. At 2 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents & loaded our baggage, and in short time marched off. Went as far as New Haven. Marched through the town and pitched our tents in two fields, — one not being large enough for the Brigade to encamp in. We found the town very desolate, much destroyed & plundered by the enemy, who had been here just before us.

19 July. This morning about 2 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents, loaded our baggage, and about daylight we marched off.

Went 7 miles and halted for the men to rest. After making a short stop we marched on again, and made no halt till we came to Statford ferry, which we crossed in scows and boats. Marched up into the town, and halted for our baggage to get over the ferry. This town is not thick-settled, but very extensive and beautified, with a grand meeting house and many other stately buildings. Our baggage being all come up & the men well rested, about 4 o'clk in the afternoon we marched on again 4 miles further, and encamped on a field. We drew one days provision & rum here. We have marched 18 miles this day, & it has been very warm all day. This is a part of fare feild [Fairfield], but not the town.

20 July, 1779. This morning about 3 o'clk the General beat. We struck our tents, loaded our baggage, and about 4 o'clk marched off. But we had not marched but about a mile before the rain obliged us to halt. We got shelter in houses and barns. About 7 o'clk the shower ceased, & we marched on between 8 & 9 o'clk. We marched through the ruins of fare feild town, which the enemy had burned and destroyed, all except a few scattering houses and barns. We marched on about 5 miles further, and halted till about 1 o'clk, at which time we marched on again as far as Norwerk [Norwalk], which place we found in great desolation, entirely burnt & destroyed, except a few small buildings. We marched through the town, and encamp in a field. We drew one day's allowance of rum this night.

21 July. We have this day allowed us to wash our clothes in and to rest. This evening the men's arms were searched and put in preparation for action. We have orders to march at half after 2 o'clk in the morning.

22 July. At 2 o'clk this morning the General beat, and at half after 2 we began our march. Travelled about 6 miles, and halted in a place called Wilton. Between 7 & 8 o'clk we marched on again as far as Ridgefield, where we halted about an hour, and then marched on again four miles further and encamped on the top of a high hill. We sent a large picket from the Brigade this evening.

23 July. We have no orders for marching this morning. At 8 o'clk I mounted the main & front guard with Capt. Smith, of Col^o Wigglesworth's regt. We had 2 Su^os, 4 Sergts., 4 Corpls, and 50 men on guard. He marched about half mile in front of our camp, and relieved Capt. Webb & his guard. Afterwards he sent one Sergt., Corpl., & 12 men about a mile & a half in his front to guard the smiths of the Brigade. Just before sunset the officers of the day visited our guard; at 9 o'clk the Capt. detached a Sergt., Corpl., & 9 men, & sent them about a quarter of a mile in the front of our guard to continue there all night; and another Sergt. and four men to patrol from our guard to the Sergt's guard in the front of the whole.

24 July. This morning at daylight our guard was paraded and continued under arms till about sunrise. Just afterwards the Sergt., Corpl., & 9 men that were in our front came in to the guard. Between 8 & 9 o'clk Capt. Mills, with a guard of 50 men, marched by us and took post about 2 miles in our front. He relieved our advance guard, and they returned to us again, after which we fell in and marched to camp in the same order that we came from there in, and were dismissed. I have had a pleasant and agreeable guard.

27 July. This evening at roll call there was one of our regt. flogged one hundred lashes for absenting himself from the regt. without leave.

28 July. This morning about sunrise a command consisting of two hundred men out of Col^o Shepard's & Biglow's regts., under the command of Col^o Shepard, marched to Col^o Moiling's [Moylan of Pennsylvania?] quarters, there to be distributed as Col^o Moiling and Shepard should think proper. At 8 o'clk I mounted the main guard with Capt. Smith of Col^o Sprout's regt. Between 1 & 2 o'clk the officer of the day visited our guard.

29 July. About ten o'clk I was relieved from guard. About 1 o'clk it ceased raining. About 2 o'clk we had orders to pack up and be ready to march immediately. About three o'clk our Regt. marched off. We left our tents standing, & some of our other baggage behind us. We marched and halted in a place called Lower Sallem. We put up in the meeting house and barns. We sent out large pickets. Sergts. Ulmer & Green joined the regt. this evening.

30 July. About 6 o'clk this afternoon I mounted the quarter guard of the regt., with one Corp^l and nine men. Our regt. is to stay here till further orders.

31 July. This morning about 10 o'clk were brought three Tories and put under my custody. Between 5 & 6 o'clk I was relieved from the guard.

Sunday, 1 Aug., 1779. At daylight this morning we turned out of the meeting house with our packs, in order to clean the meeting house; but the rain soon obliged us to go into the meeting house again for shelter. About 8 o'clk we turned out again and marched about 2 miles to Upper Sallem Church, where we halted and put up in a barn. The church being very small, the officers took it up for their quarters. Between 6 & 7 o'clk I mounted guard with one Corp^l and 12 men.

4 Aug. This afternoon our Brigade marched down and encamped on the hill just above the Church; but our regt. still keeps their station at the Church.

5 Aug. At 8 o'clk I mounted the Rockell picket, which was posted about a half a mile in the front of our encampment. Lieut. Cushing Com^d the picket. Between 2 & 3 o'clk the Officer of the day visited our picket, and ordered Lieut. Cushing to remove about half a mile

further in the front, where we were posted in a much pleasanter place than we moved from. Between 12 & 1 o'clk at night the Officer of the day visited our guard again.

6 Aug. We have no relief from the guard this morning on account of the camp's being alarmed yesterday. Between 11 & 12 o'clk the Officer of the day visited our guard.

7 Aug. It has been very rainy all day, which has prevented our being relieved. In the evening the storm increased, & grew very dark, and was attended with very heavy thunder and sharp lightning.

8 Aug. About nine o'clk our guard was relieved. We marched to the regt., but found it encamped with the rest of the B^d, on the side of a hill, and very muddy ground. This afternoon the regt. attended Divine Service.—This day arrived here from Headquarters, Capt. Smith of Col^o Sprout's regt. with 160 recruits for our B^d, which were divided into each regt. according to the strength of the same.

9 Aug. This forenoon the regt. was turned out, and cleared a piece of ground to encamp on. In the afternoon we moved our encampment.

10 Aug. Just before sundown Col^o Sprout arrived here from Headquarters.

14 Aug. This afternoon we had a number of recruits join our regt.

18 Aug. This forenoon we were reviewed by the Inspector General of the army of the United States.

6 Sept. [1779]. About 1 o'clk our camp was alarmed.

7 Sept. This evening our men returned that went to the lines.

10 Sept. This afternoon the Brigade was inspected by the Inspector General.

14 Sept. This morning 7 recruits joined our regt. The enemy have been out this day, which has occasioned an alarm in our camp.

16 Sept. This morning about sunrise the General beat. We struck our tents and loaded our baggage, and about 7 o'clk marched off and marched through Bedford, and within about half a mile of Croton bridge, and halted there about an hour; then marched back as far as N Castel [Newcastle, N. Y.] Church, and halted there. The B^d scattered and got lodging as we could, but no baggage came up this night.

17 Sept. This morning we turned out and marched to the alarm post, and stopped there awhile, and then marched back to the barn, where we lodged. At 12 o'clk went to roll call, and at 4 in the afternoon, and continued in the regt^l parade till sunset, at which time the pickets were turned out of the regt., and the rest of us [went] to our respective lodgings, with orders to lie on our arms and be ready to turn out at the shortest notice.

18 Sept. At sunrise we turned out for roll call at the Comp^y quarters. Nothing remarkable today.

19 Sept. At 8 o'clk marched up to the reg^t parade and stacked our arms. About 11 o'clk we fell in and marched up to the church, and stacked our arms in the road, and had orders to cook our provision. — About 5 o'clk marched again back as far as Bedford, and pitched our tents on a high hill the east side of the ruins of the town. This day Gen^l Nicksons [Nixon's] B^d joined us and are encamped with us. It being late when we got here, we did not pitch our tents in order.

20 Sept. This forenoon we struck our tents and pitched them in a line in order, and cleared a parade.

21 Sept. It being the first time of our two Brigades mounting guards together, I went to the grand parade to see them march off.

29 Sept. This afternoon we had two recruits join our Company.

30 Sept. This morning all the Light Infantry of the Brigade marched for the lines, with a Capt. com^d from the Battalions. This evening Sergt. Webb joined the company.

[BOOK No. 6.]

1 Oct., 1779. This morning about 7 o'clk I set out with Corp^l Beal to go to Upper Salem to see John Mosher. We paid him a visit, and returned to camp again.

3 Oct. This forenoon about 11 o'clk I left camp and proceeded on my journey for Boston. I travelled as far as Salem, where I stopped and put up, and meeting with good entertainment, I tarried all night.

4 Oct. This morning about sunrise I set out from my lodgings at Salem, and travelled as far as Danbrey [Danbury], where I stopped and breakfasted. After making a considerable stop there, I set out again, and making several stops for entertainment, I put up at Peacock's tavern in Woodbruy.

5 Oct. This morning about 6 o'clk I set out from my lodgings and travelled about 4 miles; but the rain coming on very fast obliged me to stop. I happened to stop at the minister's house, where I breakfasted. The storm abated, and between 10 and 11 o'clk I set out again and travelled 17 miles, and put up in the parish of Suthington at one Jenking's tavern.

6 Oct. About 6 o'clk I set out on my journey. Travelled 6 miles and breakfasted. Then I set out and [travelled] about 11 miles further, which brought me to ———. Here I dined and drew three days provision, and set out again; but the storm interfering so that [I] came but about two miles this side the river before I put up for the night.

7 Oct. This morning about 7 o'clk I set out from my lodgings; travelled about 5 miles, and unluckily took a wrong road and was obliged to travel about 4 miles before I could reellify [rectify] my mis-

take. After I got into my road again I stopped to breakfast, and then travelled on again, and reached Windum [Windham] about sunset. I met with Mr. Stow, one of my old acquaintance, which entertained me very kindly.

8 Oct. This morning I breakfasted with Mr. Stow. Between 8 & 9 o'clk I set out on my journey, and, making several stops I put up at Love's tavern in Covendrey [Coventry], in Rhode Island government.

9 Oct. About sunrise this morning I set out on my journey, and travelled about 7 miles and stopped to breakfast. After making some stop, after breakfast I set out again, and reached Providence between 1 and 2 o'clk. I stopped at Mrs. Parkers.

10 Oct., Sunday. I spent the biggest part of the day with my friends, but went to meeting in the afternoon at the Baptis meeting.

11 Oct. This morning I breakfasted with Mr. Reynolds. About 9 o'clk I set out for Brantre [Braintree]. I travelled about 12 miles, and stopped and dined at a private house in Atelbrough [Attleborough]. After making a short stop here I set out again and travelled about 14 miles further, and stopped and put up at Kith's tavern.

12 Oct. This morning about 6 o'clk I set out on my journey, and making several stops, I arrived at my fathers house in Brantree about one o'clk.

13 Oct. This morning about 10 o'clk I set out from Brantree to go to Boston. I stopped at Col^o Vose's at Milton. After I performed my business there I set out for Boston, where I reached about 4 o'clk.

[Book No. 7.¹]

West Point, 19th February, 1781. The Light Infantry of the Massachusetts line crossed the N. [North] river and marched to Peeks Kill, that being the place appointed for the rendezvous, where we were quartered in houses.

20th. We were joined by five companies from the Connecticut and two from the N. Hampshire lines, one from the Rhode Island and one from Hazen's Regiments. The whole were inspected by Lt. Col. Smith at a place near the landing; after which we marched to King's ferry, and crossed as soon as possible & marched to Hevystraw [Haverstraw, N. Y.], where the troops were quartered in houses. Sup^d on my rations, and lodged on the floor.

¹ The matter contained in this book was probably copied by Lieutenant Wild from the rough journal kept in camp. There is a marked improvement in the penmanship and orthography, and it would appear at first sight to have been written by a different hand; but a critical examination shows that it was written by Wild.

21st. Walked with Capt. Hitchcock about half a mile, and breakfasted at a M^r. Burns. At 9 o'clock A. M. the troops marched, and arrived at Ramebough [Ramapo, N. Y.] about 4 o'clock P. M., and were quartered as usual. Mounted picket with Capt. Burnham. We kept our guard at Dock House, about half a mile adv^d of the troops.

22^d. Our guard was relieved at 9 o'clock A. M., at which time our men were dismissed & sent to their respective quarters, where they remained all day, it being very stormy. Quartered at a very indifferent house.

23^d. The troops marched a little after daylight. Being exceedingly muddy, could march but slow. Arrived at Pumton [Pompton] at one o'clock P. M. Quartered at M^r. N—— Golders. The Marquis arrived & took command of the detachment, in consequence of which each regt. rec^d a standard. We sent an officer back to Westpoint for our baggage.

24th. The troops marched about sunrise, and arrived at Hanover (3 miles from Moristown) at 3 o'clock A. M., and were quartered as usual.

25th, *Sunday*. At sunrise the troops paraded & marched to Moristown, where we remained all day, and drew clothing for our men. Quartered at a young gentleman's at the N. end of the Town.

26th. Being detained by the delivery of our clothing, we marched at 11 o'clock A. M. After making about five miles were joined by five companies from the N. Jersey line, which completes us 3 Regiments. The first is composed of the eight first companies of the Mass^{us} line, and commanded by Col Vose; the two remaining companies from the Mass^{us} line, with five from Connecticut and one from Rhode Island, formed another commanded by Lieut. Col. Gimatt [Gimat]; the 3^d is formed of the Jersey companies, with two from N. Hampshire and one from Gen^l Hazen's Regiment, and is commanded by Lieut. Col. Barber. At 7 o'clock P. M. we arrived at Sumersett, being 22 miles from Moristown. Quartered at a rich gentleman's, a Magistrate of the Town. — He used us with great hospitality.

27th. We began our march at sunrise; and after marching about three miles halted to draw rum for the men. After a short halt we continued our march to Princeton, where the troops were quartered in the college and other houses in town. Our company was quartered at a Doctor's house at the entrance to the town. A riot happened in the evening between the Massachusetts and Jersey troops.

28th. Our troops were paraded at daylight. About sunrise we began our march, at which time I mounted the police guard, which marched in the rear of the Regiment to prevent stragglers. At 1 o'clock P. M. we arrived in Trenton, where the troops were quartered as usual.

Took quarters with my guard at a Mr. Barnes's, about a quarter of a mile N. of the market house.

Trenton, March the 1st, '81. The troops were paraded at daylight, at which time I was relieved from guard by Ensign White. About sunrise we marched to the landing, where were vessels to transport us down the river. The right wing of Col. Vose's Regiment, with the Field, Staff officers and music, embarked on board a large schooner commanded by Capt. Montgomery. The tide being on the ebb, and wind in our favor, at 9 o'clock A. M. came to sail; at half past ten we passed by Burdenton [Bordentown], and proceeded down the river. At one P. M. we passed Burlington, and at half past two came to anchor against the city of Philadelphia, where we remained about half an hour. Then came to sail again, and passing by Read Banck [Red Bank] and Mud Island Foorts, we sailed till midnight, at which time we came to anchor.

2^d. Finding ourselves at daylight opposite Willminton [Wilmington], hauled to a wharf, and landed our men. At sunrise began our march; passing through Willminton and a small town called Newport, we arrived at Casteen [Christiana?] at 11 o'clock A. M. Being rainy, we were quartered in houses. Our company was quartered in a public house near the centre of the town. About 4 o'clock the remainder of the troops came up and were quartered as usual.

3^d. Marched this morning at eight o'clock, and making the usual halts on the road, arrived at the head of Elk about three P. M., where the troops were (with being much crowded) quartered in houses. Our company was billeted on a Mr. Huggens, he being a gentleman of generosity. Mr. Phelen and Richard quartered with us.

4th, *Sunday.* Remained in quarters all day. Dined with Mr. Huggens very elegantly. Our detachment received one month's pay in Pennsylvania new emission money.

5th. Breakfasted with Mr. Huggins. Had an invitation to dine with Major Galvan, but did not go, in consequence of which I dined with Mr. Huggins.

7th. Spent the forepart of the day as usual. In the afternoon walked with Mr. Huggins, Erving, Phelen, and Richard to the landing, where the craft was preparing to transport the troops down the bay. After spending the afternoon we walked to Mr. Barneby's, where we spent the evening very agreeably. At 11 o'clock we returned to Mr. Huggins's.

8. At 7 o'clock A. M. the troops were paraded and marched to Plum Point (being 7 miles from the head of Elk), where Colonel Barber & Gimatts Regiments embarked. Col. Vose's Regt. marched five miles further, & took quarters in houses near Cissel [Cecil] ferry.

9th. Our regiment was paraded at sunrise, & marched to the ferry,

where we embarked our company. Went on board a schooner of about 23 tons burthen, called the Three Sisters. The troops being all embarked, at 11 o'clock A. M. the fleet sailed. Having but a small wind (& that not fair), we came to anchor near Turkey Point about 4 o'clock P. M., having sailed only about 7 miles.

10th. At sunrise our fleet came to sail, but the wind being unfair, were obliged to come to anchor under Pools island at 12 o'clock, having sailed about four or five leagues. Went on board the Speedwell sloop, on board of which is Col. Vose, Major Galvan, and the staff officers of the regiment. About 4 o'clock P. M. the wind breezed up very fresh, obliged most of our fleet to run into Wostan Creek for safety; but the Speedwell, being large, rode it out. Lodged on board the Speedwell.

11th, *Sunday*. Lieut. Reab arrived with the officers baggage from West Point. The vessels having returned and anchored in their places, I went on board the Three Sisters again after breakfasting with Col. Vose. The wind being still against us, we remained at anchor all day.

12th. At sunrise our fleet came to sail; the wind being fair and our schooner a good sailor, we arrived in Annapolis Harbor about sundown.

13th. All our fleet arrived safe in harbor. Two British ships have been seen cruising in the bay this morning.

14th. The British ships seen in the bay yesterday have come to anchor at the mouth of the harbor. One is a sloop of eighteen guns, the other of fourteen; in consequence of which all our fleet except the armed vessels have moved up the creek.

15th. Remain on board our vessels. A detachment of the Regiment went on shore & was manœuvred by Major Galvan.

16th. The British vessels keep their station. A ball was given (this evening) by the gentlemen of the town of Annapolis to the officers of our detachment. Went on shore with M^r Morton and Brown.

17th. Still remain on board. This being St. Patrick's day, our men are very noisy.

18th, *Sunday*. The troops landed and encamped on Sandy Point, opposite the town. Heard the enemy were a landing below us.

19th. Walked with Lieut. Nason round the Point. British ships ride triumphant in the bay.

20th. At 9 o'clock A. M. relieved Ensign Brown at the police guard.

21st. I was relieved at 9 o'clock by Lieut. Reab. The regiment exercised in the afternoon.

22^d. Went to Annapolis with a number of gentlemen to attend a C. Martial sitting at Man's Tavern.

23^d. Went a gunning with Capt. Bradford in the afternoon.

24th. Set out at sunrise with Capt. Bradford & walked to the

point. Our business was to kill some ducks, but being unlucky, we returned to camp again by 10 o'clock, A. M.

25th, *Sunday*. Mounted picket with Capt Furman (of the Jersey line). Our picket is left at Mrs. Hessehurs, about one mile from camp.

26th. Our picket was relieved this morning by Capt. Burnham. Had a very agreeable guard. The regt. was turned out and manœuvred by Maj' Galvan this afternoon.

27th. Breakfasted with Col. Vose on board the Speedwell sloop, after which I went with a party of men to Tallors point (which is 3 miles below Annapolis). Caught three hundred fish of different kinds, and returned to the Speedwell again by 5 o'clock. After taking a drink of grog with Col. Vose, returned to camp again.

28th. Dined with Col. Vose on board the Speedwell sloop. An officer of the Brigade was sent to Baltimore on Command.

29th. At 9 o'clock A. M. relieved Ensign Town at the police guard.

30th. Relieved from guard by Lieut. Holden. Dined with Major Galvan.

31st. The regiment was turned out & manœuvred by Maj' Galvan.

Annapolis, 1st April, '81, *Sunday*. Dined with Lieut. Nason on board his schooner.

2^d. Our men had orders to draw and cook three days provision. The Marquis arrived in Annapolis from York Town, in Virginia.

3^d. The troops had orders to draw three days more provision, & keep that quantity always ready cooked. A detachment consisting of 150 men, properly officered, are to embark this afternoon under the command of Major Galvan.

4th. The General beat at sunrise, at which time the tents were struck & the troops all embarked. Our company went on board a small sloop called the Victory. Major Galvan's detachment are distributed on board the armed vessels, which are to be our convoys up the bay.

5th. Preparations were made to attack the enemy in the bay by our armed vessels & others prepared for that purpose; but they moved down without giving us the opportunity. Our fleet was put in readiness to sail. In the afternoon Capt. Hitchcock went on board the Nesbut brig to relieve Capt. Burnham, he being taken sick. About sundown I received orders to make the best of my way with the Company to the H. of Elk., in consequence of which we sailed as soon as possible. The wind and tide being in our favor, sailed the most of the night.

6th. At daylight we found ourselves near the mouth of Susquehanna [Susquehanna] river. Our fleet was all in sight, except our armed vessels, which remained below. Being almost calm, we made

but little progress on our voyage this day. Came to anchor at 7 o'clock P. M., near the place we embarked from the 9th ult².

7th. Came to sail at 8 o'clock A. M., and arrived at the H. of Elk about 11 A. M., where the Speedwell & several others of our fleet had arrived before us. Capt. Webb's company was sent to Cristeen [Christiana] as a guard to some stores.

8th, *Sunday*. All our fleet arrived safe. Remained on board all day. Sat on a Regimental C. Martial, of which Capt. Clays was President. Walked to Mr. Huggins's and spent the evening.

9th. The troops disembarked at 6 o'clock A. M. and marched two miles W. of the town, where we were to encamp. Here Major Galvan's detachment joined the Brigade. The ground assigned for our encampment being very bad, we marched back through the town, and encamped one mile east of it, on a large plain.

10th. Seven men deserted from the regiment last night. Walked in the afternoon to town. Drank grog at Mr. Huggins's. Returned to camp; spent the evening and slept with Mr. Nason.

11th. Eight men deserted from the regiment last night. Walked to town & wrote a letter to Boston. Orders to march in the morning.

12th. Lieuts. Bowles, Holden, and a number of other gentlemen set out for West point. At 9 o'clock the troops began their march, and passing through town, came to Charleston, where we made a short halt. Then marched 6 miles further, and encamped in a wood one mile N. of Susquhannah river.

13th. Mounted a guard which took post half a mile below the ferry at Mr. Thomas's. Had three prisoners, two of which were Tories detected in supplying the enemy with provision. At 10 o'clock A. M. a C. Martial sat at Mr. Thomas's for the trial of prisoners under my guard.

14th. The troops having finished crossing the Sisquehaner river, at 1 o'clock I crossed with my guard, and took post in the centre of the Brigade, which was encamped half a mile below the ferry. At five o'clock one of my prisoners was hanged, having received his sentence from the C. Martial. I was relieved from guard by Lieut. Thomson, of Col. Barber's battalion.

15th, *Sunday*. Relieved Ensign Town at the camp guard. The baggage having all got over the river, the troops marched at 10 o'clock A. M., and proceeded as far as Bush Town, and encamped in a wood west of the Town.

16th. Relieved from guard by Lieut. Spring. Marched from Bush town at 8 o'clock A. M.; halted at five P. M., and encamped in the woods, five miles N. of Baltimore.

17th. Marched at sunrise this morning, passing through Baltimore. Arrived at Elk ridge landing at 2 o'clock P. M. Crossed the ferry, and

encamped one mile west of the landing. In crossing this ferry we unfortunately had nine men drowned.

18th. Remained encamped all day. At evening roll call Colman, a soldier in Capt. Burnham's Company, was shot for desertion.

19th. The weather being unfair, the troops remain in camp. Dined with Lieut. Nason at his quarters. After dinner walked with him to the landing.

20th. At eight o'clock A. M. we began our march, leaving our tents and heavy baggage on the ground. Colonel Barber's and half Col. Gimatts Battalions rode in wagons prepared for that purpose. In this order we proceeded 16 miles, and halted for the troops to refresh themselves. After halting about an hour, the other half of Col^o Gimatts and one half of Col. Voses Battalions were mounted in the said wagons. In this order we proceeded 12 miles, which brought us to Bladensburg, where we arrived about 7 o'clock P. M. The troops were quartered in houses at this place. Our company was billeted at a Mr. Streets, a Lt. in the Pennsylvania line on half pay.

21st. At 7 o'clock A. M. we took up our line of march, and proceeded to Georgetown, where we made a short halt, after which we crossed the river Potowmack [Potomac] & marched to Alexandria, where we arrived at sunset. The troops were quartered in houses. The river Potowmack runs between Maryland & Virginia.

22^d, Sunday. The troops remained in quarters all day, for the purpose of washing & [of] cleaning their arms.

23^d. The army marched at six o'clock A. M., and proceeded 12 miles to a small town called Colchester [Va.], where we arrived at 1 o'clock P. M., and put up, it being very rainy. Our quarters being much crowded, I lodged in a house with Lt. Nason and Doctor Finley.

24th. Marched at 6 o'clock A. M.; the roads being exceeding muddy, we went but 12 miles, and halted at a small town called Dumfrize [Dumfries, Va.], where the troops were billeted in houses.

25th. Marched from Dumfrize at daylight, and proceeded 26 miles, which brought us to Rapahanock river, which we crossed as soon as possible, and were quartered in the town of Frederexburg [Fredericksburg] by 4 o'clock P. M. I was quartered at a tavern.

26th. The troops remained in quarters for the purpose of washing their clothes and cleaning their arms. Dined with Lieut. Nason.

27th. We took up our line of march at daylight, and proceeded 23 miles (through very muddy roads), and halted at a place called the Bowling Green, where our Regiment was quartered in a brick church. The officers of the Regt. eat ham & drank grog with Colonel Vose. Had a small fit of the ague and fever.

28th. Marched at sunrise. Proceeded about 24 miles, and halted near Hanover C. House at 4 P. M., where the troops lay in the woods.

Being now within a day's march of the enemy, we examined our men's arms and accoutrements & delivered them new cartridges.

29th, *Sunday*. Marched at daylight, and arrived at Richmond about 5 o'clock P. M., where the troops were quartered in the rope walks, which are at the east end of the town.

30th. Remained in quarters. About 3,000 of the enemy, under the command of General Phillips, came up the river to a small town called Manchester (opposite to this), where they burnt a large quantity of Tobacco and some public buildings, plundered the inhabitants of their furniture, killed a large number of cattle, hogs, &c., and retired about 5 miles down the river to a small town called Warwick, where they burnt several dwelling houses together with one public rope walk. A small party of the enemy, which crossed the river for the purpose of taking an inhabitant, but were made prisoners by a patrol of our horse.

Tuesday, 1st May, 1781. We hear the enemy have retired from Warwick to Petersburg, which is between 30 & 40 miles from this place. Between 5 & 6 o'clock the army was paraded on a large plain N. W. of the Town, where we were reviewed by the Marquis [La Fayette] and Baron [Steuben], after which we marched to our respective quarters.

2^d. The weather being exceeding warm, our men were ordered to cut their coats short for their greater ease in marches. This being Major Reeds birth day, he gave the officers of the B^d an invitation to take a cold cut & drink of grog with him at an elegant spring about half a mile N. from the town.

3^d. At daylight the army took up their line of march, & proceeded about 16 miles from Richmond, and halted about a mile N. of Bottom bridge, in a thick pine woods.

4th. Exceeding warm weather. We are much troubled in this place with insects, particular those known by the name of ticks.

5th. A large quantity of linen cloth for overalls & shoes arrived from Baltimore for the non-commissioned officers & soldiers of the Light Infantry.

6th, *Sunday*. Major Galvan with the detachment under his command arrived with the tents & baggage left at Elk ridge. We pitched our tents in the woods.

7th. Our tents were struck at daylight; soon after the troops begun their march, and proceeded (without halting) to Richmond, where we arrived about 10 o'clock A. M., & took quarters in the rope walks. Report that the enemy are coming up the river.

8th. Our tents with a part of our baggage were sent back into the country. About 8 o'clock A. M. we marched from our quarters and crossed the river to Manchester; from thence proceeded about 10 miles towards Petersburg, and halted. The troops were quartered in a small

village called Osburn [Osborn], this being the name of the gentleman who owns it.

9th. Remained in quarters all day. Lieut. Silly [Cilley] arrived from W. Point.

10th. Remained in quarters till 1 o'clk P. M.; then marched about 4 miles towards Manchester, & crossed the river at a place called Kingsland ferry. From thence we marched 4 miles towards Richmond, and halted at a place called Willton [Wilton], where we remained all night in the woods, being entirely destitute of tents.

11th. Our tents arrived, & we pitched them in the woods.

12th. Mounted the boat guard, which is posted at a landing about a mile from our encampment. About 4 o'clk P. M. Col. Barber's Battalion crossed the river. In the evening moved with my guard & the boats under my care down the river to Kingsland ferry, where I arrived about 10 o'clk. After mooring the boats at a considerable distance from the shore, I landed with my guard, & found Col. Gimatt's Battalion and a large body of militia at this place.

13th, *Sunday*. About 4 o'clk A. M. the troops at this place began to cross the river in the following order: About 60 Cavalry, two Regiments of Militia, Col. Gimatt's Battalion of Light Infantry, and a detachment of artillery with two field pieces, which finished about daylight. At 8 o'clk the Marquis with his family crossed the river. About 9 o'clk Col. Vose's Battalion with a Company of artillery & 2 field pieces arrived at the ferry, having marched from Willton to cover the retreat of the troops which have crossed the river should there be any occasion. Relieved from guard by Ensign Willington.

14th. Remained at the ferry all day. In the night the troops which crossed the river yesterday morning returned.

15th. At 8 o'clk A. M. we moved about half a mile back from the ferry into a thick woods, where we continued till 3 o'clk P. M.; then marched to our encampment at Willton.

16th. Mounted the provost guard, which is kept on the right of the Brigade. Had charge of 10 prisoners; eight of them are prisoners of war, which were taken in a gunboat (yesterday) about 10 miles down the river. In consequence of Gen' Phillips's death (which we have heard of this day), the command of the British army devolves on the infamous Arnold.

17th. At nine o'clk A. M. I was relieved from guard by an officer of Col. Barber's Battalion. We moved our tents about half a mile into an open field.

18th. The Brigade was turned out at sunrise, and was manœuvred by regiments.

19th. The Regiment was manœuvred this morning by Major Galvan.

20th, *Sunday*. I attended a general court martial set at Col. Vose's

quarters, of which Major Galvan is President. At 2 o'clock P. M. the Regiment was turned out, Col. Vose taking the right wing and Major Galvan the left. We performed a sham fight, in which the left wing got much the advantage of the right. About 5 o'clock our tents were struck, and we marched with great expedition to Richmond, where we arrived in the evening, and took quarters again in the rope walks.

21st. Remained in quarters all day. Lord Cornwallice (with between 3 & 4,000 men) arrived and took command of the British army.

22^d. Took a walk into town with Lieut. Reab.

23^d. Dined at Mr. Golt's tavern with a number of gentlemen of the town, who made an entertainment for the officers of the Light Infantry. Col. Talton [Tarleton], of the British army, surprised a body of militia near Petersburg, and took about 30 of them prisoners. Lodged at Mr. Golts, being a rainy night.

25th. Mounted the boats guard at the landing. Received orders to sink the boats if called from my post. Visited by a very remarkable (militia) officer of the day. Kept patrols down the river all night.

26th. At 10 o'clock A. M. I was relieved from guard by Lieut. Thayer of Col. Gimatt's Battalion. Marched to camp and dismissed my guard. Found the Brigade had been under arms the biggest part of the (last) night. At 5 o'clock P. M. we marched from Richmond, and going the upper road towards Fredricksberg, proceeded 10 miles & halted in the woods, near Cooper's Creek. Our tents were again sent back into the country.

27th, *Sunday*. Remained in the woods all day. Exceeding hot weather.

28th. Marched at 2 o'clock A. M., and at eight halted near Ground Squirell meeting house, where we continued till 4 P. M., at which time we marched again & arrived near Ground Squirell bridge at sundown.

29th. Exceeding hot weather. At 4 o'clock P. M. we took up our line of march & proceeded a N. W. coast [course]. Soon after sundown began to rain & increased to a very severe storm. About nine o'clock had some very hard claps of thunder, one of which struck near the troops & started some of our horses. The militia (who were in our front, as we were marching by the left), supposing the enemy was near, threw down their arms and took to the woods (which were very thick on both sides of the road), which put the column in such disorder it was near an hour and a half before we could proceed on our march,—which we did, notwithstanding the rain still increased.

30th. At 3 o'clock A. M. we arrived at a place called Seach Town

where we halted till 7 o'clock, at which time we marched again and arrived at Anderson's bridge at 1 o'clock P. M., where we halted in a large field.

31st. Marched at 2 o'clock A. M., and proceeding about six miles a S. E. coast, halted in an old field by the side of a thick wood, where we continued till 3 o'clock P. M., at which time we marched again about 3 mile a N. W. coast & halted about sundown near Permonky [Pamunky] river. Very severe rain all night.

1st June, 1781. At 7 o'clock A. M. we forded the river at Devport's ferry & proceeded on our march to a place called Mattapnoy, [Mattapony], where we arrived about 4 o'clock P. M. It being rainy, the troops were sheltered in some old houses & barns.

2^d. Marched at 11 o'clock A. M.; being exceeding muddy, could march but very slow. At 5 P. M. came up to our tents, which we pitched in a field a little west of Corbin's bridge.

3^d. Col. Tupper arrived in camp from Westpoint. A gentleman came with him from the State of Massachusetts who brought (hard) money for the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the line. At 4 o'clock P. M. we marched. Arrived and halted near Wilderness bridge about sundown.

4th. Mounted a guard with which I took post a mile at the left of the L. Infantry. At 1 o'clock P. M. the army took up their line of march, at which time I marched with my guard to the grand parade, and with some other guards formed the rear-guard of the army. After marching about five miles we forded a branch of Rapahanac [Rappahannock] river, and proceeded 12 miles, and halted near a church in Culpepper county about 8 o'clock in the evening; at which time my guard was augmented, and took post about one mile on the right of the army.

5th. At nine o'clock A. M. I was relieved by Lieut. Peachum of Col. Gimatt's Battalion. Marched my guard to camp, and dismissed them. Remained in camp all day, it being very rainy.

6th. Marched about 10 o'clock A. M., proceeded 4 miles, and forded the river at Raccoon ferry. From thence we marched one mile, and encamped on a very pleasant height.

7th. Remained in camp all day for the purpose of the mens washing their clothes and cleansing their arms.

8th. Remained in camp till 10 o'clock A. M., at which time we began our march and continued till five P. M.; then halted and encamped in the woods near Box bridge.

9th. The officers of Col. Vose's Battalion dined with him at his quarters. After dinner Col. Tupper (who dined with us) set out for W. point. At 4 o'clock P. M. we began our march; leaving our tents on the ground, we proceeded about five miles & halted in the woods.

10th, *Sunday*. Began our march at sunrise. After marching about 12 miles, halted in the woods in Louisa County, where 1,200 shirts (from Baltimore) arrived and were delivered to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Light Infantry. At sundown we marched back one mile and continued in the woods all night.

11th. General Wayne, with about 800 troops from the Pennsylvania line, arrived and encamped on our left. Lieut. Holden arrived from W. Point.

12th. At daylight the troops took up their line of march and proceeded about 13 miles, and halted (in the county of Albemarle) about 2 o'clock P. M., in a very disagreeable piece of woods, being almost destitute of water.

13th. Exceeding hot weather. We find the enemy are pursuing us very closely

14th. We marched at sunrise. After marching about 9 miles an East coast, halted [at] a public house, from which we took a N. coast & marched 3 miles & halted in the woods.

15th. Began our march at sunrise, and continuing it till 2 o'clock P. M., at which time we arrived and halted at a place called Deep Run, in a very pleasant grove of woods.

16th. Marched at sunrise, & proceeded 5 miles. Halted in the woods near Permonky [Pamunky] river.

17th, *Sunday*. The General beat at half past 2 o'clock A. M., at which time I mounted the front guard (with a Capt. from the Pennsylvania line). At daylight the troops began their march, which was continued till about 2 o'clock P. M., when we halted near Ground Squirell Creek. Being detached with a Sergt., Corp^l, & 24 men (from the front guard), I took post about one mile on the left of the troops, on a road leading to Richmond. About sundown Lieut. Wheaton (of Col. Gimatt's Battalion) was wounded in a duel with Lieut. Lightfoot of the Virginia Artillery. About 10 o'clock Col. Vose's Battalion marched by my guard, being on their way to join General Muhlenberg, who lays about half a mile below me, and commands the advance troops of the army. About 12 o'clock General Muhlenberg's detachment marched, at which time I moved with my guard, took post on the ground he left.

18th. At sunrise I moved back with my guard to the ground I had left last night. At 9 o'clock A. M. I was relieved by an officer from the Pennsylvania line. Marched to camp & dismissed my guard, where I found Capt. Webb, Mr. Town, and a number of men who were on guard when the Regiment marched.

19th. At sunrise we set out and found the Regiment about 1 o'clock P. M., halted in the woods near Deep Run. At 6 o'clock we paraded, and marched back to Ground Squirell Creek, where we remained all night.

20th. At 2 o'clock p. m. the troops were paraded and marched to the place we moved from last evening, where we halted and sent all the baggage we could divest ourselves of back to our tents; after which we marched three miles back to the fork of the roads, where we halted half an hour; then march one mile further back, where we remained all night. Major Langbern (Q. M. to the army) was made prisoner by the enemy at Glosester [Gloucester]. Lieut. Stone set out for W. point.

21st. At sunrise we moved back to Deep Run, where we halted till one o'clock p. m., at which time we had intelligence of the enemy leaving Richmond. We immediately began our march for that place, and arrived on a plain N. of the Town about 7 o'clock p. m., where we made a short halt. Then, taking a back road (as the enemy had left the small pox in town), we marched five miles, & halted in Bottom bridge road, two miles below Richmond, where we remained all night.

22^d. At sunrise we began our march, and crossing Bottom bridge we proceeded about 12 miles to Homes's Ornary [Ordinary], where we halted till 5 o'clock p. m., at which time we moved back near the bridge, where we remained all night.

23^d. Marched at sunrise, and proceeded about eight miles towards N. Kent C. House, where we halted near Bacon's Ornary. After making a short halt, we marched back to a field near Homes's Ornary, where the troops were formed for action (the enemy being near), and waited till sun down, when, seeing no appearance of an enemy, we marched & joined the army near Bottom bridge.

24th, *Sunday*. The troops halted all day for the purpose of washing and cleansing their arms.

25th. Marched at daylight, and after making several halts on the road, arrived and halted in a field near N. Kent C. House.

26th. Marched at half past 5 o'clock a. m., and proceeded about 10 miles, & halted near Bird's ornary. Our advance parties had a skirmish with the enemy's rear at a place called hot warter [Hockady Spring?], about six miles below this place.

27th. Marched at one o'clock a. m., and proceeded about four miles (about a N. coast), & halted in the road till sunrise, at which time we moved about half a mile, and halted (near a large brook) till sundown; then moved again about one mile, & halted in an old field, where we [were] reviewed by the Marquis, and remained all night, it being very rainy.

28th. Lay still all day, it being exceeding hot weather and our men much fatigued.

29th. Marched at 3 o'clock a. m., & proceeded as far as Bird's, where we arrived at 8 o'clock. After making a short halt we proceeded 4 miles, and halted at Chickehomni Meeting House. Here I was detached

with a party of men to join Major M^cPersons Legion, which lay about a mile below the M. House. At 12 o'clk Col. Barber's Regiment with the Legion marched about 5 miles (a S. E. coast) to [a] mill, where we expected to find a party of the enemy; but being disappointed, we returned and joined the Brigade, the Legion taking post on its right. At sundown we moved back two miles above Bird's, and halted in the woods.

30th. Built bowries and remained on this ground all day. Took a walk with Lieut. Reab. Our tents and baggage arrived at this place. At 5 o'clk P. M. the Regiment was turned out and manœuvred by Major Galvan.

Sunday, 1st July, 1781. Marched at daylight, and halted at 9 o'clk on a large plain near York river, where we built bush huts (the weather being exceeding warm). In the afternoon our men had orders to bathe in the river, where a Surgeon and two soldiers were unfortunately drowned. At 8 o'clk P. M. we marched again, and halted at midnight near the ground we moved from this morning.

2^d. Marched at daylight, and passing by Bird's, turned out of the road (at Chickohomni meeting-house) into the woods to form an ambuscade for a party of the enemy's horse which were grazing in a field near by. But unfortunately (for us) they discovered our manœuvre and made their escape; after which we marched out of the woods and built some bowries, which we lay in till 3 o'clk, when we marched again back to the place we left at daylight this morning.

3^d. Marched at 6 o'clk A. M. and proceeded 4 miles, and halted in a field (in N. Kent County), where we pitched what tents we had left (the greater part of them being lost). The Marquis quartered in [a] large house which is on the left of the L. Infantry.

4th. This being the anniversary of *American Independence*, the day was celebrated by a fu de joy [*feu de joie*] fired by the whole army (except those on duty), after which the Light Infantry was manœuvred by Major Read on a plain before the Marquis's quarters.

5th. Marched at eight o'clk A. M., and proceeded half a mile below Bird's, where we halted & built bowries. Eight officers from each Regiment of L. Infantry dined with General Mahlenberg at Bird's. I mounted the camp at this place. At five o'clk we marched one mile further, halted, and built huts. At nine in the evening the troops marched again (at which time I dismissed my guard), and passing by the meeting house, halted at Chickohomni Church, where we remained all night.

6th. Marched at 7 o'clk, and passing through hot warter, halted in a field about three miles from the British encampment at James Town. Our men being much tired and fatigued, and having had nothing to eat for more than 24 hours, the L. Infantry moved back 3 miles for the purpose of cooking. By this manœuvre we left the Pennsylvania troops

in our front to watch the motions of the enemy. General Wayne being anxious to perform wonders! (about 5 o'clk) with his 3 Regiments & some small detachments, the whole consisting of about 1,000 men, attacked the whole British army in their own encampment. We immediately marched to reinforce him; but before we could reach the field of action, met the Pennsylvania line retreating in the greatest disorder (having been overpowered by numbers, and left their artillery). We marched past the disordered troops, and formed a line of battle in a field near the Green Springs. The day being spent, the enemy stopped their pursuit. About 9 o'clk we began our march again, & retired to the Church we left in the morning, where we arrived about midnight, much tired and fatigued.

7th. We find our loss in yesterday's action is considerable, but to be equal, except two field pieces taken from the Pennsylvania line. About nine in the evening Col. Vose's Battalion marched and proceeded as far as hot warter, where we halted in the road.

8th, *Sunday*. At 1 o'clk A. M. General Muhlenberg, with a party of Volunteer Horse, joined us, and we marched 3 miles further, and halted till daylight; then proceeded to James Town, where we found an officer & 22 men which were wounded in the action and fell into the hands of the enemy, but not being able to carry them off, left them on parole. Col. Vose provided an elegant dinner at this place, to which he invited the officers of his Regiment and others that were in the detachment. At 5 o'clk we paraded. Marched for the meeting house we left last evening, where we arrived about 10 o'clk at night.

9th. Marched at sunrise. Proceeded about 3 miles a West course from the meeting house, where we found the army encamped.

10th. We marched at half past 2 o'clk A. M., and, making several short halts on the road (the weather being excessive hot), we arrived at Holt's Forge about 12 o'clk.

11th. The troops lay still (all day) for the purpose of washing their clothes and cleansing their arms.

12th. The number of the Pennsylvania troops being greatly reduced (by the action of the sixth inst.), they were put into two regiments, and the supernumerary officers sent on recruiting. Capt. Burnam is appointed to do the duty of Major to Col. Vose's Battalion, in room of Major Galvan, who is gone to Philadelphia.

13th. About sunrise the two Pennsylvania and Virginia Regiments marched for Bottom bridge. At eight o'clk the L. Infantry and Militia marched. After proceeding 7 miles, halted and encamped in a field near Longe bridge [Chickahominy River].

14th. Rainy morning. At 5 o'clk P. M. we took up our line of march and proceeded 6 miles, and halted near Bottom bridge at 9 in the evening.

15th. The troops lay still all day, it being exceeding hot weather.

16th. At nine o'clock A. M. we took up our line of march and proceeded 10 miles (a S. W. course), and halted on Malborns Hills [Malbon or Malvern Hills] at one o'clock P. M., where we encamped.

17th. Walked with Capt. Hitchcock to a place called Shearly hundred [Shirley Hundreds], where we dined and returned to camp again.

18th. At nine o'clock A. M., I mounted a guard at the Deer park, about a mile west of our encampment, where I was very much troubled with ticks and other insects all day. Visited by the officer of the day about 12 o'clock at night.

19th. At nine o'clock I was relieved by Lieut. Rueastie [Rossiter ?], of Colonel Barber's Battalion. Marched to camp and dismissed my guard. About 11 o'clock Capt. Webb set out on his journey to Head Quarters.

20th. Capt. Park of Col. Gimatt's Battalion arrived in Camp (from H. Quarters) last evening, by whom I received a letter from Boston, dated 28th May. Struck our tents for the purpose of airing the ground and regulating our encampment.

21st. About daylight we were alarmed by a report of the enemy's coming up the river; on which our patrol guard was sent to see if they could make any discoveries of them, but returned without making any. About 12 o'clock Col^o Barber & Gimatt Battalions, with one field piece, marched from our encampment about nine in the evening. They returned, having been about six miles down the river.

22^d, *Sunday*. At ten o'clock I sat on a General Court Martial, of which Major Read is President. Tried two soldiers, & adjourned to the 24th inst.

23^d. Exceeding pleasant weather. At 3 o'clock I dined with Genl. Muhlenberg, about one mile from his quarters, under a large bowrey, built for that purpose on the bank of the river.

24th. The Brigade turned out at sunrise, and each Regiment was manœuvred by its commanding officer. At nine o'clock A. M. our court met according to adjournment, and proceeded to the trial of two soldiers who were brought before us for plundering inhabitants. At 2 o'clock P. M. we adjourned without day. Colonel Moyling [Moylan] with part of his Regiment arrived in camp this afternoon.

25th. The Brigade turned out at sunrise, and was manœuvred as usual. At six o'clock P. M. a soldier of Col. Gimatt's Battalion was hanged. After roll call the officers of the Regiment drank grog with Col. Vose in the evening.

26th. The Court Martial of which Major Read is President, dined at my tent (on roast pigs, &c., &c.), said dinner being the fine of M^r Dagot & myself for being late at the Court.

27th. At 9 o'clock I relieved Lieut Smith at the Marquis's guard. 4 officers of Colonel Barber's Battalion dined with the General.

28th. At nine o'clock I was relieved by Lieut. Thomson of Col. Barber's Battalion. The Brigade was turned out in the afternoon, and manœuvred as usual. Captain Oney [Olney?] arrived from Head Quarters in the evening.

29th, *Sunday*. Struck our tents and bowries for the purpose of airing the ground.

30th. At 5 o'clock p. m. the tents of Col. Vose's Battalion were struck, which we left with our baggage under the care of a guard (detailed for that purpose). About sundown we marched with one field piece, and arrived at Westover at 11 o'clock. After a short halt we proceeded to crossing the river, which we effected, but with much trouble, having but two boats, and them very poor.

31st. At daylight we found ourselves in a very pleasant plantation (on the South side of James river) called by the name of Makceacks [Maycox]. The troops and artillery having got all over the river, at 11 o'clock a. m. we began our march and proceeded about 4 miles, a S. W. course, and halted on Petersberg road, near a very pleasant run of water.

Wednesday, 1st August, 1781. About six o'clock we paraded & marched back to the river, which we crossed with all possible expedition, & halted at W—over [Westover] till three o'clock, at which time we paraded and marched to Malverns hills, where we arrived a little after sundown. Found the army marched from this place at daylight this morning.

2^d. The General was beat at half past 2 o'clock a. m. At daylight we began our march. After marching 14 miles we halted about two miles S. of Richmond, being exceeding warm.

3^d. Being exceeding hot, we lay still till 6 o'clock p. m., at which time we began our march, and, passing through Richmond, we proceeded about ten miles and halted (at 10 o'clock in the evening) the N. side of brook bridge [Brook creek], where we remained all night.

4th. The Regiment marched at daylight. (I marched in the rear to bring up the invalids and baggage.) About 11 o'clock we halted at Hanover meeting house (where the officers of the Regiment dined together).

5th, *Sunday*. Marched at daylight, and after making several short halts (on the road, the weather being very warm), we arrived at New Castle, at 10 o'clock a. m., where we joined the Brigade, which were encamped in an old field.

6th. Being exceeding hot weather, the troops remained in camp all day. In the afternoon I walked with Capt^l White & Hitchcock to a Mr. Chapman's, which is about 3 miles from our encampment.

7th. The General beat at half past 3 o'clock a. m. About sunrise we began our march and proceeded ten miles, halted and encamped in a field near Permunky river, where we were favored with plenty of very fine water.

8th. The troops remain in camp for the purpose of washing and cleaning their arms.

9th. I breakfasted with Mr. Nason, after which we rode as far as Hanover Meeting house, where we dined at a Mr. Whitelocks. About 3 o'clk we set out on our return to camp, where we arrived about nine in the evening, having rode about 40 miles, & had a very agreeable tour.

10th. Marched at sunrise, and proceeded about 4 miles, a S. course, and encamped on a very pleasant height of ground, called Meakeings's hill.

11th. At 3 o'clk A. M. our tents were struck & our baggage loaded. About sunrise we began our march & proceeded 10 miles, and halted near New Kent Court house, where we arrived about nine o'clk, and encamped in [a] field on the left of the road, where the British army were encamped three or four days ago.

12th, *Sunday*. The General beat at one o'clk this morning, at which time our tents were struck & baggage loaded; after which we marched as soon as possible to Ruffin's ferry (which is 7 miles) and continued there till sunrise, at which time we crossed the river (Permonky) and encamped on a plain the eastern side.

13th. Marched at sunrise and proceeded 4 miles down the river, and encamped on a very pleasant plantation, on which was a great plenty of peaches and other agreeable fruit.

14th. The officers of the Regiment dined together under an elegant bowry built (in the rear of the Regiment) for that purpose.

15th. At 9 o'clk A. M. I relieved Lieut. Smith at a picket which is kept at the house of M^r. Moor's on the bank of the Mattapnoy [Mattapnoy] river.

16. Breakfasted with M^r. Moor. At nine o'clk I was relieved by Lieut. Phelan of Col. Gimatt's Battalion. After breakfasting with Mrs. Moor, I returned to camp.

17th. At 11 o'clk A. M. I set out with Lieut. Holden and M^r. Brown, & walked about 4 miles to a place called W— Point, where we dined with the gentlemen who are in command at this place. After dinner we crossed the river (Mattapnoy), and walked to a Col. Corbin's, where we spent the evening and returned to West Point. After making a short stop, we returned to camp.

18th. A quantity of clothing arrived in Camp for the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Light Infantry.

20th. At 8 o'clk Colonel Barber's Battalion marched to West Point. From there they crossed the river (Mattapnoy), and proceeded towards the enemy. About 11 o'clk I walked with Lieut. Given & Mr. Town to Mrs. Moor's. After a short stop we crossed the river & walked to a Mr. Meridith's, where we dined & spent the afternoon. In

the evening we visited several houses in the neighborhood. About nine o'clock we returned to Mr. Meridith's, where we lodged.

21st. At sunrise we set out and walked four miles up the river to a landing (being disappointed in getting a boat). We stopped at Col. Griffin's, and after breakfasting with him, we crossed the river and returned to camp. At 4 o'clock P. M. our tents were struck and baggage loaded. At 5 o'clock we began our march, and proceeded about seven miles (up the river), and halted near Fraizer's ferry; but being dark when we arrived, did not pitch our tents.

22^d. Our ground was laid out & we encamped in regular order. Took a walk in the evening with a number of gentlemen of the Regiment.

23^d. In the afternoon Colonel Barber's Battalion joined the Brigade. Immediately after roll call the tents of Colonels Vose & Gimatt's Battalions were struck, and we began our march, and after continuing about three hours, halted on the ground we left the 13th inst.

24th. Our grounds were laid out & we pitched our tents on the plain.

25th. About 11 o'clock A. M. Col. Barber's Battalion joined the Brigade. At 4 o'clock P. M. our tents were struck, & we marched about two miles from the river, and encamped in a field which is very sandy.

26th, *Sunday*. At 9 o'clock A. M. I sat on a Regimental C. Martial, of which Capt. Fowles is President.

27th. In the afternoon there was a famous horse race on a plain near our encampment.

28th. At 2 o'clock A. M. the militia began their march, & proceeded to Ruffin's ferry and are crossing the river with all possible expedition. At 2 o'clock P. M. I dined at Colonel Vose's tent with Mrs. [Messrs.] Brown & White, Colonel Vose being absent. In the evening part of our artillery moved to the ferry.

29th. Our artillery and stores have been crossing the ferry all day. In the evening I rode with Mr. Brown to Mr. Newman's (a gentleman living on the plantation we were encamped on the 21st inst.), where we spent the evening and supped, after which we returned to camp.

30th. The General beat at daylight, at which time our tents were struck and baggage loaded. At sunrise we began our march and proceeded to Ruffin's ferry, which we crossed as soon as possible, and marched 7 miles, halted and encamped on the same ground we left the 12th inst.

31st. At half past 4 o'clock A. M. we began our march and proceeded 10 miles, halted and encamped (at Holt's Forge) on the same ground we left the 13th July. Took a walk in the afternoon into the country.

Saturday, 1st September, 1781. Remained in camp all day. We have intelligence that his Excellency Genl Washington, with a large

body of troops, is on his march to join our little army. We are likewise assured of the arrival of a French fleet (at the mouth of York river), consisting of 28 sail of the line, commanded by his Excellency the Count De Grass. This fleet has 4,000 land troops on board, commanded by Major General the Marquis St. Simons.

2^d, *Sunday*. The General beat half an hour before day. At daylight we began our march and proceeded about 8 miles, halted and pitched our tents in a field near Dyerscon [Diascund] creek, where we halted till 3 o'clk P. M., at which time we began our march again, leaving our tents & baggage, and proceeded about 7 or 8 miles, & halted near Chichohomny Church. General Wayne was wounded by one of our sentinels in the evening.

3^d. Began our march at daylight. Proceeded about 8 miles, and halted near Green Springs, where our men had orders to wash & put on clean clothes, expecting to march to James Town & join the French troops, which were landed there. But after halting about three hours we took up our line of march again, and proceeded six miles towards Williamsburg. After halting a few moments, marched back the same road three miles, where we remained the remaining part of the day. About nine in the evening I took post with a small picket about half a mile on the right of the Brigade.

4th. About 7 o'clk Genl Wayne's Brigade marched past my guard, being on their way to Williamsburg. About 8 o'clk the Light Infantry marched, at which time I was ordered to join with my guard. Having called in my sentinels, I proceeded to Williamsburg, and passing through the town, came up with the Brigade. Halted in a field about 3 miles below it, where we continued till sundown; then marched back towards Williamsburg again.

5th. Built booths and lay still all day. The enemy have retired into York, which they are fortifying with all possible expedition, the river being completely blocked up by the French fleet. In the evening was taken by a small party of our militia an officer, sergeant, and six men, they being a reconnoitering party from York.

6th. At 3 o'clk A. M. we paraded & marched about 4 miles, and halted in a field (near what is called the half way house from Williamsburg to York), where we continued about two hours; then paraded and marched back to our booths. After halting about three hours (in which time Major Read's detachment joined the Brigade), we marched to Williamsburg, and passing through the town, halted on a plain west of the College, where we arrived at 3 o'clk P. M.

7th. Exceeding warm weather. Lay still all day for the purpose of our mens washing their clothes and cleansing their arms. Took a walk in the evening with Mr. Gilbert.

8th. At six o'clk A. M. the General beat, at which time we were pa-

rated. At seven the French army (under the command of Major General the Marquis De St. Simon) arrived and encamped on a plain about half a mile N. from Williamsberg; after which we moved and encamped on their right. In the evening the army was alarmed by the firing of several muskets in the French camp.

9th, *Sunday*. At 5 o'clock P. M. the Light Infantry and the Pennsylvania Regiments were reviewed by the Marquises Lafeatte & St. Simon; after which the officers of those corps walked to the quarters of the latter, and were introduced to him.

10th. About 11 o'clock A. M. our tents and baggage arrived which we left at Dyerscon Creek. Walked in the evening with Mr. Gilbert.

11th. About daylight a small skirmish [skirmish] happened on the lines between some of our horse and the enemy's. This afternoon Colonel Gaveon [Gouvion?] arrived in camp. He informs us he left his Excellency Genl Washington (with a large army) near Philadelphia, being on his march for this place.

12th. Walked into town with Lieut. Reab in the forenoon. Dined with Col. Vose.

13th. Took a walk through the French camp this morning before roll call. About 11 o'clock A. M. the Marquis De St. Simon, attended by his A. D. C. & several other gentlemen, walked through our camp.

14th. His Excellency Genl Washington arrived in camp this afternoon, in consequence of which 21 cannon were discharged from the American park. The whole army paraded, and paid him the honors due to his rank.

15th. At 9 o'clock I relieved Lieut. Thomson at the camp guard. An express arrived at H. Q. who brought an account of the return of 22 sail of the French fleet (which sailed several days ago in consequence of a report of an English fleet being seen on the coast). Since they have been out have been joined by 9 sail of the line from Rhode Island; so the French fleet now consists of 37 sail of the line, besides frigates and other armed vessels.

16th, *Sunday*. At 9 o'clock I was relieved from guard by Lieut. Stout of Col. Barber's Battalion. At 2 o'clock P. M. the officers of the L. Infantry and the Pennsylvania Regiments walked to H. Q., where we were introduced to his Excellency Genl Washington, after which I walked through town with Lieut. Given and returned to camp.

17th. Exceeding hot weather. Major Gibbs joined our Battalion in room of Major Galvan. His Excellency went on board the French fleet. Two Regiments from the State of Maryland arrived in camp this evening.

18th. Exceeding pleasant weather. The French Legion arrived in camp this afternoon.

19th. At 4 o'clock P. M. the Brigade was turned out and manœuvred by

the commanding officer of each Battalion. Major Galvan arrived in camp from Philadelphia in the evening.

20th. The grand parade was removed from the front of the L. Infantry to the plain N. of the college. Gen^l Lincoln arrived in camp in the evening.

21st. The Regiment was paraded and manœuvred as usual in the afternoon. I had a very severe fit of the ague and fever in the evening.

22^d. His Excellency returned from on board the fleet.

23^d, *Sunday*. Capt. Webb returned to the Regiment from furlough. I have been visited by another fit of the ague and fever.

24th. Took a puke this morning, which operated very severely. At one o'clock P. M. an express set out for H. Quarters in the State of N. York. Took a walk in the evening as far as college landing to bathe myself in salt water.

25th. After roll call I walked into town with Capt. Webb and several other gentlemen of the Regiment, but was soon obliged to return to Camp again, being visited by my usual disorder in a very severe manner, which held me all day.

26th. I feel myself greatly recovered from illness. Turned out to exercise in the afternoon. Orders for the army to march tomorrow morning.

27th. The General beat at eight o'clock A. M. At 9 the army took up their line of march, and passing through Williamsberg, encamped on a plain about a mile below the town (the light infantry on the R.). The army being now all together, consists of about 14,000 regular troops and three or four of militia. At nine o'clock in the evening the rolls were called, & every thing put in perfect readiness for a move.

28th. The General beat at daylight. About sunrise the army began their march (in one column) towards York. The Light Infantry, with some cavalry and one Regt. of riflemen, formed the van guard. In this order we proceeded about 7 miles, where the roads parted; the American army taking the right, and the French the left, proceeded within about two miles of York, where the French army encamped on a plain with a large morass in their front. The American army proceeded further towards the river; and the Light Infantry, crossing the above mentioned morass, marched onto a plain about a mile from the enemy's works, where we continued all night.

29th. At sunrise we paraded, and, having marched over another morass (not so large as the one before mentioned), we formed on a plain about half a mile from the enemy's advanced works. We lay in this position till 3 o'clock, at which time we moved a little back onto a more convenient piece of ground, where we encamped with our right extending almost to the river. The allied armies being thus encamped,

we almost encircled the town. Our riflemen have been skirmishing in our front all day; but have not been able to do much execution, as the enemy have kept close in their works.

30th, *Sunday*. The enemy have abandoned all their outworks except two redoubts, which are about 150 yards advanced of their main works; in consequence of which [a] detachment of our troops have moved, and taken possession of them (the abandoned works). A large part of the army are ordered to making fascines and other material for carrying on a siege. At 9 o'clock A. M. the Light Infantry marched to the lines, where we continued as a covering party all day. Colonel Schemell [Scammell] was unfortunately wounded and taken prisoner as he was reconnoitring near the enemy's lines. The enemy have kept a moderate fire on us all day. Several of our men were killed & wounded during the night.

Monday, October 1st, 1781. Part of the Army detached for that purpose broke ground last night by erecting a chain of redoubts about 9 hundred yards from the enemy's works. At 9 o'clock we were relieved by the 2^d division. Marched to camp and were dismissed. At nine o'clock in the evening I mounted the camp guard. The enemy have kept a constant fire on our working parties all day.

2^d. The wagons of the army were collected and sent to the landing to bring up ordnance and ammunition for the siege. About sunset, at which time I dismissed my guard, the 1st L. Infantry Brigade marched to the lines as a covering party to the men who are at work. Several of our men were killed and wounded in the night by shot and shells which the enemy fired very briskly.

3^d. The enemy's fire is very moderate this morning, our men being chiefly under cover of the works which have been erected. At 11 o'clock A. M. we marched from the lines to our tents, but remained as a picket all day.

4th. At sunrise the Brigade was turned out and marched into the woods (for the purpose of making sausesons,¹ gabions, &c., &c.) where we continued till 5 o'clock P. M. at which time we marched to our tents and were dismissed. The enemy have kept up their fire as usual all day. In this evenings General Orders we have the particulars of a Skirmish which happened yesterday (at Gloster) between the French and British Legions, — the latter having been out for the purpose of procuring forage.

5th. I breakfasted with Lieut. Nason; after which I walked with him and Mr. Morton (about a mile and a half) to a point on the river-side, where we had a plain view of the enemy's works at York & Gloster, with their shipping, which lies in the river (between those

¹ Saucissons, — bags of sand shaped like sausages.

posts), the number of which we suppose is about 100 sail, including transports and small craft.

6th. After roll call I walked (with Capt. Bradford and Lieut. Spring) to the American park of artillery. At 5 o'clock P. M. one Regiment from each Brigade of the American Army was paraded on a plain near Tarleton's old camp. Those troops, with an equal (or greater) number from the French army, broke ground immediately after dusk, by opening a parallel about 350 yards advanced of our chain of redoubts. About 11 o'clock the enemy discovered our approaches, at which time their fire became more brisk and general.

7th, *Sunday*. But very little damage was sustained last night by the enemy's fire. At 11 o'clock the light infantry mounted the trenches. About nine in the evening we broke ground (in several places) about 40 yards advanced of the parallel line where we are erecting batteries with all possible expedition.

8th. At daylight the enemy appeared with a small field piece a little advanced of their works, from which they fired and wounded several of our men; but were drove into their works again by a small party of men detached from our advanced picket for that purpose. At 11 o'clock we were relieved by the Barron's [Baron Steuben's] division, when we marched to camp and were dismissed. Fire from the enemy's works all day as usual.

9th. At nine o'clock the Light Infantry moved their tents about half a mile further to the right and a little advanced of the line of the army. At 2 o'clock P. M. turned out and marched into the woods, where we were employed in making sausesons, fasciens, &c., till sundown, when we marched to our tents again. Several batteries from the right and left of our line were opened on the enemy this evening.

10th. Our batteries being all completed, a very brisk fire, both of shot and shells, are kept from them on the enemy, who returns theirs with equal spirit. At 11 o'clock the light infantry mounted the trenches.

11th. The Charon man-of-war & two sail more of the enemy's shipping were set on fire and burnt last night (by hot shot or shells thrown from the French batteries on our left). At 11 o'clock we were relieved by the Barron's division. In the afternoon we were turned out and employed in making fasciens, gabions, &c., till sundown, at which time the militia mounted the trenches for the purpose of fatigue. Firing on both sides as usual.

12th. That part of the army in the trenches broke ground last night by beginning a second parallel (on the left) about 350 yards advanced of the first. This parallel could not be brought further to the right than the left of the American line, by reason of two redoubts which the enemy have still possession of. At 10 o'clock our Battalion was paraded & marched into the woods, where we were employed in making sause-

sons, fasciens, &c., till 5 o'clk P. M. when we left work and marched to our tents. Firing on both sides as usual. Drank grog with Maj' Gibbs at his tent in the evening.

13th. At sunrise the Regt. turned out and carried our day proportion of gabions & other materials to the top of the trenches, which we mounted at the usual hour. About 7 o'clk in the evening our Regt. moved from the first to the right of the second parallel, where Capt. White (a brave and deserving officer) and one private were killed. Two privates [were] wounded by a shell which dropped and burst in the centre of the Regt. as we were halted and taking tools to go to work. About nine o'clk we broke ground about twenty yards advanced of the second parallel by beginning to erect a battery, on which we worked all night.

14th. At 3 o'clk A. M. we were relieved from work by a Regiment of militia commanded by Col. Tucker; when we took our former position in the first parallel. We were relieved from the trenches as usual. At 5 o'clk P. M. the light Infantry mounted the trenches again. Immediately after dusk we advanced from the battery on our right (in one column) to the redoubt on the enemys left, which we attacked and carried by storm. A detachment of French Grenadiers carrying the one on our left about the same time (& in the same manner). We had nothing but the enemy's fire from their main works to hinder our completing our second parallel, which we proceeded to do with all possible expedition. In storming the before mentioned redoubt we lost one sergeant, eight R. & file killed; four officers and between 30 & 40 Rank & file wounded, most of them slightly.

15th. The works were carried on last night with such spirit that at daylight we found the parallel extended quite to the river on our right and nearly completed. Batteries are erecting with great expedition. Being now but 200 yards distant from the enemy's line of works, we are much troubled with their small shells, which they throw into our trenches exceeding fast. At 11 o'clk we left work and marched to our tents. Capt. White was interred last evening after we mounted the trenches. The fire, both of shot & shells, on both sides, has been exceeding hot all day.

16th. A little before daylight this morning, about six hundred of the enemy made a sally on our works. They entered a battery on our left & another on the right of the French line, and spiked several pieces of cannon in each of them. (This was done so slightly that the spikes were easily extracted.) The enemy [were] made to retire to their works with precipitation & considerable loss, both of killed and wounded. At 11 o'clk the light Infantry mounted the trenches as usual. About sundown our batteries from the second parallel were opened, and the fire of shot & shells became excessive hot on both sides.

17th. At daylight we found the enemy had stopped up the embrasures of the most of their batteries, and the fire from their cannon became almost silenced; but they continued to throw small shells very brisk. By this time the fire from our works became almost incessant, as new batteries are opening from almost every part of the line. About nine o'clock a drummer appeared and beat a parley on the rampart of the enemy's horn work; in consequence of which hostilities ceased till a flag came from their works to ours and returned again, when the firing commenced on both sides as usual. About 11 o'clock an answer to the enemy's flag was returned, and a cessation of arms granted them. At 12 o'clock we were relieved by the Barron's division, as usual. (This being the anniversary of the convention at Saratoga), at 2 o'clock P. M. the officers of Col. Vose's Battalion dined with him at his tent.

18th. Cessation of arms still continues. At 9 o'clock I mounted the camp guard. About 11 two Commissioners from the allied armies met two more from the British at Moors House (which is on the right of the American lines), where the articles [of] *Capitulation* were agreed on & signed. At 4 o'clock P. M. detachments of the allied armies took possession of the enemy's works in York and Glosester.

19th. At nine o'clock A. M. I was relieved from guard by Ensign Luce of Col. Barber's Battalion. At 12 o'clock the allied armies were paraded, our right being at the entrance of York on the main road and our left extending to the American encampment (which is one mile and a half). Being thus paraded for the reception of the British Army, at 2 o'clock P. M. they began to march out with shouldered arms and drums beating, but were [not] allowed to beat any French or American march; neither were they allowed to display their colors. In this order they were conducted (by General Lincoln) to a large plain in front of the American encampment, where they grounded their arms; after which they marched back to York. Col. Tarleton & Simcoe's [Simcoe's?] horse, with about 1,700 foot, being on Glosester side, they marched out & grounded their arms there. The prisoners are to remain in York and Glosester till conveniency will permit of their marching to the places of their destination (while they remain prisoners of war), which is in the back parts of Virginia and Maryland.

20th. At 9 o'clock the light Infantry were paraded; and after sending a detachment to relieve the guards and fatigue parties in York, the remaining part of the Brigade marched and took our usual post at the second parallel.

21st, *Sunday*. About 11 o'clock the British troops in York and Glosester began their march to the places of their destination. At 2 o'clock P. M. we were relieved by Gen' Hazen's Brigade. At 4 o'clock we paraded again to attend divine service, which was performed (on

a plain before the York Brigade) by the Rev^d Doct^r Evens, Chaplain to the Hampshire line. Orders for the army to be in readiness to march.

22^d. After roll call I walked with Lieut. Smith to the landing in York, from whence we took a boat and crossed to Glosester. After viewing the works on that side of the river, we returned to York & from thence to camp.

23. The light Infantry have this day been furnished with common tents (which were taken from the enemy). Took a walk into York with several gentlemen of the Regt. in the afternoon.

24. The French army are leaving their works and preparing for an embarkation.

25. At 7 o'clk A. M. a fatigue party of 500 men were turned out of the L. Infantry for the purpose of leveling the works before York.

26. The Virginia troops have this day marched to their rendezvous; from thence they are to march and join the Southern Army.

27th. The French army under the command [of] Maj^r Gen^l the Marquis De S. Simon are embarking on board the fleet from which they landed. In the afternoon I took a walk with Capt. Hitchcock.

28th, *Sunday*. At 10 o'clk the L. Inf'y relieved the guards and fatigue parties in York. I was on the revine guard with Capt. Chapman of Colonel Gimatt's Battalion. Had a very agreeable guard.

29th. At 11 o'clk A. M. we were relieved (by troops from Gen^l Hazen's Brigade), after which we marched to camp and were dismissed. Found the Brigade (except what went on guard yesterday) were gone on fatigue.

30th. A small draft was made from the line of the army to complete Col. Armong's [Armand's] Legionary Corps, which are to join Gen^l Green's Army.

31st. At sunrise Col. Vose's Battalion was turned out and marched into York, where we were employed till sundown in getting stores on board the craft which is to transport them to the head of Elk. Drew a number of overalls and vestcoats for our men.

Thursday, November 1st, 1781. The invalids of the L. Infantry embarked on board some small craft at York, which are to transport them to the h. of Elk.

2^d. At sunrise I marched with a party of men to the landing in York, and after distributing them to the several vessels on board of which were the invalids of the Battalion, I embarked myself on board a small schooner (called the Liberty). On board this schooner is Capt. Bradford and 32 sick men, so that with them the well soldiers and boats crew amounted to upwards of fifty men. After procuring a sufficient quantity of wood and water, I went on shore and received my orders for sailing. About 8 o'clk in the evening we sailed for the

head of Elk. At 11 we passed the French fleet (laying the mouth of the river). The wind being about west, we sailed all night.

3^d. At 11 o'clock A. M. we came to anchor in Cockland's Creek (the wind being against us & blowing very hard), where we landed part of our men, our schooner being crowded.

4th, *Sunday*. The wind being N. W., we are obliged to lay still. About 11 o'clock I went on shore, the east side of the creek, and walked (about half a mile) to Mrs. Edwards, where I dined and spent the afternoon. At sundown I returned to the schooner again.

5th. The wind is still at N. W., which obliges us to remain in harbor. Breakfasted on board the schooner. Dined on shore at a Mr. Tolsen's. After dinner I walked to several houses on the west side of the Creek, one of which was Mrs. Williams's, where I spent the evening and returned to the schooner again about 10 o'clock.

6th. Wind still against us. Breakfasted [and] dined as usual. Capt. Bradford had a very severe fit of the ague and fever. About sundown (the wind being low) we got our men on board, got up our anchor, rowed out of the creek, and, with the flood tide, beat up the bay about one league, and came to anchor under the Western shore, where we lay all night.

7th. About 10 o'clock A. M. (being flood tide), we came to sail, and after beating all day came to anchor (under Point Look Out) about sundown; having got across the mouth of the Potowmock river.

8th. Wind still at N. W. At sunrise we made sail, and beat up the bay about one league; then, running under the Western shore, came to anchor (the wind blowing exceeding hard), where we lay all night.

9th. At 9 o'clock A. M. got up our anchor, and running as near under the land as possible, landed part of our men (they being very sick). Capt. Bradford was again visited with a very severe fit of the ague & fever. At sundown, being almost calm, we got our men on board again, intending to make another trial to get up the bay; but the wind blowing again very hard from its usual corner, we were obliged to keep our station.

10th. Lay still till 4 o'clock P. M. at which time (it being flood tide) we came to sail and stood up the bay, the wind being about W. N. W., and blowing a moderate breeze. We sailed all night.

11th, *Sunday*. At 2 o'clock A. M. it began to rain. At daylight we found ourselves nearly opposite the mouth of Patuxent [Patuxent] river. At 8 o'clock we passed Anneplias [Annapolis], with a S. E. wind and severe storm of hail & snow. Soon after passing Annaplias, the wind hauling to the Eastward and storm increasing, we were obliged to bear away for a harbor, which we made in Worton Creek at 1 o'clock P. M.

12th. Stormy morning. Our provision being almost spent, I went on shore for the purpose of getting more. I was furnished with a horse by Col. Graves, who lives at the head of the creek, and rode to Chester Town, where (with much trouble) I drew three days provision for my men and returned to Col. Graves's, about sundown, where I spent the evening and lodged, not being able to get on board the schooner with the provision.

13th. Pleasant morning. Sent the provision on board the schooner, and after breakfasting with Col. Graves went on board myself; but finding it impossible to get out of the creek with the schooner, I sent the men on shore to cook their provision. About 11 o'clock I went on shore and walked to Col. Graves' again, where I dined and spent the day. In the evening I returned to the schooner again. About 9 o'clock (being almost calm) we got up our anchor & rowed out of the creek; after which we proceeded up the bay with a small wind.

14th. Pleasant morning. At daylight we found ourselves nearly opposite Cissel [Cecil] Court house in Elk river (this being the place we embarked from the 9th March). It being quite calm, found ourselves obliged to use our oars. About 9 o'clock we landed at a little village called French Town (about 3 miles below the H. of Elk & on the eastern side of the river). Capt. Bradford, having recovered his health, took command of the party at this place. About 11 o'clock we marched for Cristean [Christiana], where we arrived about sundown. After getting our men into quarters, I walked with Capt. Bradford to Capt. Dun's tavern, where we supped and lodged.

15th. Drew two days allowance of provision for our men. About sunrise we marched for New Castle [Del.], where we arrived at 9 o'clock A. M. After a short halt we embarked on board of a sloop. The tide being in our favor, we immediately sailed & proceeded up the river about one league, and came to anchor, where we lay till sundown, at which time we came to sail again. Proceeded about seven miles up the river, and came to anchor again about one mile below the lower chevaux-de-frise, it being very dark and about 12 o'clock at night.

16th. Came to sail about daylight; but it being almost calm we were obliged to use our oars to get up the river. About one o'clock we came to anchor (near a wharf) at the North end of the City of Philadelphia. Went on shore with Capt. Bradford, and walked to the Coffee House. Returned to the sloop again at seven o'clock in the evening. At 10 o'clock (it being flood tide) came to sail, and beat up the river about one league and came to anchor.

17th. Stormy morning. About 9 o'clock A. M. we came to sail; but the storm increasing & the wind being against us, was obliged to run as near the Jersey shore as could get and came to anchor. I went on shore with Capt. Bradford, and walked about a mile to Mrs. Steakles's

(a quaker widow), where we dined. After dinner we walked to a Capt. Andrewsons, where we spent the evening & lodged.

18th, *Sunday*. Clear morning. Went on board the sloop at daylight. About sunrise we came to sail. Our sloop being very [unmanageable] to beat, with much trouble we arrived at Burthentown [Bordentown] at 4 o'clock P. M., and not being able to get any further up the river, we landed our men & marched to Trenton, where we arrived a little after dusk. After getting our men into quarters, I walked with Capt. Bradford to Mr. Copes tavern, where we spent the evening and supped; but the lodgings being all taken up before we arrived, walked to a private house and lodged with several other officers of the army.

19th. Drew six days allowance of provisions. About 10 o'clock A. M. we began our march for Prince Town [Princeton], where we arrived about sundown. After getting our men into quarters (which were the public house of the town), I walked with Capt. Bradford to a tavern known by the sign of Hudebrass [Hudibras], where we put up for the night. Spent the evening very agreeably with several gentlemen of the town.

20th. Clear and pleasant morning. Walked to the barbers and was dressed. About 9 o'clock A. M. began our march from Princetown. After marching about 8 miles halted, and dined at a house near Millstone bridge. After halting an hour and an half proceeded on our march as far as Sumersett, where we arrived a little before sundown, and had our men quartered as usual. I quartered with Capt. Bradford, at a rich old gentleman's, a magistrate of the town.

21st. Breakfasted at our quarters. At 9 o'clock we began our march, and after proceeding several miles, stopped and dined at a duck house, after which we proceeded as far as Basking Ridge, where we arrived about sundown and took quarters as usual.

22^d. Began our march at 8 o'clock A. M. After proceeding 3 miles we halted to take breakfast; after which we continued our march as far as Moristown, where we arrived about 10 o'clock P. M., and took billets for our men about one mile & an half North of the town. Capt. Bradford & myself took quarters at a Captain Beaches.

23^d. Remained in quarters for the purpose of our men cleaning their arms & washing their clothes. Drew provision for our men.

24th. Capt. Bradford is visited again by his usual disorder in a very severe manner. The troops began their march at 10 o'clock A. M., but Capt. Bradford not being able to march with them, he tarried in the rear with the wagon, which came up about 7 o'clock in the evening, at which time we halted (being about 10 miles from Moristown), and took quarters as usual.

25th. Dark and cloudy morning. About 9 o'clock A. M. we began our march, and arrived at Puntton [Pompton] about 12, where we halted for the day, it being very stormy. I took quarters with Capt. Bradford at Mr. Van Gilders, where we dined on fresh fish.

26th. Unsettled weather. Remained in quarters all day, Capt. Bradford not being able to march. Spent the day very agreeably.

27th. Began our march at 9 o'clock A. M., & after making several halts on the road, arrived and put up at houses 12 miles from King's ferry. Capt. Bradford and myself took quarters at a small duck house, where we lodged on the floor.

28th. About nine o'clock A. M. we set out, and marched 9 miles towards the ferry and put up, it being very stormy. I took quarters with Capt. Bradford at M^r Burnes's.

29th. At nine o'clock A. M. we left our quarters and marched to the ferry, where we drew one day's allowance of provision and rum for our men. After a short halt at the ferry we embarked on board a flat bottomed boat which was to transport us to West Point, for which we immediately set out; and after rowing about 3 or 4 miles up the river, found it impossible to proceed any further, the wind being against us & blowing very hard; in consequence of which we run ashore near Peaks Kill landing, where we landed our men; and Capt. Bradford with those of them which were able immediately marched for W. Point; after which I interceded with Capt. Daney to take the remaining part of the men and our baggage on board his sloop, which was laying near the landing, and bound up the river as soon as the wind would permit. I lodged with Capt. Daney on board the sloop.

30th. The wind being at N. W., which makes it impossible to get up the river with the sloop, in consequence of which I landed (leaving a sergt. and two well men with the sick & baggage), and walked to Nelson's ferry, which I crossed; and after making a short stop in W. Point, I walked to York Huts and joined the Regiment, after a very fatiguing but successful campaign of nine months & eleven days. The Light Infantry have not yet arrived in camp, except the detachment with which I came.

York Huts, Dec. 8th, '81. The Light Infantry arrived in camp, and joined their respective Brigades and Regiments.

Mr. BUGBEE also communicated, through Mr. Smith, copies of the following letters written by two French officers who served in the War of the Revolution, — the first by Louis de Maresquette, who sought admission to the Society of the Cincinnati; the second and third by Bernard Maussac Lamarquisie, who sought temporary aid from the Cincinnati Society

until his claims could be presented to the United States Government.

Louis de Maresquelle, Col. d'artillerie, inspecteur général des fonderies de cet état désirant depuis l'institution de l'honorable Société des Cincinnati, d'être admis parmi tant de respectables guerriers, prend la liberté de s'adresser à l'honorable Comité, pour obtenir la faveur d'être reçu; espérant que si ses titres ne sont pas suffisant il obtiendra cette faveur de la générosité de l'honorable Société.

Maresquelle depuis ses plus jeunes ans a toujours suivi le parti des armes dans l'armée Française ayant obtenu Commission de Capitaine n'ayant pas 18 ans en 1776 le suppliant a été envoyé (par le Comte de St Germain, ministre des affaires étrangères) dans l'espérance que ses faibles talens pourraient être de quelque utilité aux Américains; il reçu à son arrivée dans cet état le brevet de Col. d'artillerie dans l'espérance que cette République allait lever un second Régiment d'artillerie pour l'armée Continental, ce qui n'eut pas lieu. L'assemblée général de cet état jugea convenant d'employer les talens du suppliant à fonder des canons, bombes obus, mortiers, pour le service du Continent. Le suppliant a été aide de camp du général Sullivan, avec lequel il aurait continuer le reste de la guerre. Si cette République ne l'eut rappelé pour l'employer comme ingénieur en chef du Comte D'Estaing le suppliant espère (Com^e un français qui a sacrifié les plus Beaux jours de sa vie à l'intérêt de la cause république depuis 1776 jusqu'à ce jour), qu'il obtiendra, Messieurs, la faveur indigne d'être reçu dans votre honorable Société.

Considérez, Messieurs, qu'elle disgrâce ce serait pour le suppliant s'il retourne dans sa Patrie sans avoir l'honneur d'être admis au nombre des Cincinnati. Ses compatriotes croiroient que sa mauvais conduite l'aurait privée de cette distinction honorable. Daignes considérer, Messieurs, que le suppliant a été plus utiles à la cause du Continent en fournissant des canons, obus bombes, mortiers pour l'armée continental et des canons pour les frégattes que s'il avait eu l'honneur de partager les lauriers dont vous vous êtes, Messieurs, si dignement couvert sous l'immortal Washington.

Messieurs, en recevant le suppliant dans votre honorable Société, vous mettrez le comble à ses vœux; il emploiera le reste de sa vie à chanter vos vertus et votre générosité: en attendant l'honneur de votre réponse, le suppliant est et sera pour toujours avec respect,

Messieurs,

Votre très humble Serviteur,

LOUIS DE MARESQUELLE.

The foregoing communication was addressed to the Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Society in 1789; and at the

meeting of that committee, July 4, 1789, it was voted that the applicant was not eligible for membership.

To the honorable Society of the Military order of St. Sinatis at Boston :

HONORABLE PRESIDENT & MEMBERS, —The undersigned, Bernard Maussac Lamarquisie, ancient officer in the American army, has the honor to represent to you that in the year 1776 he was sent from the Island of Martinico to Philadelphia, recommended by his general to doctor Francklin, who did him the honor to introduce him to president Hancock, whom after examining my papers honored me with a commission of captain in the body of Engineers, and destined for the armies in Canada, for which place I sat out with doctor Francklin, Mr. Chesse [Samuel Chase], Mr. Carol [Charles Carroll], a member of Congress, & Mr. Carol [John Carroll], a priest. At my arrival at Montreal in Canada, I received order to join the army at Sorrel [Sorel] on the river Richelieu, where general Arnold commanded, after the defeat of general Montgomerie [Montgomery]. After arrived general Thompson, who commanded us till the arrival of general Thomas, who died of the small pox at Chambly Then arrived general Sullivan [Sullivan], who took the command of the army. Few days after general Thompson was sent by the commander in chief, to attack the English at Three Rivers, where I was also ordered to go, as a chief engineer and first aide-camp to general Thompson, with about 1,200 men from several regiments, with Colonel Winne [Wayne], Colonel St. Clair, Colonel Maxwell, & Colonel Rose. We were beaten by a superior force, though all the divisions fought with a courage undaunted, and we retreated honorably. A little time after the whole army retreated by the side of the river Chambly under general Sullivan, whom was relieved at Ticonderoga by general Schyler [Schuyler]; & a little while after arrived general Gates, who commanded till the attack from the British, which obliged us to retreat to S^t Jean [St. John's], where I spent my winter quarters. In the Spring I was sent to West point, where I staid a little while, and thence was sent as a chief engineer to repair and put in order fort Stanicks [Stanwix] up the river Moack [Mohawk]. This being done with success, I was ordered to repair to the army of the North, which commanded general Schyler, who had been relieved by general Gates; the army was then at Steel Water [Stillwater] till the taken of general Bourgoine [Burgoyne]; and I was always in the North till the arrival of the french army at Rhode Island. Then I went there to receive my commission of lieutenant colonel in the army of france, & I always served till the conclusion of peace. Then being at Philadelphia and disposed to go to france, I was proposed to your honorable Society [the New York branch?] by colonel [Joseph] Wood, of the regiment

of St. Clair, to whom I deposited in specie and in the hands of major Veger [Peter Vosburgh?], of New York, who was a major in my time in the regiment of Hary Livingston [Col. Henry Beekman Livingston], a month and a half pay of lieutenant colonel: & having found a passage for London, I sailed without being received a member of your respectable Society; and after being accepted and making the above gift, I dare to hope all success in the favor I beg of you in the inclosed sheet, & I dare to hope you will be so kind to take in consideration my demand, & I shall be very thankful to you.

I am,

Your most humble & most affectionate Servant,
LAMARQUISIE.

The following is a copy of the petition referred to near the end of the foregoing letter. It is not written by the same hand. Major Lamarquisie was promptly aided by the Massachusetts Society (although he had no special claim upon it), and commended to the favor of the Societies in Rhode Island and New York.

To the Honorable Society of the Military Order of Cincinnatus in Massachusetts:

PRESIDENT & MEMBERS, — The undersigned, Maussa Lamarquisie, formerly Major in the American Army untill the end of the War, has now the honor of addressing the respectable Society of the Order of Cincinnatus, to represent his situation to their consideration.

Having been persecuted in France during the Revolution, and by force deprived of all my papers, certificates, &c., I presume that by identifying my person & pretensions I shall meet that just reward for my past services which hath in all other instances so peculiarly characterized the government of the United States.

The necessities of the moment compell me to ask for friendly aid & to enable me to travel to the seat of Government, where I shall prefer my claims. Having quitted france in the greatest distress, where for a long time the liberality of Americans supported me, I was obligated finally to a worthy citizen of Boston for supplies of Money and provisions & passage to this Country for myself & Wife; arrived upon these hospitable shores, I must throw myself upon the bounty of Charitable Societies for imediate relief.

The benignity of your institution invites me to apply as a Brother Officer, presuming no other title necessary to excite your sympathetic attention. My Wife sick & in want of cloathing proper for the season, myself without other cloaths than those lent me by a charitable Brother,

a Lodging to pay for at twelve Dollars per Week, besides fire and Wood, medicines, &c., it is impossible for me to acquit myself of these expenses & to leave this Town on my way to Philadelphia without sufficient pecuniary assistance.

Animated with the hopes of your philanthropic exertions in my behalf, for which my gratitude will ever thank you, I offer up my prayers to the Supreme Being for your prosperity & happiness.

Salut et respect,

LAMARQUISIE.

Boston, 6 December, 1797.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, and other gentlemen referred briefly to the recent death of a Corresponding Member, Mr. Henry Tuke Parker, a native of Boston, who had lived for many years in England.

The PRESIDENT announced that the fifth volume of the second series of the Proceedings, and a new serial containing the record of the meetings for May and June of this year, were ready for delivery.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th inst., at three o'clock P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record and of the list of donors to the Library, the Librarian called the attention of the members to an elegant cabinet which had been made for the purpose of holding the Parkman Papers presented on two former occasions. See Proceedings for Jan. 8, 1885 (2d series, vol. i. pp. 360-362), and for Dec. 9, 1886 (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 152, 153). On both these occasions the gifts were referred to a special committee, who subsequently reported on their character. See Proceedings for March 11, 1886 (2d series, vol. ii. pp. 225-228), and for Dec. 8, 1887 (2d series, vol. iv. pp. 44-46). The cabinet was given by Mr. Parkman, the senior Vice-President, and was received at these rooms on October 21. The following letter from Mr. Shaw, the architect who designed the cabinet, will explain itself:—

BOSTON, Oct. 24, 1890.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

DEAR SIR,—It was my intention, in designing the cabinet for the Parkman Papers, to recall the French origin of these manuscripts, and for that reason I adopted a style that is allied to the architecture of the French châteaux, and have used as ornaments, on the panels of the doors, the emblems of the scallop-shell and the *fleur-de-lis*, which constantly recur in French work. The material of which the cabinet is made is quartered oak.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE RUSSELL SHAW.

The President then presented to the Society, in the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Bigelow Updike, a manuscript volume of notes of sermons preached at Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1689-1693, taken down by her ancestor, Joseph Baxter, while an undergraduate. Mr. Baxter was born in Braintree, June 4, 1676,

graduated at Harvard College in 1693, was ordained at Medfield, April 21, 1697, and died there, May 2, 1745.

The PRESIDENT presented a large and valuable collection of Lincoln Papers, and said : —

The daughter of our late honored associate, Governor Lincoln, has put at my disposal a considerable number of letters found among his papers, which she was unwilling to destroy. Some of them when written were private and confidential. They would be highly valued by a collector of autographs. President Zachary Taylor, John Quincy Adams, Senators Mills and Webster, Leverett Saltonstall, Edward Everett, and others of note have here some interesting memorials. Especially so is the correspondence between Lincoln and Webster, in which the former positively withdraws his name as a candidate likely to be elected as United States Senator, and aids the election of the latter. Mr. Lincoln had been elected by the Senate, but in a letter to the Speaker withdrew his name when the House was to vote. Many of the letters were written during the fiercest political agitation of Anti-Masonry, with large contributions from J. Q. Adams. The nomination of Lincoln for re-election as Governor was then pending. Though he was known not to be a Mason, and as disapproving of the brotherhood, his letters, private and official, when an Anti-Masonic convention was about to be held and he was sharply questioned, prove his manly resolve not to make what is now called "campaign capital" out of the contention. Mr. Adams, in a letter to the Anti-Masonic Convention in Boston, 1831, refused to be its candidate for Governor, and approved and advocated Mr. Lincoln's re-election. Reserving for the present, for myself, a few of the letters, which, however, will ultimately fall to the Society, I will commit the rest to our Library. They may at some time have value for uses of personal, party, or general history.

Among the letters is one pleasantly concerned with the classical ceremonies formerly observed at Harvard College, which may have an historic interest. This I will read with a prefatory introduction.

It was my privilege for many successive years, in my annual attendance on the anniversary of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, from my election to it in 1847, to

share for several days the delightful hospitality of Governor Lincoln. As almost the last of the representatives of the old manners of formal dignity in the line of the Chief Magistrates of Massachusetts, he was, in himself and through his lineage, a striking and impressive character, scholar, agriculturist, jurist, and statesman, judge on the bench, representative in Congress, and known as the first of our Governors to exercise the veto power. In 1829, more than sixty years ago, midway in his ten years' term as Governor, he was called upon to perform a dignified official act, which has now become an observance of the past in this Commonwealth. Like many of his predecessors in the Colony, Province, and State, he was to inaugurate a new President of Harvard College. I recall that, some forty years ago, in a charming retrospect, he told me of the anxiety and apprehension which he had felt in view of the duty expected of him at the College on the accession of President Quincy. His remarks were substantially as follows. He reminded himself that his predecessors in that august service had always addressed the incoming President in a Latin speech. He at once resolved that he, an alumnus of the College, and a marked observer of all proprieties, would not allow that formality to fail with him, though he might be the last — as the event has proved — to perform it. The excellent and honored Governor Briggs — not a classicist — allowed it to lapse, once for all, at the inauguration of President Everett. But Governor Lincoln foreboded the service with extreme embarrassment and misgiving. He said that in a varied and laborious public career he had wholly lost what Latin he once might have had, retaining only legal terms and phrases. Yet with earnest and heroic resolve he set himself as to a hard school-boy task. Having retained an office for his Library in the Main Street, he shut himself in with the dictionary and grammar of his pupilage days, to produce a classic deliverance. There were then none of the now abounding manuals and helps for Sciolists. Word by word, with inflections, augments, tenses, cases, and genders, the crucial process went on. He would be indebted to no one for suggestion or revision. After writing in English what he wished to say, as he then set about turning it into Latin, he would occasionally alter his English model to get round his inability to Latinize a word or phrase. Then, having his labored verbal text on paper, his next in-

creased anxiety was about his prosody in its delivery, that he might not confound long and short vowels. It was to be committed, to be recited *memoriter*, as if extemporized. Just as he was resting from this stage of a recuperated scholarship, as the public ordeal was approaching, he received an ominous letter from the venerable Harvard Medical Professor, Dr. Waterhouse. Some here, perhaps, with myself, may remember that picturesquely eccentric Professor who closed his life of ninety-two years in 1846. The Governor said to me that if he had not wrought already his severe task, that letter of the quaint old disciple of Jenner would have wholly wrecked his peace of mind. I find that letter of Dr. Waterhouse among the papers given to me, and will now read it. I will premise, however, that the Governor, after he had found deliverance on the inauguration platform, ventured to ask the Latin Professor Beck whether he had made any grievous slip. The reply was, "only in the prosody of one syllable."

CAMBRIDGE, April 1st 1829.

SIR, — I here send your Excellency a copy of a Latin Oration which I pronounced at my adoption into this University half a century ago. I have just printed it, being unwilling to commit it to the flames, with many other papers, the result of less labour.

I have felt, fostered, and preserved a strong attachment to Harvard College, notwithstanding the collisions of party spirit and the mischief of professional rivalships; and have felt disposed to leave behind me expressions of that partiality in a language that has maintained its dignity through the devastations of ages.

I am among those who lament the too great neglect of the Latin tongue in the most ancient and celebrated of our American Universities. Among our Divines we have, I believe, few such Latin scholars as Cotton Mather, or his son Samuel; among the Lawyers, I suspect, still fewer, and fewer yet among the Physicians. The former President, Jefferson, cultivated the Latin and Greek to the last, and so has Mr. Madison, in a great degree; as I discover in a letter I lately received from him.

I hope the President Elect (Quincy) has not allowed this medium of universal science to rust for want of use, seeing his approaching installation will call for it, *more majorum*.

With a high degree of respect, I remain,

Your ob^t Serv^t

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

His Excellency Governor LINCOLN, Worcester.

I have here the copy of Dr. Waterhouse's Inaugural Oration which belongs to our Library. It was delivered in 1783, but not printed by the author, as he writes Governor Lincoln, till 1829, forty-six years afterward. The reason which he gives for printing it is as follows:—

“for as much as it fixes the era of an historical fact not to be found on the records of the University. That the origin of the second school of medicine in America (that of Pennsylvania having preceded it by about thirty years) should have been publicly celebrated before the highest civil authorities in the Commonwealth — clerical and literary bodies — with a festive entertainment, and by illuminations of all the college buildings, and yet no record made of the installation, must surprise all those unacquainted with the remissness of times past.”

There is here an earlier series of papers from the files of the senior Levi Lincoln. Besides being the father of the Governors of two New England States, he was himself a probate judge, government commissioner on estates confiscated in the Revolution, member of the first State Constitutional Convention, chosen to the old Congress of 1781, member of the House, Senate, and Council, Lieutenant-Governor, and acting Governor, all of this State; and member of Congress and Attorney-General of the United States, and declined an appointment by Jefferson as Justice of the Supreme Court. The package contains very interesting letters from Jefferson, Madison, John Randolph, Governor Eustis, Justice Story, and others.

The third section, Q to Z, inclusive, having been called on for communications, the Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG said:—

I hold in my hand an original letter of Lafayette. It is quite brief, and it came from a branch of the Washington family who live about six miles from Winchester, in Virginia, having been given to a friend of mine by the late Mr. Byrd Washington, who owned a fine estate there, and whose widow still remains on the place.

It is dated April 12, 1782, five months and a half after the battle of Yorktown, in which Lafayette bore an honorable part. It was written in Paris, to which he had returned on his second visit, having asked and obtained permission from Congress. Previous to his departure Washington wrote to him

a letter, which is published by Sparks in his eighth volume (pp. 203-207), in which he gives his views respecting the operations which should be undertaken in the next campaign, and expresses his warmest regard for Lafayette.

Count Segur, who is referred to in the beginning of this letter, was the young friend whom Lafayette wished to accompany him when he first came to this country in 1777, and who did come in 1782, and served in the American army till after the withdrawal of the French forces under Rochambeau.

But the most interesting feature of this letter is the charming spirit of familiarity and friendship which pervades it, and the tone of mingled respect and affection which is equally noticeable.

PARIS April 12th 1782

DEAR GEORGE, — This letter will be either sent or delivered by Count de Segur, a very intimate friend of mine, whom I particularly recommend to your Attention. I am Happy, My dear Sir, in an Opportunity to write to you, and I anticipate the pleasure to be again with you in a few months, when we may again begin Warlike Operations. As I imagine you are with the General, to whom I have written very fully, I think it needless to send you any European Intelligence. Remind me most affectionately to your family and to my Brother officers, and be assured, my dear George, that with a sincere Esteem and warm Attachment I am most affectionately

Yours,

LAFAYETTE.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Endorsed: "Paris, 12th April 1782, from the Marquis De Lafayette."

There can be no question as to the genuineness of this letter, for from beginning to end it is in the handwriting of Lafayette. The name "George Washington" at the bottom is preceded by a pen-mark which it is impossible to decipher, and which is followed by what seems to be the letter "A." Washington had a nephew, George Augustine Washington, who was at this time nineteen years of age, being six years younger than Lafayette and unmarried. Whether he is the person meant by the words "A. George Washington," cannot positively be determined from the letter itself. We know that the most intimate relations existed between the Marquis and the General, including the members of his household; but the mode of address here used would hardly be employed in writ-

ing to the commander-in-chief. Moreover, in the "Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of Lafayette," published by his family (Paris, 1837, vol. ii. pp. 27-29), there is an elaborate letter written by him to Washington, dated Paris, April 12, 1782, which shows that the note commencing "Dear George" was probably addressed on the same day to the nephew, though his name is not given correctly by the writer. The letter referred to contains the following paragraph:—

"Cette lettre, mon cher général, vous est portée par le comte de Ségur, fils du marquis de Ségur, ministre d'état au département de la guerre, lequel, en France, a une grande importance. — Le comte de Ségur allait avoir bientôt un régiment; mais il aime mieux servir en Amérique et sous vos ordres. C'est un des hommes les plus aimables, les plus spirituels et les meilleurs que j'aie jamais vus. Il est mon intime ami. Je vous le recommande, mon cher général, et par vous à tout le monde en Amérique, et particulièrement dans l'armée."

In November, 1782, the preliminary treaty of peace was signed by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and Lafayette did not return to this country until 1784.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks:—

A few weeks ago, while visiting the library of the New York Historical Society, I had an opportunity to examine a bound volume of "The Boston News-Letter," covering the period from April 24, 1704, to April 19, 1708. The file is nearly complete, lacking only five numbers, and includes the first four years of the newspaper. It was given to that Society in 1805, a short time after its organization, by George Bruce, a well known type-founder of New York. The earlier volumes of the News-Letter are exceedingly rare, and, so far as my knowledge goes, this file is the best one extant. In the margin of some of the numbers are notes in the handwriting of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall, which in a few instances are signed with the initials "S. S." This signature would seem to dispel any doubt, that might otherwise exist, as to their authorship. Occasionally such notes refer to matters mentioned in his Diary, which is published in the Collections (fifth series, vols. v.-vii.) of our Society. There is also in the same

hand an index of four pages to certain articles printed in various issues.

Scattered throughout the volume are several contemporaneous broadsides and other papers, bound up with the numbers of the newspaper, which give an additional interest and value to the file. These publications are as follows:—

I. After No. 11, July 3, 1704, is

An Account of the Behaviour and last Dying

SPEECHES

Of the Six Pirates, that were Executed on *Charles River*, *Boston* side,
on Fryday *June* 30th. 1704. *Viz.*

Capt. John Quelch, John Lambert, Christopher Scudamore,
John Miller, Erasmus Peterson and Peter Roach. (Pages 2.)

This sheet is also found bound up in the file of the News-Letter belonging to our Society, where it appears after No. 10, June 26, 1704.

II. After No. 121, August 12, 1706, is

A Copy of the Last Will and Testament of

Richard Bellingham Esqr.

Late Governour of the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

And some Arguments to prove this was the said Governours last Will, and was Proved | and Approved as such, and ought to continue valid against the Attempts of all that | would Nullify the same. |

Published by the Reverend Mr. *James Allen*, one of the Executors in said Will named. | (Pages 2.)

A manuscript note in the upper margin of the first page says: "Given me by Mr. S. Stoddard, Augt. 6. 1706."

III. After No. 173, August 11, 1707, a broadside:—

May 28th 1706.

To my Worthy Friend,

Mr. James Bayley,

Living (if Living) in *Roxbury*. A POEM.

This broadside is signed "Nicholas Noyes," and on it is written: "Printed July 30th 1707." Judge Sewall, in his printed Diary, under date of May 27, 1706, says: "Mr. Noyes had left his Verses for Mr. Bayley, which I carried with me [from Salem] next morning." Probably Mr. Noyes was at that time in doubt whether Mr. Bayley was still alive, as then for many weeks he had been sick unto death.

Mr. Sibley, in his "Harvard Graduates" (II. 245), says that these Lines were printed in the News-Letter, August 11, 1707; but this is an error. He evidently followed the authority of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, who makes the same statement in his "History of American Literature" (II. 43 *note*). Presumably Professor Tyler examined this file in the New York library, and inadvertently described the broadside as a number of the newspaper. On a later page (298) of his volume Mr. Sibley modifies the statement, and says that the verses "are sometimes bound with files of the Boston News-Letter."

IV. After the same number (173): —

Informations | And | Directions | For the making of Tar and choice
of Trees | for the same, as in *Finland*, &c. (Pages 2.)

This paper is signed "J. Bridger, Surveyor Gen. of all Her Majesties Woods, &c. in *America*"; and the imprint at the bottom of page 2 is "*Boston in New-England*, Printed by B. Green, July, 1707."

V. After No. 178, Sept. 15, 1707, a broadside: —

A Pindarick ELEGY Upon the Renowned,

Mr. Samuel Willard,

Late Reverend Teacher of the South Church in *Boston*, and

Vice-President of *Harvard College* in *Cambridge*;

Who deceased *September* the 12th. 1707. *Ætatis Anno* 68.

This Elegy, printed with an engraved border, is signed "John Danforth" as the author. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1677; but the title does not appear in the list of Danforth's works, given in the "Harvard Graduates" (II. 511-514).

VI. After No. 189, Dec. 1, 1707: —

TUESDAY, November, 25, 1707.

The Reasons of my withdrawing my Vote from what was Pass'd in Council, | upon *Saturday*, November the First, relating to an Address offered to Her | Majesty, Sign'd *Nath. Higginson &c.* |

SAMUEL SEWALL.

BOSTON N. E. Printed December, 10. 1707.

I am indebted to Mr. William Kelby, Assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, for a careful collation of these titles.

While I am on my feet, Mr. President, I will call the attention of the members to another matter. Within a short time an application has been received for permission to copy a letter written by Thomas Jefferson, now belonging to the Society, with a view to its publication in a forthcoming edition of Jefferson's Works. The subject was referred to the Council, as usual; and by them I have been instructed to submit the letter at this time, so that it will appear in the Proceedings, as follows: —

MONTICELLO Aug. 5. 17.

DEAR SIR Your favor of July 14. was duly recieved with my acc^t annexed, which I believe is all right except that to the balance of 662.19 should be added an error of 10. D. in the account of Dec. 31. 1816. where the proceeds of the sale of 175. Bar. flour for 1581.75 is mis-entered as 1571.75 this error of the copyist is easily rectified. I believe also I have not yet been credited the charge of 31. D. ordered to be pd to Dufief but not actually paid, debited to me Aug. 4. 16 (see explanation in my lres of Feb. 9. & 17th Dufief's letter inclosed to you, and yours of Feb. 13.) I was surprised to learn by a letter of July 15. from m^r Yansey that 3. hhd^s of my tob^o remained still at Lynchb^g by failure of the promise of the boatmen, which however he said would go off in a few days. we have also a hogthead here which Johnson will take down the first swell of the river. be so good as to sell these on their arrival for what they will bring I shall be obliged shortly to count on their proceeds in my draughts; as on my arrival at Poplar Forest, (to which I set out the day after tomorrow) I must draw in favor of m^r Robertson for 800. D. and before my departure in fav^r of Sam^l Carr or order for about 150. or 160. D. my general view of the present state of my account is about thus.

1817. July 1. bales by acc ^d rendered	662.19	1817. June 27. Ord ^r fav ^r South-all	990.
1816. Aug. 4. payment to Duffief charged.	31.	July 7. Note bk Virgi redeem ^d	2000.
Dec. 31. miscopying of article of 1581.75.	10.	Ord. to be drawn — Robertson	800
1817. July 9. note in bk U S.	3000		<u>3790</u>
4 hhds tob ^o to be yet sold suppose	400.	balance	393.19
2. Barrels condemn ^d flour.			<u>4123.19</u>
suppose	20.		
	<u>4123.19</u>		

on this will be the draught in fav^r of Sam Carr, am^t not exactly known. I must also request you to send me a small bale of cotton the first time Johnson goes down. he will call on you for it. I shall not be able to replenish my funds until by 50. Bar. rent flour about 90. days hence, and perhaps some crop flour from home. I expect to remain in Bedford till the middle of next month. consequently a blank stamp for my note in the bk th^o due Sep. 9 should be forwarded to me in Bedford, and the sooner the surer. I am affectionately & respectfully yours

TH: JEFFERSON

The letter is written on the back of another one, which bears the superscription "Thomas Jefferson Esqr Mountichello." It is endorsed in Jefferson's handwriting, "Gibson Patrick. Aug. 5. 17," to whom without doubt the finished letter was sent, and it was probably kept by the writer as a rough draft or copy. The way of spelling "Mountichello" is a suggestion that the name was formerly pronounced as an Italian word.

The PRESIDENT reported from the Council that Mr. Thomas W. Higginson had been selected to deliver the Address on the Centennial Anniversary of the Formation of the Society, and that he had accepted the appointment.

Judge William S. Shurtleff, of Springfield, President of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, was elected a Resident Member.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1890.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting, and the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the PRESIDENT said:—

It was only as we were taking our places here at our last monthly meeting, that we were pained to receive the tidings of the sudden death that morning, at his home in New Bedford, of our distinguished and highly esteemed associate, Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter. He had been in membership for more than a score of years, and was with us at the previous meeting. Under the shock of the message only a simple announcement of the event could then be made, deferring to this meeting the full expression of our regard for him as our much valued and cherished associate personally, and of our appreciation of the high place of honor and service which he had filled in this community. Dr. Dexter's career and the fruits of it, in his distinguished professional, denominational, and editorial relations, have been and will be duly recognized outside of this our fellowship. It is for us to speak of him, as we well may, in our pleasant intimacy with him in his noble manliness and kindly ways, and as a faithful and fruitful toiler in our especial historical field of Massachusetts. There would have been a strange gap or omission on our roll if his name had not long been there, or if, being there, it had not been connected with contributions of pre-eminent importance, value, and interest to our local history. Dr. Dexter may fairly be regarded as the most thoroughly erudite and scholarly, able and accomplished, if not, indeed, the very last man among us, of the original Pilgrim stock, of strong intellect, high culture, and full attainment in deep and accurate historical lore, to represent in this generation the unreduced, unmingled faith, principles, and religious polity of

the Fathers of Massachusetts. That unswerving loyalty he claimed for himself with equal fidelity and constancy. His fond and persistent life-work was to present the original Puritanism to his generation, by tracing its rise and course, by interpreting and expounding it, and by stoutly standing for it. He took his seat on the judicial bench in all the crucial cases of Roger Williams, the Antinomians, the Quakers, and the Baptists; and his rulings were all with the Puritan magistrates. I do not recall ever having heard from his lips, or read from his pen, a single word of grudging allowance or apology for the stern beliefs or the doings of our Puritan forefathers. Some of us, however, might have needed his own verbal assurance of such a loyal kinship, which had evidently passed under a mellowing influence. His charming urbanity and courtesy, his geniality and tolerance of spirit, and the exuberant flow of his humor would never have suggested to us the grimness and austerity of his progenitors. But his record and his life-work fully sustain the heredity which he claimed lived in him. Two distinct but vitally related historical subjects engaged his zeal, ardor, and unwearied patience of investigation, on both sides of the ocean. One was the *origines* of the old Pilgrim colony; the other was the Church Polity of the Puritans. Born in the limits of that old colony, within ten miles of Plymouth Rock, of a ministerial home, he was through his whole life a most keen and curious searcher into all that entered into its history and the fortunes of the original exiles. The subject kept its novelty and interest to him to the last, and his fondest toil upon it was yet in progress when he left us. Some new element in it, some query, some clew, some hint, intimation, or direction of inquiry would start him on ever fresh zeal for research. His devotion to this, his first engrossing subject, necessarily led him to engage with the second, which was the rise, the fortunes, the principles, and the Church Polity of that class of Non-Conformists in England called Congregationalists. As the subject to which Dr. Dexter devoted so many years of intelligent and laborious historical investigation, at his own costly charges, is so vitally related to the first era of Massachusetts, and as the fruits of his labor show the most thorough and complete treatment of that subject, it is due to him, as our associate, that we recognize the special aim and spirit of his work, simply in its

historical bearings, without meddling with the arguments or controversies which bristle around it.

When, in the convulsions and strifes which attended what is known as the Reformation in Europe, England repudiated and excluded any further interference of the Bishop of Rome with its own supreme autonomy in the affairs both of State and Church, many changes, both startling and radical, marked the issue. The most serious, effective, and comprehensive of all these in the ferment of the time may be included under this one,—the assertion by laymen of their full rights and obligations in connection with the institutions of religion. It was a startling novelty, big with unforeseen consequences. Previous to that convulsion, all that concerned religion in its matters of belief, institution, and discipline, had been the prerogative solely of the priesthood. The laity had no functions or privileges in the matter. Docile submission, acquiescence, and obedience filled their responsibility. Laymen in the Church first asserted themselves at the Reformation. The most significant type or illustration of this sturdy attitude of antagonism to the exclusive assumptions of a priesthood, taken by laymen, is found in the polemical literature of the Reformation in abounding heaps of pamphlets, under the title of "Communion in both Kinds." In the New Testament, the sole authority and guide of the Puritans, they read that in the institution of the rite called the Lord's Supper, the founder of the Church gave the cup to his disciples with the positive injunction, "Drink ye all of it." But the Roman Church, on grounds of its own approval, wholly withheld the cup from laymen, and restricted its use to the priesthood, as it does at this day. The steadily increasing prerogative of the laity may be traced onward from that era. The progress and developments of Protestantism in its manifold forms carry on with it the issue between the laity and sacerdotalism. The Reformed English Church, save that it had a lay head in royalty, was strictly hierarchical in its institution and discipline. Lay administration was first recognized in the branch of the Anglican Church organized in these States a century ago. Not infrequently we hear assertions from members of that communion that their church is steadily becoming Congregationalized by the action of its laity. Indeed, we are becoming familiar with the convening of lay-church congresses even in

the Roman Catholic fold. Such a device was unknown in pre-Reformation times. The subject to which Dr. Dexter gave his life-study was pre-eminently illustrative of the functions of the lay brotherhood in religious institutions. By a strange misconstruction of the historical facts of the case, it has come about that the old Puritan ministers or elders have been dealt with as the most imperious, assuming, and rigid of ecclesiastics. The exact contrary was the truth. They were at best but compeers of the lay brotherhood. They were clerical, but not sacerdotal. Without permanency of official orders, without endowments or benefices, they derived their functions and support from the brotherhood, and were but units with the laity in government and discipline, and they were themselves subject to lay discipline.

And when Reform, as yet undefined in method and extent, was accepted as the necessary issue of the renunciation of the Papacy, the burning question presented itself, how far that Reform should go, and how thorough its process should be. The term Puritanism carries its own historical meaning with it. Whatever view may commend itself to any one's judgment, as to the wisdom or temper or principles of the Puritans, they certainly set before themselves one clearly defined and logically consistent rule. That was that everything of doctrine, discipline, belief, and usage that had come into the religious life of the realm from the rule of the Church of Rome, should be purged, expurgated, and cleansed. The Bible, open and free for every earnest reader, was to displace Canon Law, Rubrics, and Breviary; and qualified teaching ministers, of one equal order, should be the substitute for a hierarchy of degrees and dignities. The Puritans committed themselves to the position that the succession of discipleship, and not of a priesthood, preserved the inheritance of the faith, and that the New Testament is the attested record of that inheritance, and the Magna Charta of the Christian Church. They further maintained that any convenient number of men and women, as Christian disciples, associated in pledged fellowship, was competent to choose and put in office its own teachers, and for all government and discipline, — still finding their complete pattern in the New Testament, without help or hindrance from any councils, usages, or devices of men, after the apostolic age. It was by men holding to these radically

reformed religious beliefs and methods, that New England was planted. It was to the study, investigation, and full-hearted championship of all that entered into their personal history and their church polity, that Dr. Dexter devoted the labor of his life.

There was a strange and curious medley of persons and opinions among those classed or grouped, in the distraction of the times, under the general titles of Separatists, or Non-Conformists, making up the so-called Sects, that followed. Every extravagance, oddity, and eccentricity of opinion and conduct, every form of individualism, enthusiasm, and fanaticism, had its disciples, exhorters, and assemblies. As a general rule, the most radical and erratic of these were under the leadership and had a membership of laymen, uneducated, and with no pretence of orderly, official ministries. But the type and class of men who were the subjects of Dr. Dexter's historical study were quite other than these. They were of a grave and well balanced temperament. They were not obscure men, for in the universities and parish churches they were the peers in scholarship, in dignity, and in character of the worthiest of their age. But they were often forced to obscure ways and places and secret coverts. They were ejected, proscribed, hunted, and, when seized, were fined and imprisoned. Their sympathizers and followers were largely of the lay element before referred to, of all classes, the intelligent and educated, with artisans, mechanics, and yeomen. They held their conventicles in the nooks of London and of the large towns, in remote hamlets and in private houses. Before their emigration hither, their most available resource was exile to Geneva, Frankfort, and Holland. Their personal and common fortunes and their methods are to be traced in a wide variety of scattered and fragmentary records. Their warfare was carried on by the polemical ammunition of those days, — tracts and pamphlets and tractates, glowing with fervor and zeal, apologetic, antagonistic, defensive. These were generally printed by stealth, surreptitiously transmitted across seas, and, when seized, were burned by the hangman, as proxies for the writers. I will venture to say that no human eye has ever seen, and no human brain has ever wrought upon, so many of these dynamites of divinity as the eye and the brain of Dr. Dexter. They were the alphabet, the vocabulary, and the library of his

unique lore. He made nine voyages with lengthened residences in Europe, purposing another the coming spring, not for amusement or rest or health, nor to enjoy art or scenery, but for the sole object of his special study. This was to be pursued only by the most diligent and keen research, guided by acquired experience. Severe and solitary task-work, wide journeyings, skill in deciphering obscure and fading records, with an ever open and greedy eye for the old pamphlets, the much prized Americana,—these were his credentials and outfits. To identify persons and places connected with the English home and the exile upon the Continent of his English progenitors was to him a passion in pursuit and fruition. How rare is the taste and capacity for such a life-work even amid the marvellous diversity of ends, worthy and trivial, for absorbing existence! We recall the German octogenarian scholar who mourned on his death-bed that he had not given all his life to the Greek second Aorist.

Dr. Dexter's researches led him all through the North of England and to the cities and villages of Holland. There were materials waiting for such iron industry as his, in register and record and ancient print in the British Museum, in the Arch-episcopal libraries of Lambeth and York, in the Bodleian, in the municipalities of Holland, and, of course, rich gatherings in our own New England repositories. One of the merely incidental fruits of his diligence appears in his "Collection towards a Bibliography of Congregationalism." This curious catalogue includes 7,250 titles, covering 286 solid octavo pages; and when the specified matters are unique in copy or very rare, we are told where they are to be found. Of this marvellous roll of polemics a large majority, some of the rarest, were in his own library. He felt rewarded for his burrowings, in one of which he unearthed one of the best of Roger Williams's tracts, that had passed into oblivion. He was the first thoroughly original investigator and reporter of the series of "Martin Mar-Prelate" productions, of whose authorship and whole purport he offered an entirely novel theory. His gathered treasures have thus far escaped spontaneous combustion. I can conceive that he was divided in mind as to the disposal he should make of them, for Boston would seem to be their fit resting-place. But as an alumnus of Yale, which

had honored him, he appointed that as their depositary. Besides many publications incidental to his main subject, his *magnum opus* is his massive volume entitled "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature." In it we find his full persuasion that the system of Church Polity given therein was the revival and reassertion, at the era of the Reformation, of the New Testament pattern. Of course the views, statements, opinions, and arguments which fill his volume are all open to question and controversy. For though he was a faithful historian, his tone and spirit are those of an advocate and champion. But we have come to understand that while in science there are certified facts for universal acceptance, there is not a single idea, theory, opinion, or belief entering into the whole matter of religion that secures universal assent even of those who are equally intelligent and sincere. I will allow myself to note here, most briefly, two important matters of historical construction in which I think Dr. Dexter was in error; and I do this the more freely because we had had friendly debate upon them. He was naturally saddened that here in Massachusetts, the fresh planting-ground of the Congregationalism which he so loved and revered, it should have passed, by stages of development through its ministers and churches, into modified, reduced, and liberalized doctrinal tenets. He could not recognize those who were parties to what he regarded as a "doctrinal defection," as the rightful inheritors of the Congregational order. So he adopted and stood for the principle that Congregationalism, as a form of church institution and discipline, as distinguished from those of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, was also vitally identified with a type of doctrine, and that the system of John Calvin. His sole warrant for that view was that the earliest Congregationalists in polity were also Calvinists in their creed. But there was no organic necessity that they should have been such, or that their lineal successors in polity should retain their creed. Congregationalism, as a polity, is a matter of church order, a method of administration, not identified with a doctrinal system, any more than with a form of service or worship. The other point of historical signification to which I refer as in variance with the view of Dr. Dexter is this. We are all familiar with the oft-quoted and oracular words in the parting address in Holland of the Pilgrim pastor John Robinson, in

farewell to those of his flock who were to take the sea for Plymouth. We know the interpretation which has been put upon those glowing and beautiful words by a series of our orators, preachers, essayists, and historians. Touchingly and tenderly he warned the exiles that they must be as ready to receive any further truth revealed by any other instrument of God, as they had been to receive it from his ministry, not "sticking to what Luther or Calvin saw or taught; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word." It sorely grieved the spirit of Dr. Dexter that these words should be fondly quoted and gloried over, complacently and boastfully, as if Robinson had a prophetic forecast and an anticipated welcome of the possible developments of Liberalism. So, with temper, with indignation even, he devotes ten learned pages of his history to relieve Robinson of "this spurious renown which his honest soul would have abhorred." Dr. Dexter's plea is that Robinson, in his emphatic utterance, had no reference whatever to matters of doctrine, to possible softenings of creed and dogma, but simply and exclusively to then existing differences, causes of separation and alienation, between Non-Conformists themselves and Conformists. But one may ask, if this was what was in Robinson's thought, why should he have warned his flock not "to stick to Calvin"?

But I may have already followed my theme too far in this place and company. I have simply yielded to the prompting to recognize after his decease, among those whose fellowship he highly valued, the life-work and the firm allegiance of Dr. Dexter as a pristine Massachusetts Puritan. We must gratefully emphasize the value of the special services which Dr. Dexter has rendered to us in his communications at our meetings and in our published Proceedings. On his visits abroad he was repeatedly commissioned to represent this Society in Europe, and we received from him while there interesting letters. He wrote for us memoirs of several deceased members. His last two communications, almost freshly in our hands in print, in the line of his one absorbing pursuit, are admirable specimens of his thoroughly trained acuteness and skill in investigation and annotation. One of these papers reproduces for us, with helping notes, a catalogue of the books in Elder Brewster's Library, a touching memorial of the zeal

and piety and the intellectual furnishings of that lovable representative of Pastor Robinson at Plymouth. The other paper, the fruit of like patient research, traces for us, during the formative period of the Pilgrim emigration, a list of English exiles in Amsterdam, from 1597 to 1625. This is only partial, obscurity having veiled many others. But it includes four hundred and fifty-seven English names, most of them familiar in our speech and in our families, culled out from their Dutch surroundings. As we remember, a learned Dutch archivist commended our Motley for ferreting out and deciphering with a skill surpassing his own, papers of historic import; so Dr. Dexter tells us of a record most fruitful to him, which had escaped the eye and thought of an expert.

The PRESIDENT also read the following letter from Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, who was necessarily absent from the State:—

Boston, Nov. 29, 1890.

DEAR DR. ELLIS,—I shall be unable to attend the next meeting of the Historical Society, when formal announcement will be made of the death of the late Dr. Dexter, and I desire to add a few words in writing to what will then be spoken in memory of our late associate. I am the more anxious to do this because of Dr. Dexter's courtesy to myself on my admission to membership in the Society at the last meeting but one, I believe, at which he was present.

By birth and training, as well as by sympathy, Dr. Dexter was a typical New England man. He was thoroughly loyal to the memory of the Fathers; he was earnest for the perpetuation of the institutions, civil and religious, which they reared; and he was prompt in defence of them against misconceptions and misrepresentations, whether on the part of their sons or of strangers. He burrowed among the books and papers relating to the founders of New England, as Old Mortality labored upon the tombstones of the Scotch Covenanters, of whom it is said that while he was renewing the crumbling emblems of the zeal and sufferings of the Fathers, he felt that he was thereby trimming the beacon-light which was to warn future generations to defend their liberties to the death.

Dr. Dexter was especially indefatigable, and happily most successful, in tracing the beginnings of New England across the seas,—to Leyden, to Amsterdam, to Scrooby, and to London. His latest contribution to the Proceedings of this Society is one of great interest and value. It contains the names of four hundred and fifty persons, who at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, had crossed

from Britain to Holland, and were then living in Amsterdam, and many of whom ultimately settled in America; and it gives a clear account of the various churches, six at least, which were sustained by them during their stay in that city. Not many months ago it was my privilege to attend divine service in the old chapel of the Beguin nuns in Amsterdam, where, according to Dr. Dexter, English-speaking Presbyterians have worshipped since 1607, the Rev. John Paget being their first minister.

For such studies Dr. Dexter had special qualifications, and by long experience he had attained to exceptional success in them. By his death a place has been made vacant, which is not likely soon to be filled. For himself he has gone to a closer fellowship with those of whose spirit he drank deeply while here, and whose earthly conflicts and achievements for many years he studied with reverence and delight.

I am yours very truly,

HAMILTON A. HILL.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS, President of the Mass. Hist. Society.

Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, having been called on, spoke in substance, as follows:—

There is no need of adding to the elaborate notice of Dr. Dexter which has been read by the President, so far as his relations to this Society are concerned. I am glad to assent to the high estimate which has been placed on him and his work. Dr. Dexter was a man of commanding presence and influence, and would have been prominent in any work to which he devoted himself. Yet he was happy in the conditions of his life. By birth and inheritance he was interested in the Pilgrims, and he was admirably fitted to appreciate their character and to be their historian. To him they were living men, and he delighted to portray the manner of their life and to make them real personages. He liked the minute study into their names, and their books and opinions, and all which related to them.

He entered the ministry in lineal succession to their faith and order. His early ministry was marked with the force and earnestness which we have seen in his later years. He planned a church for the people, and succeeded in erecting the large edifice on Berkeley Street, in which now his hope is realized. He lived to see his plans set in operation, and to advise and assist in their development. Very fittingly he was borne to

the church which he had built, when the last services were to be rendered to him.

But his influence was broader than his parish lines. He studied the polity of the Congregational churches as it was found in history and precedent and practice, and reduced this to a system which could be readily applied. He became an authority, the chief authority, on all matters relating to the usages and proprieties of his denomination. He wrote of the principles of Congregationalism and of its literature, and was still engaged in this study when he was called away from his unfinished work.

Dr. Dexter is most widely known as the editor of the "Congregationalist." In this his best years and efforts were invested. He made a paper of remarkable freshness, full of the life of to-day. It was not strictly a religious paper, unless under that term agriculture and finance are embraced. Yet its contents were mainly religious in their character, and related to the churches and their affairs. It was a family paper, and was full of interest to the households of the denomination. It was not a denominational paper in the sense that it belonged to a denomination, or was responsible to any Church; yet it presented the life of the churches whose name it bore, and was devoted to their welfare, and its influence was widely extended.

The President has spoken of Dr. Dexter as an advocate. It was true that he was on one side of the great questions, and that he drew to his support all the arguments he could, with less regard for considerations which bore in the opposite direction. As the President has said, he held that the famous words of Robinson concerning the light which was to break forth from God's word referred to church polity, rather than to doctrine. To his interpretation of this overworked passage he made all his reasoning bend. In his advocacy of one side of a question he was like other editors, and his paper like other papers, religious and secular. It is not the judicial method, though it may be adopted by a man having the judicial faculty. His spirit was catholic and generous; but his opinions were strongly held, and to them he persistently adhered.

He was a man of a most obliging spirit. His resources of time and of knowledge were at the service of any who wished them. It seemed almost unkind to ask him a question, he

gave so much pains to the answer. Nothing appeared too much which could serve a friend. As an instance of this, I recall the last letter which I had from him. At the meeting of the Society in November, 1889, Mr. Winthrop communicated a letter from Thomas Shepard to Gov. John Winthrop, in which occurs this sentence: "There is a kind of religion in the world which the author of it calls the unknowing of a man's selfe, which is a mistery I must not open." Mr. Winthrop asked who was the author of the religion which was thus described. I also wished to know, for the sake of the information and as the successor of Thomas Shepard. I applied to Dr. Dexter, and received in reply a letter of three or four pages, in which he gave the result of his investigation. He thought that the reference was probably to the Familists, a sect founded by Henry Nicholas, who came from Holland to England in the reign of Edward VI., whose opinions were severely dealt with by Elizabeth and disappeared under James I. As the letter was written about 1640, it may well have been that Shepard had the Familists in mind.

Dr. Dexter was a man of large heart. Many knew this. Those who stood near to him and were admitted into his personal friendship held him in the highest regard. Their expressions of esteem and affection are sincere and earnest. He was a hard worker, a patient student, a pleasant companion, a faithful friend. He deserves the honor which is paid to him. In his work and his works he will be long and gratefully remembered.

It was then

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have heard with deep regret of the death of their distinguished and learned associate, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter.

The Hon. JOHN E. SANFORD was appointed to prepare a memoir for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL, from the Committee on the Pickering Papers, submitted the following report, which, on motion of Mr. Charles C. Smith, was accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

The Committee appointed to prepare a volume of writings included in the Pickering Papers respectfully reports:—

The papers of Col. Timothy Pickering were carefully arranged by two of his sons, and bound together in sixty-two volumes. The first four of these volumes, containing private and family papers, were retained by his family, and the remaining fifty-eight volumes were given to the Society in 1874 by Mr. Henry Pickering, his grandson. The papers are arranged as follows:—

Letters from Colonel Pickering, vols. 5-16, 33-38 inclusive.

Letters to him, vols. 17-32, 39-44 inclusive.

Miscellaneous documents, vols. 45-62 inclusive.

Within each series, the papers are arranged chronologically. Every volume was separately indexed by Mr. Octavius Pickering.

In March, 1882, Messrs. Haynes, Lodge, and Morse were appointed a committee to prepare and publish a volume of selections from the Pickering Papers. This Committee, at the end of five years, reported that, in its opinion, it was not expedient to make the publication. The grounds of this opinion are not given in our printed Proceedings; but from conversation with the gentlemen composing this Committee, we understand their reasons for the decision to be, that many of the most important manuscripts had already been published in works accessible to the student, and that it was considered impossible to make, in a single volume, such a selection from the papers which had not yet appeared as to do justice to the character of Colonel Pickering, or fully to represent the events in which he had taken part.

On the resignation of the Committee last mentioned, in April, 1887, the present Committee was appointed. It did not seem to its members desirable to review the decision of men so completely competent to handle the subject as their predecessors. They thought it best to adopt a new scheme.

While many interesting manuscripts from this collection have found their way into print at various times, there remain many more as yet unpublished, which may throw light on an important period of our history. These papers are material for the historical student, and are not especially suited to entertain the general reader. But, buried as they have been, in fifty-eight volumes, with separate indexes, none but the most determined worker, with full access to the manuscripts of the Society, could hope to use them. The scholar at a distance

would have been obliged to make a journey to Boston, to obtain leave of our Council, and to spend several days in pulling over large and dusty volumes of manuscripts, before he could have ascertained whether what he needed were or were not in the Pickering Papers. Such work as this is not readily undertaken when the result is uncertain. It seemed to your Committee that this labor might be spared by the preparation of an index, as complete as possible, of all that those fifty-eight volumes contained.

The Committee therefore reported to the Society, in March, 1888, that an index of names and subjects in the Pickering Papers should be made; and this report was accepted by the Society.

The committee thereupon engaged the services of Miss Harriet E. Green, an experienced and competent person, to prepare the index. This lady has worked diligently, under the direction of your Committee, and has completed an index of names and subjects, occupying more than twelve thousand index cards. When printed, this work will fill a volume of about eight hundred pages, in double column. An abstract of every letter is given, with an entry under every important subject alluded to therein. By this means, the student, wherever situated, will be able to tell at a glance with whom Colonel Pickering corresponded, and what was said on both sides; or, from another point of view, whether any given subject of importance is mentioned in the Pickering Papers, what is said about it, and by whom. Study of the original manuscripts will then be necessary only for purposes of amplification and verification. Your Committee believes that such an index as this will be very useful to American scholars, will largely increase the value of the Pickering Papers, and will contribute to the honorable reputation of this Society.

The cards for this index are now completed. They are numbered and tied, ready for the printer. A specimen page of the proposed volume is herewith submitted. We are given to understand that funds immediately applicable to this publication are not now on hand; but in view of the expense already incurred, and of the fact that it is very desirable to avail ourselves of the same expert assistance in seeing the index through the press, which has already been employed in its preparation, we hope that a very long delay may not be

necessary; but that before many months are over, we may be able to complete the work. The index has already been found useful in its unfinished condition; but it will be necessary to lock it up until it is sent to the printer, as its use by any one not familiar with it might cause great confusion.

There are, in the Pickering Papers, a great many names mentioned but briefly and incidentally, or appearing in lists of members of military companies, in pay-rolls, petitions, etc. It was not thought best to include these in the general index. We owe, however, to the diligence of Mr. McCleary a complete separate index of them all. This index contains about eleven thousand cards, giving the full name of all persons mentioned in the fifty-eight volumes, with the exception, sometimes, of those which appear in the general index. The value of such a work to genealogists and biographers is obvious. The lists being authentic, and in many cases official, may be compared, in their utility, to parish and probate registers. By them the doings and the whereabouts, at given dates, of the persons mentioned, may be fixed with certainty. The cards are alphabetically arranged in boxes, and can be readily consulted by the librarian and his assistants, who will thus be enabled to give much valuable information to persons interested.

Although the addition of this index of names to the general index would swell our volume to a cumbrous size, the Committee yet hope that it will be possible to provide for the publication of this valuable register.

EDWARD J. LOWELL,
Chairman.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks:—

Nearly three years ago, at a meeting of this Society, Judge Chamberlain presented a manuscript copy of the Journal of the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence, which has since been printed in the Proceedings (second series, IV. 85-90) for March, 1888. He introduced the subject with some remarks on the origin of that patriotic body, in the course of which he alluded to James Otis's great argument before the Superior Court against the Writs of Assistance, and he also quoted from John Adams's letter to William Tudor recount-

ing the circumstances under which the notes of that famous speech were taken by him, and how they were stolen from his desk and printed many years afterward in "The Massachusetts Spy." Judge Chamberlain furthermore referred to an application, as recorded in the manuscript Journal, by the Connecticut Committee of Correspondence to the Massachusetts Committee, for the minutes of the arguments made at the trial by Mr. Thacher and Mr. Otis against the Writs, which application appears to have been granted. He then added: "If I knew, or could conveniently ascertain by an exhaustive examination, when the publication in the 'Spy' took place, it would assist in determining the question whether the committee sent to Connecticut the minutes surreptitiously printed in that paper, or minutes made by some other person than John Adams."

A recent examination of the files of that newspaper, with another object in mind, has disclosed the fact that these notes were printed in the issue of April 29, 1773, twelve years after the argument was made. It would seem, then, highly probable that a copy of the Spy of that date was sent to Connecticut, with any other available matter on the subject, as the application for the minutes was received from that Province only four months later. This communication in the Spy furnishes substantially all our knowledge of that great speech, which laid the foundation of Otis's public career. The attempt, on the part of the Crown officers in New England, to issue Writs of Assistance was one of the direct causes, though distant in point of time, which led up to the American Revolution; and the part which Otis played in opposition to the attempt gave him a wide reputation as an advocate of the popular side. His speech before the Court lasted in its delivery between four and five hours, and created a profound sensation among all who heard it. Unfortunately only a mere skeleton of his argument has been saved; and even for the abstract, bare as it is, we are indebted to the forethought of John Adams, who had listened with almost breathless attention to this masterpiece of eloquence and sound reasoning.

As every detail connected with the causes of the American Revolution will always have an interest for historical scholars, I beg leave to submit an account of those notes or minutes, as taken by the young lawyer.

The only reference to the Writs of Assistance, found in Adams's Diary, contemporary with the trial, is of the briefest character, and throws not even a ray of light on the subject, as it contains no allusion whatever to the abstract of Otis's speech (Works, II, 124).

In his Autobiography, written after the appearance of Judge Minot's History, which was published in June, 1803, Mr. Adams says, in speaking of the trial:—

The argument continued several days in the council chamber, and the question was analyzed with great acuteness and all the learning which could be connected with the subject. I took a few minutes in a very careless manner, which, by some means, fell into the hands of Mr. Minot, who has inserted them in his history. I was much more attentive to the information and the eloquence of the speaker than to my minutes, and too much alarmed at the prospect that was opened before me to care much about writing a report of the controversy (*ibid.*, II, 124 note).

Up to this period, judging from the extract just given, Mr. Adams, apparently, had attached but little importance to these notes of Otis's argument. More than half a century after the delivery of the speech, in a letter to William Tudor, dated Quincy, March 29, 1817, first published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," March 27, 1818, and still later in "Niles' Weekly Register" (Baltimore), April 25, 1818, the venerable Ex-President, in suggesting a subject for an historical painting, describes the scene of this trial in court, with the five judges in their fresh robes of scarlet cloth and their broad bands and judicial wigs; and seated near them at a long table were all the barristers of Boston and of the neighboring county of Middlesex, and they, too, in their gowns and bands and tie-wigs. In this description he speaks of himself in the third person, and says: "He should be painted, looking like a short thick fat Archbishop of Canterbury, seated at the table, with a pen in his hand, lost in admiration, now and then minuting those despicable notes which you know that stole from my desk, and printed in the Massachusetts Spy, with two or three bombastic expressions interpolated by himself; and which your pupil, Judge Minot, has printed in his History."

A very short time afterward the same letter was reprinted in "Niles' Weekly Register," though with some changes and

omissions. It was communicated to the editor of that periodical by Mr. Adams himself, and without any doubt the alterations were made by him.

The paragraph just quoted from the Advertiser appears as follows, in the Register: "he should be painted looking like a short thick arch-bishop of Canterbury seated at the table with a pen in his hand, lost in admiration, now and then minuting those poor notes which your pupil, judge Minot, has printed in his history, volume 2d, page 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, with some interpolations. I will copy them from the book and then point out those interpolations," which he does further on in the letter. He then copies these eleven pages from Minot's "Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay" (Boston, June, 1803), including three pages of descriptive matter, besides the abstract of Otis's argument, which the author of the book had taken bodily from the *Spy*.

In a volume of political essays, entitled "Novanglus, and Massachusettensis" (Boston, 1819), this letter is again printed (page 245), where it appears in its original form as given in the Advertiser. Mr. Adams wrote the preface to the book, and presumably the work had his sanction and approval.

In "The Works of John Adams" (X. 244-249), published at Boston in the year 1856, the same letter is still again printed, not in its original form, but as it appeared in "Niles' Weekly Register," with all the additions, though leaving out the reference to the volume and pages.

I have here given a full account of the different versions of Adams's letter in the order of their publication, as these facts throw some side-light on Otis's speech and on the way in which the report was originally made.

The late Honorable Charles Francis Adams, the editor of his grandfather's Works, says:—

Among the papers of Mr. Adams, some notes remain of the argument in the case of the writs of assistance, which seem to be the foundation of the sketch published by Minot. As the smallest particular relating to this commencement of the revolutionary struggle is interesting, they are placed in the Appendix (A.) to this volume (II. 125 *note*).

The statement that Adams's notes were probably the foundation of Judge Minot's sketch is true only in the sense that

the author of the History took his account of Otis's speech bodily from "The Massachusetts Spy," April 29, 1773, where it had been furnished by the man who had stolen the notes from Adams's desk. There is no evidence to show that Judge Minot knew the circumstances under which the abstract of the speech appeared in the Spy; and he used it without questioning its source or authority.

In another part of the same volume the editor says:—

The report of a part of Mr. Otis's speech as given in Minot's History, must have been written out by Mr. Adams, at a later moment. In his own copy of that work, he has underlined the passages in it, which he says were interpolated by the person who furnished it for publication (page 523).

These interpolations are printed in Adams's letter given in "Niles' Weekly Register," though they do not appear in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" copy; and Otis's speech is also printed in Adams's letter, given in the Register, though it does not appear in the Advertiser. They are indicated by the following extract from the letter to the Register:—

The lines underscored are interpolations (viz.) "until the trump archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul."—"what is this but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servants of servants, the most despicable of God's creation?"

A careful collation of the speech as reported in the Spy, with the one printed in "Niles' Weekly Register," confirms the fact of these two interpolations, and also shows another not mentioned by Mr. Adams, for the reason, doubtless, that it is given neither in Minot's History nor in the Register. It occurs near the end, where, in referring to the Writs, Mr. Otis speaks of them as "these monsters in the law."

In James Otis's *Life*, written by William Tudor, Jr., and published in the year 1823, the famous speech is again printed. At this time the author had the benefit of Mr. Adams's corrections, when he availed himself of their use, and accordingly left out the interpolated passages.

In Quincy's *Massachusetts Reports, 1761-1772* (Boston, 1865), edited by the late General Samuel M. Quincy, there is an Appendix to the volume, which contains copious and

valuable notes on Writs of Assistance. These notes were prepared by Horace Gray, Jr., Esq., at that time of the Suffolk Bar, but since then the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The writer, in comparing certain versions of Otis's speech with one another, is so exact that he calls attention even to differences in the punctuation (page 482). He also refers to a note-book kept by Israel Keith, a lawyer of Boston, but afterward of Pittsford, Vermont, and containing minutes of Otis's argument, from which he quotes; and he mentions the tradition in the Keith family that they were taken at the time of the trial by the young law-student. Justice Gray shows the inaccuracy of this statement, as Keith was only nine years old in 1761, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1771, which precludes the possibility that the minutes were made by him at that early period in his life (page 478). The arguments before the Court by Gridley and Thacher, as reported in Keith's note-book, were printed for the first time in General Quincy's volume. As the introductory statement in Keith's manuscript is nearly identical with that given in the *Spy*, it seems rather likely that the two reports had a common source. According to his Diary, Adams reported the arguments of the counsel on each side, — both for the Writs of Assistance and against them (Works, II. 124); and perhaps we have in the note-book an early copy of the minutes of the trial that were stolen from his desk. I am somewhat inclined to think that here is found a clew to the notes originally made by Adams; but on this point an examination of the manuscript alone will decide the question.

The communication in the *Spy* appears with the following introduction: —

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY.

MR. THOMAS,

AS the public have been lately alarmed with the evil and wicked effects of the power lodged in custom-house officers, by virtue of that most execrable of all precepts, a Writ of Assistance: And as I conceive it to be more immediately destructive of the liberty of the subject, than any other innovation of power: The following is offered to the public, being taken from the mouth of that great American oracle of law, JAMES OTIS, Esq; in the meridian of his life.

Boston Superior Court, February term, 1771 [1761].

On the second Tuesday of the court's sitting, appointed by the rule of the court for argument of special matters, came on the dispute of Mr. Cockle and others on the one side, and the inhabitants of Boston on the other, concerning Writs of Assistance. Mr. Gridley, who appeared for the former, endeavoured to support the legality of Writs of Assistance by force of several statutes and precedents in England, but his chief stay he acknowledged was *the necessity of the case*, and in the course of his arguments he discovered himself to be an ingenious lawyer. Mr. Otis, appearing for the inhabitants of Boston, with his usual zeal for the common liberties of mankind, spoke as follows, viz.

"*May it please your honours,*" &c. [Here follow two columns of the report.]

Dr. Green's paper elicited some remarks from the Hon. MELLE CHAMBERLAIN and Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT on the general subject of the Writs of Assistance and Mr. Otis's argument against their legality.

Mr. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The PRESIDENT announced that Dr. Samuel A. Green, Rev. Edward J. Young, and Mr. Edward Bangs had been appointed a sub-committee of the Council to make arrangements for the Centennial Anniversary of the Formation of the Society.

On motion of the Treasurer it was

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be placed to the credit of the Committee charged with publishing a volume of Belknap Papers.

The PRESIDENT communicated for Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, who was absent on account of illness, a memoir of the late Robert Bennet Forbes.

c.

e
r.
e
d
t-
is
e
v-
al

ne

i.
e
's

a

v.
d
ne

al
of
p

ll,
te



R B Tubbs

J. H. S. S. S.



MEMOIR
OF
ROBERT BENNET FORBES.
BY LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

ROBERT BENNET FORBES was born in Jamaica Plain, Sept. 18, 1804. He was the son of Ralph Bennet and Margaret Perkins Forbes, who was a sister of James and Thomas H. Perkins, eminent merchants of Boston; and to their encouragement and assistance his distinguished career was in great measure due.

The family on both sides was of Scotch descent. John Forbes, of Deskrie, his great-great-grandfather, died in 1739, and was buried at Strathdon, Aberdeenshire. Archibald, John's son, great-grandfather to our associate, died Dec. 3, 1793, and was also buried at Strathdon, where, in 1869, Robert erected in the church a tablet to their memory. Mr. Forbes's grandfather, the Rev. John Forbes, married Dorothy Murray at Milton on Feb. 2, 1769, for whose uncle, Robert Bennet, he was named. A great-grandmother on his father's side was Dorothy Collingwood, aunt to the celebrated Lord Collingwood. In Lord Collingwood's Life allusion is made to young Bennet, as a midshipman serving under the Admiral.

Mr. Forbes's life was replete with adventure, and it has fallen to the lot of few to have, from earliest childhood to a ripe old age, such interesting and varied experience. His parents, like most people at that time in this country, though enjoying the best social position, were far from wealthy; and the residence of his father in Europe obliged his mother more than once to cross the ocean. She was a woman of strong character, good sense, and religious principle; and to her, as well as to his excellent father, can be traced those manly, independent, and striking traits which so distinguished him.

His first voyage, in a small topsail schooner with his mother, to join his father, who was in France, was in 1811, before he was seven years old. After a perilous passage and narrow escape from foundering, just as they were approaching Marseilles, the schooner was seized by a British frigate, under the assumed right on the part of England to prevent neutrals from trading with France; and it was not without much vexatious delay that the family landed. After two years' residence in France at this early age with his parents, he sailed with them for home, was captured by a British fleet, the two countries being then at war, and was carried to Corunna. Another attempt to reach home proved equally unsuccessful. The "Caroline," in which they had taken passage, falling prey to the Englishman, was taken to the Tagus, where the family were subjected to great indignities, not without courageous protest from his father. Thus early was the boy called upon to go through perils by sea and on land.

When twelve years old he was employed in the counting-room of his uncles the Messrs. Perkins. At thirteen he sailed for China in the "Canton Packet," and fairly began his career, going aloft to reef or furl sails and standing his regular watch, — a hard experience for so young a lad. At fifteen he made a second voyage, was third mate at sixteen, second mate at seventeen, and at twenty made his fifth voyage, in command of the ship, to China, thence to California and to the ports of South America. Returning to China, he sailed for Buenos Ayres, and arrived home after an absence of three years, and a voyage around the world; and thus without intermission he continued his life on the ocean until the year 1832. What wonder that his strong sympathies all his life were with the sailor, and that his tastes were so strongly nautical!

Mr. Forbes established himself in business in Boston in 1832, and in 1834 he was married to Miss Rose Greene Smith. But in 1838, owing to commercial reverses, he sailed again for China, carrying with him the warm wishes of many a loving friend. On arriving in China he soon became head of the house of Russell & Co., a post of honor and of influence enjoyed by several of our most esteemed citizens before and since its occupancy by Mr. Forbes. Such was his success that in three or four years he was able to return, and for nine

years he enjoyed his home life and the society of his numerous friends.

In 1849 his spirit of adventure and business affairs again called him away, and he sailed in the steamer "Europa" to make the overland trip to China. Shortly before reaching Liverpool he witnessed one of those distressing calamities which fill the mind with horror, but which at the same time present to a true and manly heart the occasion for heroic action. During a dense fog the steamer ran down the "Charles Bartlett," with more than one hundred and fifty passengers aboard. A scene of death presented itself to Mr. Forbes as he ran from the cabin. The ship with a great hole in her side, her decks swarming with men, women, and children, was just going down. The water was instantly covered with the poor creatures, their faces upturned in agony, crying for help. The great steamer forging ahead under sail added to the confusion, with the roar of her escaping steam. Not a boat was yet lowered. The sight was too much for this large-hearted man, and without a thought of himself or of his own rescue he plunged overboard, to try to save the lives of his poor drowning fellow-men. Surely, no braver act is recorded. In a dense fog, in the open ocean, from a ship drifting away, with no boat at the time afloat to help, calling to have a rope thrown to him, he jumped from her towering bulwarks to save life, at the great peril of losing his own. Well did he deserve the medals and testimonials abroad and at home which were heaped upon him.

Perhaps no incident is more expressive of the chivalric side of Mr. Forbes's character than the errand of mercy so nobly carried out under his charge in conveying food to starving Ireland in 1847. Those who remember the cry of distress which came across the ocean from Ireland in her dire suffering, recall with satisfaction the ready sympathy extended by our people, and the measures instantly taken for her relief. Money was liberally subscribed, in sums large and small; a petition was presented to Congress, and the United States sloop of war "Jamestown" was placed at the disposal of the committee for carrying corn, flour, and other provisions to that poor starving people; while the "Macedonian" was assigned to the citizens of New York for the same purpose. The offer of Mr. Forbes to command the ship and take charge of the

distribution of her precious cargo was at once accepted. He sailed on the 28th of March with eight hundred tons of supplies, and anchored off Cork in fifteen days and three hours from Boston. Thus favored was he by winds and waves on his errand of mercy. The generous donors were rewarded by the deep and lasting gratitude of a warm-hearted people. The ship arrived not a day too soon; the food was distributed in time to save the life of many a poor starving sufferer; and in ten days from the time he entered Cork he sailed for home, arriving on the 16th of May, in forty-nine days from the hour of sailing from Boston, reporting his own arrival at Cork, while the "Macedonian" was still lying only partially laden at her dock in New York. His work was well and quickly done, and he brought back with him many a token of respect and affection, with what was of far greater value,—the consciousness of a good deed well conceived and carried out.

In 1849 Mr. Forbes became once more partner in the house of Russell & Co. He returned home the next year, but retained an interest in the house, with some intermissions, till 1857.

In 1858 he sailed for La Plata in a brig of his own with three friends, one of whom was the late distinguished scientist Dr. Jeffries Wyman. He carried on the deck of the brig a small iron steamer, intending to unite a commercial adventure with the enjoyment of travel and hunting. The voyage came near enough to being his final one, as the brig was dismasted and narrowly escaped foundering. The account of this voyage and of his experiences in South America, as well as the exceedingly interesting history of his life, is most graphically told in his autobiography entitled "Personal Reminiscences," printed at first for private distribution, but afterward enlarged and published by Little, Brown, & Co. in 1882.

A life more varied, more filled with the interest which always attaches to an active and adventurous career, it is hard to find.

Mr. Forbes was fortunate in living at a period full of excitement, and presenting to the boy and man fascinating adventures and opportunities. The difficulties which attended the voyages to and from France, resulting in his being thrice captured by the English, when a mere child, were events to make a lasting impression upon him.

The War of 1812 was succeeded by a period of great commercial prosperity, which increased with surprising rapidity till the war of the Rebellion. Our vessels covered the seas, and filled our ports. Merchants owned their own ships, and were generally vigorous, intelligent, liberal men. They had laid the foundation of their own fortunes by "going to sea," and were willing to encourage boys to follow the same course; thus offering them an opportunity for this manly pursuit, which unfortunately no longer exists in this country.

Mr. Forbes never ceased to love the *sea* and everything connected with it. When he gave up commanding ships, he built them, large and small, during the remainder of his life; and when not otherwise employed (for he never passed an idle moment), he indulged his taste in modelling and rigging with his own hands miniature yachts and ships for the boys of his acquaintance, — his workshop being a small dock-yard, with its boats in process of building, and others brought to him by his young admirers to be repaired. He supervised gratuitously the building of gunboats for the Government, and established during the Civil War a coast guard for defence against rebel raids. In the same chivalrous spirit he devoted his life in great measure to the welfare of seamen. He was instrumental in founding the Sailors' Snug Harbor, the National Sailors' Home, and rendered efficient service in very largely increasing and improving the life-saving apparatus and houses of refuge of the Massachusetts Humane Society, of which he was for many years one of the most efficient members and active officers.

He visited the South of France in 1867, astonishing the sportsmen at Pau, while following the hounds, with his bold riding and his hairbreadth escapes. He went to California in 1870, in the first Pullman train which ever crossed the continent, and delivered a most interesting lecture, graphically picturing the contrast between the San Francisco of his first visit in 1825 and the great city as he then found it. At the age of sixty-seven he hunted buffalo near the Rocky Mountains. It is indeed rare to find such unceasing activity of mind and body. Nothing seemed too hard for him to undertake at an age when other men have retired from active pursuits. Always ready to lend a helping hand, his charity was not confined to the ordinary channels; and it is well known that in

more than one instance he incited others to join him in relieving those whom he had known in their prosperity, but who had been unfortunate.

After the death of his wife, on Sept. 18, 1885, with whom he had lived most happily for over fifty years, Mr. Forbes's health began to fail, though his mind was bright and clear; but he continued to work in various ways to the end, taking an active interest in affairs, especially in all matters pertaining to seamen, and in all deeds of daring and bravery in the saving of their lives. He was the inventor of the famous "Forbes rig" for ships, and was author of many papers and pamphlets on nautical subjects, his last being entitled "Wrecks and Rescues."

He was President of the Boston Marine Society, Trustee and President of Sailors' Snug Harbor, one of the Boston Pilot Commissioners, member of the government of the Board of Trade, one of the Vestry of King's Chapel, and a member of the Boston Port Society.

He died Nov. 23, 1889, leaving two sons, Robert Bennet and James Murray, one daughter, Edith, wife of Charles E. Perkins, and numerous grandchildren.

Of no one can it be more truly said that "he tried to do his duty"; and such was the motto he wished placed upon his gravestone.

JANUARY MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the December meeting, and of the list of donors to the Library, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, chairman of the Committee on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Formation of the Society, reported that the services will take place in the Arlington Street Church on Saturday, January 24, beginning at noon. The principal address will be by Mr. Thomas W. Higginson; and it is expected that Dr. Ellis, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and the Rev. Dr. Paige will also take part. The other arrangements are not fully completed.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in presenting a Centennial Bibliography of the Historical Society, made the following remarks:—

Twenty years ago, at the January meeting, I communicated a paper containing a bibliography of the Society's publications, which was then in a great measure tentative. Since that time I have found many old titles previously unknown to the Library; and keeping pace with the new ones, I have added all such to the list, which is herewith submitted as fairly complete.

The first publication of the Society appeared on January 6, 1792, in "The American Apollo,"¹ a weekly magazine beginning at that time. Successive numbers were printed in connection with the periodical during thirty-nine weeks, and comprised usually a signature of eight pages, which could be separated from the rest of the pamphlet, and was called Part I. of each number. The first 208 pages of Volume I. of the

¹ The Prospectus of this magazine reads as follows: "*To all the Friends of Science, Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce. PROPOSAL OF Joseph Belknap & Alexander Young, FOR PRINTING A WEEKLY PAPER; to be entitled THE American Apollo, containing the Publications of the HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Political and Commercial Intelligence, and other entertaining Matter. PRINTED AT BOSTON, (Massachusetts) BY J. BELKNAP AND A. YOUNG. MDCCXCI.*"

Collections were published in this way; and the remaining part of the volume, which consisted of 80 pages, was issued in monthly parts, in September, October, November, and December, 1792. The second and third volumes were continued in monthly parts, but the fourth and fifth were issued in quarterly parts. The Collections, including the Centennial volume to be published, on January 24, the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Society, now number fifty-four, and are divided into series of ten volumes each. The Reverend William Hubbard's "General History of New England," which forms Volumes V. and VI. of the second series, was published with titlepages to correspond with the other volumes of the Collections, and also with a different one, so that the work might be sold as a volume complete in itself; but in both instances the paging is continuous. In the year 1848 Hubbard's History reached a second edition, when it was again printed on the same plan of having two titlepages. This edition was carefully collated with the original manuscript, and contains numerous additional notes. In the early part of 1878 some missing pages were supplied, which had been copied from the original manuscript before the Revolution, when it was in the possession of Governor Hutchinson; and these were then printed for the first time, and inserted in such copies as the Society had on hand. See Proceedings (XVI. 12, 38) for January and February, 1878. A similar plan was followed in publishing Governor William Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," which is Volume III. of the fourth series, so that it appears both as an independent volume and as one of the set. Fifty copies of this work were printed, with a new titlepage, for the private use of the editor. The Winthrop Papers, Part III. (fifth series, Volume I.), published in the year 1871, was stereotyped; and this was the first of the Society's Collections so printed. Since that time all the succeeding volumes of the set have been either stereotyped or electrotyped. A "Centennial Volume" of Revolutionary letters was published in April, 1878, and forms Volume IV. of the fifth series. In January, 1882, an "Appendix to the Belknap Papers" was printed, which has since been inserted after page 371 in Part II. (fifth series, Volume III.) of the work. It consists of additional letters written by Dr. Belknap to Mr. Hazard. Soon after the publication of the last volume of Sewall Papers, in the spring of 1882, certain

corrections were made in the plates, and the whole set was again struck off with "SECOND EDITION" on the *verso* of the titlepage.

The first twenty-one volumes of the Collections have been reprinted; and Volumes I. and V. of the first series have reached a third edition. The following list gives the years of their publication respectively:—

Vol. I. was printed in 1792, reprinted in 1806, and again reprinted in 1859.

Vol. V. was printed in 1798, reprinted in 1816, and again reprinted in 1835.

Vol. II. was printed in 1793, and reprinted in 1810.

" III. " " " 1794, " " " 1810.

" IV. " " " 1795, " " " 1835.

" VI. " " " 1800, " " " 1846.

" VII. " " " 1801, " " " 1846.

" VIII. " " " 1802, " " " 1856.

" IX. " " " 1804, " " " 1857.

" X. " " " 1809, " " " 1857.

SECOND SERIES.

Vol. I. was printed in 1814, and reprinted in 1838.

" II. " " " 1814, " " " 1846.

" III. " " " 1815, " " " 1846.

" IV. " " " 1816, " " " 1846.

" V. " " " 1815, " " " 1848.

" VI. " " " 1815, " " " 1848.

" VII. " " " 1818, " " " 1826.

" VIII. " " " 1819, " " " 1826.

" IX. " " " 1822, " " " 1832.

" X. " " " 1823, " " " 1843.

THIRD SERIES.

Vol. I. was printed in 1825, and reprinted in 1846.

" II. " " " 1830.

" III. " " " 1833.

" IV. " " " 1834.

" V. " " " 1836.

" VI. " " " 1837.

" VII. " " " 1838.

" VIII. " " " 1843.

" IX. " " " 1846.

" X. " " " 1849.

FOURTH SERIES.

Vol. I.	was printed in 1852.
" II.	" " " 1854.
" III.	" " " 1856.
" IV.	" " " 1858.
" V.	" " " 1861.
" VI.	" " " 1863.
" VII.	" " " 1865.
" VIII.	" " " 1868.
" IX.	" " " 1871.
" X.	" " " 1871.

FIFTH SERIES.

Vol. I.	was printed in 1871.
" II.	" " " 1877.
" III.	" " " 1877.
" IV.	" " " 1878.
" V.	" " " 1878.
" VI.	" " " 1879.
" VII.	" " " 1882.
" VIII.	" " " 1882.
" IX.	" " " 1885.
" X.	" " " 1888.

SIXTH SERIES.

Vol. I.	was printed in 1886.
" II.	" " " 1888.
" III.	" " " 1889.
" IV.	" " " 1891.

The first volume of the Proceedings, which is now Volume III., was published in the year 1859, and the series has since been continued to the present time. These volumes comprise the transactions of the Society, and originally began with the Annual Meeting on April 12, 1855. They were not then numbered on the back of the covers, but were marked with the years in which the meetings were held; for example, the volume just referred to is marked "1855-1858." It was then thought by the Publishing Committee that the proceedings of all the previous meetings would at some time be printed, but

it was not known exactly how many volumes there would be; and so the customary ordinal numbers were left off. It was a matter of doubt whether there would be two or three volumes of such Proceedings; but it finally resulted in two,—each larger than they had usually been, and published, respectively, in 1879 and 1880. There have now been printed twenty-five volumes of Proceedings, of which the first twenty form a series, which has an additional Index volume of more than 500 pages. The other five constitute a second series, which, presumably, will also be extended to twenty volumes. The first stereotyped volume of the Society's publications was the Proceedings for 1869-1870; and since then all the subsequent volumes have been thus printed. Whenever copies are now struck off from the plates and bound, the proper ordinal numbers are placed on the backs. The volume (XI.) for 1869-1870 was printed in eight parts; each one, with a single exception, containing the transactions of two meetings or more, according to the length of the record. This practice has since been kept up by the Publishing Committee, though sometimes the part coming at the end of a volume is omitted. Usually one hundred copies of such serial numbers are printed for the convenience of the members; and in this way an opportunity is also given to detect mistakes for correction in the plates. Parts of Volumes II., III., IV., and V. of the Collections (fifth series) were also thus issued.

The first printed Catalogue of the books in the Library was a pamphlet of 40 pages, and appeared in the year 1796. This was followed by a "Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, Maps, Charts, Manuscripts," etc., in 1811. The first volume of the present Catalogue appeared in 1859, and the second volume was issued during the next year. These three catalogues are the only printed lists of books in the general library. A few copies of the first 240 pages of Volume I. of the Catalogue were printed separately, as specimen numbers to show to the members. It may be worth while here to put on record a fact in regard to the Catalogue of the Dowse Library. The book was printed before the Library was given to the Historical Society, and a titlepage was prepared for twenty-five copies, the owner deciding to limit the issue to that number during his life. At a later period, however, the additional sheets of the Catalogue were found, and it was deemed advisable to print a new titlepage for the remain-

ing copies. In the list hereafter given, it appears that there are two catalogues of the Dowse Library bearing the dates 1856 and 1870, respectively, though in fact they are the same work with different titlepages.

In the year 1869 a volume was published entitled "Lectures delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on Subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts." Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. viii, 498.

This course comprised thirteen lectures, of which twelve were published in pamphlet form by their respective authors. The following is a list of those thus printed:—

[Massachusetts and its Early History.] Introductory Lecture to the Course on the Early History of Massachusetts, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the Lowell Institute, Boston. Delivered Jan. 5, 1869. By Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Society. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 27.

I. The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of Massachusetts. II. Their Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients. Two Lectures . . . delivered . . . Jan. 8 and Jan. 12, 1869. By George E. Ellis. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 100.

History of the Grants under the Great Council for New England: . . . delivered . . . Jan. 15, 1869. By Samuel F. Haven. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 36.

The Colony of New Plymouth, and its Relations to Massachusetts: . . . delivered . . . Jan. 19, 1869. By William Brigham. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 27.

Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts. . . . Jan. 22, 1869. By Emory Washburn. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 35.

Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter: . . . delivered . . . Jan. 26, 1869. By Charles W. Upham. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 30.

The Medical Profession in Massachusetts. . . . delivered . . . Jan. 29, 1869. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 45.

The Regicides sheltered in New England: . . . delivered . . . Feb. 5, 1869. By Chandler Robbins. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 36.

The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts. . . . delivered . . . Feb. 9, 1869. By Joel Parker. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 85.

Puritan Politics in England and New England: . . . delivered . . . Feb. 12, 1869. By Edward E. Hale. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 22.

Education in Massachusetts: Early Legislation and History. . . . delivered . . . Feb. 16, 1869. By George B. Emerson. Boston, 1869. 8vo. pp. 36.

It may be proper here to refer to certain memoirs which were prepared at the request of the Society, and published as independent volumes. Among such works may be mentioned President Quincy's *Memoir of John Quincy Adams* (Boston, 1858, pp. x, 429); Mr. Ticknor's *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1864, pp. x, 491), Dr. Holmes's *Memoir of John Lothrop Motley* (Boston, 1879, pp. vii, 278); Mr. Chandler's *Memoir of Governor Andrew* (Boston, 1880), pp. 298; and Mr. Adams's *Memoir of Richard Henry Dana* (Boston, 1890, two volumes, pp. (6), 378 and (4), 436). The last three biographies appear in some form in the Proceedings.

Dr. Jacob Porter's "Topographical Description and Historical Sketch of Plainfield, in Hampshire County, Massachusetts" (Greenfield, 1834), is an enlargement of his account of the town, given in the eighth volume (second series) of the Collections. Nahum Mitchell's "History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater, in Plymouth County, Massachusetts" (Boston, 1840), is based on a history of the town, which appeared in the seventh volume of the same series. There are also other publications which are connected more or less remotely with the Society.

Perhaps it is proper also to allude to several printed reports, etc., made to the Legislature of the Commonwealth, concerning the Society's title to the Hutchinson Papers, so called, which were finally given up to the State, December 23, 1873.

The following is a list of the minor publications of the Historical Society, and includes all papers, so far as is now known, that have been brought before it and afterward printed. They have been taken for the most part from the Collections or the Proceedings. The editions of such publications are usually limited to a small number of copies, — generally from thirty to one hundred, — and are printed for the persons most interested in them. Of reprints with the paging unchanged, no account is taken, unless a printed cover is put on, or some alteration made in the "form." From the year 1859 to 1877, an annual statement of the funds of the Society was made on a printed sheet by the Treasurer; and since 1877 an Annual Report has been printed in pamphlet form. With the exception of that for 1875, all these statements and reports have appeared in the Proceedings, but they are not given in this list of minor publications.

ACTS, BY-LAWS, ETC.

[The Act of Incorporation, Laws, and Circular Letter of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with an Appendix]. No titlepage. [1794.] 8vo. pp. 14.

This pamphlet was published with a cover similar to the four quarterly parts of the Collections, Vol. IV. and together with them makes up the volume, of which it forms pages 1-14. It was reprinted with the addition of alphabetical lists of Resident and Corresponding Members in 2d series, Vol. I. 1814, pp. 1-26.

The Act of Incorporation, Bye-Laws, Catalogue of Members, and Circular Letter of the Massachusetts Historical Society; with a List of Articles on which the Society wish for information; . . . Boston, 1813. 8vo. pp. 26. [Coll. 2d series, I. (2), 1-26.]

Laws and Regulations of the Massachusetts Historical Society, revised and reported by the Standing Committee, pursuant to a vote of the Society, April 25, 1833. Cambridge, 1833. 8vo. pp. 8. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 331-336.]

Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Regulations adopted at the April meeting, 1841. 8vo. pp. (2).

Two hundred copies were printed for the use of the members; and in 1880 it was reprinted in the Proceedings, Vol. II. p. 189.

The Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1853. 8vo, pp. 12. [Coll. 4th series, II. v-xv.]

The Act of Incorporation, with the additional Acts, and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1857. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. III. 239-250; Coll. 4th series, IV. v-xxii.]

These By-Laws were adopted at a meeting, October 8, 1857, and printed in the Proceedings of that date. They were afterward printed in the Collections (4th series, IV.) for 1858, and appeared separately under the title given above, with some slight changes, including the revised lists of officers and members.

Extract from the By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society [1857]. 8vo. 1 p. [Coll. 4th series, IV. x.]

This was printed on the third page of the letter sheets used in notifying Resident Members of their election; and for this purpose letter-headings of two styles have been used.

The Act of Incorporation, with the Additional Acts and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society; with a list of Officers and Resident Members. Boston, 1873. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 140-150.]

A few copies of the By-Laws, as proposed, were printed in October, 1873, and with some changes were reprinted and presented at a meeting of the Society on November 11. These were adopted, with other changes, at the meeting on December 11, and reprinted page for page from the Proceedings, without a title; and they afterward appeared separately, with the title given above.

Extract from Chapter I. of the By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society [1873]. 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 141.] By-Laws. No titlepage. [1881.] 8vo. pp. 11. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 182-193.]

This was afterward printed with the following title:—

The Act of Incorporation, with the Additional Acts and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society; with a List of Officers and Resident Members. Boston, 1882. 8vo. pp. 23.

These By-Laws were also printed with the Report of the Committee on the revision of the By-Laws, May 10, 1888, pp. 5-16.

[Circular Letter concerning proposed changes in the By-Laws, signed by R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Boston, March 24, 1888.] 8vo. pp. (3).

[Report of the Committee on the revision of the By-Laws, May 10, 1888, signed by Charles Deane and R. C. Winthrop, Jr., May 8, 1888.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 120-123.]

Pages 5-16 consist of a reprint of the By-Laws of 1882.

The Act of Incorporation, with the Additional Acts and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and a list of Officers and Resident Members. Boston, 1889. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 222-235.]

At the meeting of the Society, June 13, 1889 (Proc. IV. 410, 411), an additional article was adopted, and slips were printed to be pasted on page 21.

CIRCULARS, Etc.

Circular Letter of the Historical Society. 8vo. pp. 3.

This Letter, written by Jeremy Belknap and dated at Boston, November 1, 1791, was printed separately, with a few

changes, in 1793, and prefixed to the first serial for January of that year; it will be found in the Collections, Vol. II. pp. 1, 2. It was reprinted by William Jenks in "An Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society," pp. 12-14 [Coll. 3d series, Vol. VII. 5-26]. In 1879 a lithographic fac-simile was made for Vol. I. of the Proceedings (1791-1835), and inserted at page xx.

To all the Friends of Science, Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce. Proposal of Joseph Belknap & Alexander Young, for printing a weekly paper; to be entitled The American Apollo, containing the Publications of the Historical Society, Political and Commercial Intelligence, and other entertaining Matter. Boston, 1791. 8vo. pp. 4, (2).

This was printed at the same time as the foregoing "Circular Letter," and enclosed with it when circulated. The blank leaf at the end bears at the top of each page the following words: "Subscribers names. Titles. Where sent. Cash paid." A lithographic fac-simile of this pamphlet (four pages) was made in 1879, of which the titlepage appears in the Proceedings, Vol. I. (1791-1835), p. xxii.

Circular Letter of the Massachusetts Historical Society, respectfully addressed, in 1794, by Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D. then Corresponding Secretary, to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America [July 1, 1794]. 4to. pp. (3).

This letter requested certain historical information as well as contributions to the Society's Library and Cabinet. It was, with some changes and additions, reprinted in "The Act of Incorporation," 1794, pp. 5-14, and in the Collections, Vol. IV. pp. 5-14; also in Collections, 2d series, Vol. I. pp. 14-26, and in "The Act of Incorporation," 1813, pp. 14-26.

[Circular Letter soliciting information and contributions, 1813, signed by the Corresponding Secretary, in blank.] 4to. pp. (3).

The letter was also appended to a blank certificate (pp. 3) of election of a member of the Society, and in 1814 was printed in the Collections, 2d series, Vol. II. pp. 277-280. It was written by John Eliot.

Hubbard's History of New England. [A prospectus dated at Cambridge, "1st August, 1814," probably issued by Abiel Holmes, then Corresponding Secretary.] Broadside. [Coll. 2d series, II. 281-283.]

This is essentially the "Prefatory Notice" to the History.

Historical Collections. [A prospectus of the Collections as far as Volume II., second series, dated "1 August, 1814."] Broadside. [Coll. 2d series, II. 284, 285.]

[Circular Letter in relation to the Society, 1832.] 4to. 1 p.

The letter is dated at "Boston, 9th October, 1832," and signed by Josiah Quincy and five others, asking for aid in the purchase of a building.

Officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, elected April 1, 1836. 16mo. 1 p.

[Circular, dated at Boston, June 18, 1844, containing Rules adopted at the April meeting.] 4to. 1 p.

[Circular Letter, dated at Boston, August 10, 1854, signed by John H. Clifford, Jared Sparks, and Ellis Ames, in regard to completing the Society's sets of Colonial and Provincial Laws, and House Journals 1715-1780.] 4to. pp. 3.

[Circular Letter, dated at Boston, May 23, 1857, and signed by William Brigham and George Livermore, asking for additional contributions to the Library.] 4to. 1 p.

[List of Resident Members. Oct.-Dec. (?), 1857.] Folio. 1 p.

Lists were printed similar to this at the following dates: June, 1864, June 15, 1871, January 12, 1877, September 1, 1879, January 1, 1883, April, 1884, April, 1887, January, 1891.

[Prospectus of the Proceedings for 1855-58, with a subscription heading, 1859.] 8vo. 1 p.

[Circular asking contributions to a Collection of Memorials of the War, signed by Richard Frothingham and six others, and dated at Boston, "8th August, 1861."] 4to. 1 p.

[Circular Letter asking for photographs of members for preservation, signed by Charles Deane, Boston, February 15, 1865.] 12mo. 1 p.

Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [Circular offering sets of the Collections for sale, as far as Vol. VII. of the 4th series, sets of Proceedings as far as Vol. V. (1863-64), with a table of contents, and the catalogues, 2 volumes. 1865.] 8vo. 1 p.

[Circular offering the publications of the Society, 42 volumes, for sale, signed by Samuel A. Green, Boston, May 20, 1878.] 8vo. 1 p.

[Honorary or Corresponding Members, February, 1882.] 8vo. pp. (2).

[Circular asking for contributions from members of the Society, toward defraying the cost of a portrait of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, for the Massachusetts Historical Society, signed by Leverett Saltonstall and three others, a committee chosen for the purpose, Boston, April 17, 1885.] 4to. 1 p.

[Circular Letter asking for photographs of members for preservation, signed by F. E. Oliver, Boston, October 20, 1887.] 12mo. 1 p.

This was reprinted, with a slight change, October 24, 1890.

[Circular Letter to members of the Society in regard to the distribution of serial numbers of the Proceedings, signed by Edward J. Young, Alexander McKenzie, and Charles C. Smith, January 30, 1890.] 12mo. 1 p.

[Circular Letter to members of the Society asking for their photographs, by F. E. Oliver, October 24, 1890.] 12mo. 1 p.

[Circular Invitation to all Resident, Corresponding, and Honorary Members to attend the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the formation of the Society, to be held January 24, 1891, dated January 1, 1891, and signed by Samuel A. Green, Edward J. Young, and Edward Bangs, the Committee of Arrangements.] 12mo. 1 p.

A similar invitation to Societies was also issued.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. Of their several nations, numbers, customs, manners, religion and government, before the English planted there. . . . By Daniel Gookin, Gentleman . . . Now first printed from the Original Manuscript. Boston, 1792. 8vo. pp. 89. [Coll. I. 141-229.]

Catalogue of Books in the Massachusetts Historical Library. Boston, 1796. 8vo. pp. 40.

Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, Maps, Charts, Manuscripts, &c. in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1811. 8vo. pp. vi, (2), 96.

Bacon's Rebellion. [1813.] 8vo. pp. (2), 27-32, 9-56. [Coll. 2d series, I. 27-80.]

A second edition with many corrections and a prefatory note by Charles Deane was printed in the Proceedings (IX. 299-342) for August 9, 1866. It was also reprinted in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1836), Vol. I. No. 11, under a different title.

Biographical Memoir of Rev. John Lothrop. By the Rev. John Lothrop, D.D. Boston, 1813. 8vo. pp. 18. [Coll. 2d series, I. 163-178.]

Massachusetts Historical Society. Order of Services, 22 December, 1813, at King's Chapel, Boston, in Commemoration of the Landing of the Forefathers. 8vo. pp. 4.

Report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America. No titlepage. [1814.] 8vo. pp. 48. [Coll. 2d series, II. 1-48.]

A General History of New England, from the Discovery to 1680. By the Rev. William Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich, Mass. Cambridge, 1815. 8vo. pp. vi, (8), 7-676. [Coll. 2d series, V., VI.]

The preface is signed by Abiel Holmes and Joseph McKean, Cambridge, 1815. An edition was published in 1848, edited by William Thaddeus Harris, and corrected from the original manuscript. See the same title below on this page.

Annals of New-England. By Thomas Prince. Vol. II. Numb. I. [-III.] [1818.] 8vo. pp. (2), 96, (1). [Coll. 2d series, VII. after p. 188.]

In 1826 an edition was published including Vols. I. and II. complete, edited by Nathan Hale; and in 1852 a third edition was published, edited by Samuel G. Drake, which consisted of thirty copies of the second edition of 1826, with a new title-page, a list of original subscribers, and a memoir of the author, prefixed. The first edition of Vol. I. was printed in 1736, and that of Vol. II. in 1755.

Statistical Account of the Town of Middlebury, in the State of Vermont. Part First. By Frederick Hall. Boston, 1821. 8vo. pp. 38. [Coll. 2d series, IX. 123-158.]

Journal of Christopher Gist; who accompanied George Washington on his first visit to the French Commander of the Troops on the Ohio, 1753. Boston, 1836. [Coll. 3d series, V. 101-108.]

This appears in the Collections as above, and according to Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," was reprinted separately.

List of Portraits in the Hall of the Historical Society. No titlepage. [1838.] 8vo. pp. 285-291. [Coll. 3d series, VII. 285-291.]

A General History of New England, from the Discovery to 1680. By the Rev. William Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich, Mass. Second edition, collated with the original MS. Boston, 1848. 8vo. pp. vi, (14), xvii, 768.

Leift Lion Gardener his relation of the Pequot Warres.

This "relation," with two letters preceding it, appears in the Collections (3d series, III.) for 1833, pp. 129-160, with a fac-simile of the autographs of Sir Henry Vane and Governor Winthrop. It was reprinted without the fac-simile, in "The History of the Wars of New-England," pp. 1-36, by Samuel

Penhallow (Cincinnati, 1859), after page 138. According to Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," it was printed separately with the letters, under the following title :

A History of the Pequot War. By Lieut. Lion Gardiner. Cincinnati, 1860. 4to. pp. 36.

A True Relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present year, 1605, by Captain George Waymouth, in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia, . . . Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the Voyage. London, 1605. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 125-157.]

This was communicated to the Society by Francis C. Gray, and printed from a transcript procured in England by Jared Sparks. The Relation, of which an abridgment may be found in "Purchas his Pilgrimes" (Vol. IV. pp. 1659-1667), was reprinted in the third volume of the publications of the Gorges Society (Portland, 1887), from a copy of the original in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, with an Introduction and Notes by Henry Sweetser Burrage. The Narrative was reprinted from the Collections with the following title :

[Rosier's Narrative of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, in 1605. Complete. With remarks by George Prince (pp. 1-14), showing the river explored to have been the Georges River : together with a map of the same and the adjacent Islands. Bath, 1860.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 45. Map. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 125-157.]

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1855. 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 1-31.]

This contains an account of the Annual Meeting, though not so full as that given in the volume of Proceedings.

Memorial of the Massachusetts Historical Society [to the Legislature]. 4to. pp. 3. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 266-270.]

This was adopted at a meeting, February 11, 1858, and is signed by Robert C. Winthrop, President, and Chandler Robbins, Recording Secretary. The third page is a description of the Collections as far as 4th series, Vol. III.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1858-1860. Selected from the Records. Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. (2), 21. [Proc. IV. (1858-60), 1-21.]

This is marked "Specimen" on the cover.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society in respect to the Memory of William Hickling Prescott, February 1, 1859. Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. 53. [Proc. IV. (1858-60), 167-196, 198-205.]

Catalogue of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. 240.

This is marked "Specimen" on the cover, and makes a part of Vol. I.

Catalogue of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Vol. I. A-L. Boston, 1859. Vol. II. M-Z. Boston, 1860. 8vo.
pp. vi, (1), 732, and vi, (1), 651.

The preface to the first volume is signed by Chandler Robbins and Charles Deane, and is dated at Boston, September 17, 1859, while that of the second volume is dated March 29, 1860.

[Report of a Committee, June 14, 1860, on "Publishing papers read and proceedings had at its meetings," signed by James Savage, and dated at Boston, 10 May, 1860.] 4to. pp. 2.

Report of a Committee appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society on Exchange of Prisoners during the American Revolutionary War. Presented Dec. 19, 1861. Boston, 1861. 8vo. pp. 26.
[Proc. V. (1860-62), 325-346.]

Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Josiah Quincy, July 14, 1864. Boston, 1864. 8vo. pp. 32.
[Proc. VII. (1863-64), 377-405.]

Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Edward Everett, January 30, 1865. Boston, 1865. 8vo. pp. 90.
Portrait. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 101-170.]

Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of George Livermore. Boston, 1866. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 442-458.]

Tribute to Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, London. [By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and Hon. J. Lothrop Motley.] No titlepage. [1868.] 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 340-341, 344-346.]

[Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society upon receiving the bust of George Peabody, October 8, 1868.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 341-342.]

[Proceedings of the Society, June 9, 1870.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 322-328. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 322-328.]

This was reprinted without change of paging, and has a cover with title.

Tributes to the Memory of Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy. No titlepage. [1870.] 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 354-369.]

Tributes of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Hon. David Sears and George Ticknor, LL.D., February 9, 1871. Boston, 1871. 8vo. pp. 24. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 13-29.]

Tribute to Walter Scott, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of his Birthday, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, August 15, 1871. Boston, 1872. 8vo. pp. 17. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 140-156.]

Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of their late Senior Member and former President, the Hon. James Savage, LL.D., March 13, 1873. Boston, 1873. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 433-442.]

Proceedings of a Special Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, December 16, 1873; being the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor. Boston, 1874. 8vo. pp. 70. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 151-216.]

A Heliotype of Washington's Autograph Address to the Officers of the American Army, at Newburg, N. Y., March 15, 1783. Together with letters of Colonel Timothy Pickering, Governor John Brooks, Judge Dudley A. Tyng, and William A. Hayes, printed from the originals, authenticating the autograph, or describing the scene at the delivery of the address. 1876. Folio. pp. 8, (11).

Officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Elected April 20, 1876 [and Members, October, 1876]. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. xi-xvi. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), xi-xvi.]

Tribute of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Edmund Quincy and John Lothrop Motley Boston, 1877. 8vo. pp. 30. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 280-302.]

Letters from George Washington to General William Heath. 1775-1780. Boston, 1873. 8vo. pp. (4), 285. [Coll. 5th series, IV. 1-285.]

This volume consists of a serial number of the Collections for 1878, Part I. It is bound with a printed titlepage, and with engravings of Washington and Heath inserted. This copy was bought by the Librarian, in the summer of 1883, at a second-hand book-store.

A Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc now first printed from the Original Manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library Edited with Preface Notes and Appendix by the Rev. B. F. DeCosta Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 43. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 82-117.]

This was communicated by Charles Deane, May 13, 1880. The pamphlet contains a fac-simile of the title of the manuscript.

[Resolutions of the Society, September 8, 1881, on the Assault upon President Garfield.] Broadside. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 1, 2.]

[Resolutions of the Society on the death of President Garfield, passed at the meeting, October 13, 1881.] Broadside. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 62, 63.]

Tributes to Longfellow and Emerson by the Massachusetts Historical Society. With portraits. Boston, 1882. 8vo. pp. 62. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 266-278, 298-310.]

This was published by A. Williams & Co., Boston, with the permission of the Society.

Appendix to Belknap Papers. [1882.] 8vo. pp. 373¹⁻⁸⁵. [Coll. 5th series, III. 373¹⁻⁸⁵. Re-issue of 1882.]

A Catalogue of the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By F. E. Oliver.] No titlepage. [1883.] 8vo. pp. 24.

This pamphlet contains a list of the paintings belonging to the Society, which is also reprinted in the Catalogue of Paintings, 1885, pp. 1-24.

Commemoration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Martin Luther, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, November 10, 1883. Boston, 1883. 8vo. pp. 39. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 264, 265, 350, 355-359, 361-383.]

Officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Elected April 10, 1884 [and Members]. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. xvii-xxii. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), xvii-xxii.]

Tributes to the Memory of George Dexter late Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society offered at a meeting of the Society January 10, 1884 Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 11. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 6-13.]

Will of John Langdon Sibley, of Cambridge. Born in Union, Maine, 29 December, 1804. Died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 9 December, 1885. 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 168-170.]

This also appeared in the Proceedings for January 14, 1886, as above.

A Catalogue of the Paintings, Engravings, Busts, and Miscellaneous Articles, belonging to the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By F. E. Oliver.] Boston, 1885. 8vo. pp. (4), 143.

The catalogue published in 1883 forms pages 1-24.

Officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Elected April 15, 1886 [and Members]. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. xvii-xxii. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), xvii-xxii.]

Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society in the order of their election. No titlepage. [1886.] 8vo. pp. ix-xxxiv. [Coll. 6th series, I. ix-xxxiv.]

Tributes of the Massachusetts Historical Society to Francis E. Parker. Privately printed. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 72. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 208-216 ; 2d series, III. (1886-87), 247-252.]

This volume, edited by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., contains the tributes made at the meeting February 11, 1886, beside the memoir by Edward Bangs, presented February 10, 1887, and an Appendix.

[Records of the Old Colony Club. 1769-1773.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 381-444. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 381-444.]

This was communicated to the Society, October 13, 1887, by William W. Goodwin, and edited by Charles Deane. It is reprinted without change of paging, and with a cover bearing a title.

A Catalogue of the Paintings belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By F. E. Oliver.] [1888.] 8vo. pp. 29.

This is a new edition of the Catalogue of 1883.

List of some Briefs in Appeal Causes which relate to America tried before the Lords Commissioners of Appeals of Prize Causes of His Majesty's Privy Council, 1736-1758 By Paul Leicester Ford Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889. 8vo. pp. 20. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 85-101.]

This paper was presented at a meeting of the Society, October 10, 1889, by Justin Winsor, and two hundred and fifty copies were reprinted, with the *verso* of each leaf blank.

A Tribute to the Memory of Charles Deane by the Massachusetts Historical Society at a Special Meeting December 3, 1889 Boston, 1889. 8vo. pp. 31. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 116-141.]

Massachusetts Historical Society: Enlargement and enrichment of its Library. Being a Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet, read at the Annual Meeting of the Society on the Tenth day of April, 1890. By the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, Chairman of the Committee. Boston, 1890. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 452-456.]

DOWSE LIBRARY.

Catalogue of the Private Library of Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, Mass., presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, July 30, 1856. Boston, 1856. 8vo. pp. (2), 214.

The same. Boston, 1870. 8vo. pp. (2), 214.

Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Address of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and the Remarks of Hon. Edward Everett, with a description of the Dowse Library. Boston, 1857. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 155-177.]

This was reprinted from the "Boston Daily Courier," Friday, April 10, 1857.

The Dowse Library. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society relating to the donations from Thomas Dowse; with the Eulogy by Edward Everett. Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. 80. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 100-110, 114-122, 126-128, 161-165, 169-175, 177, 353-398.]

This was printed for private distribution. The preface is signed "G. L." (George Livermore), and dated at Cambridge, June 1, 1859. It contains three illustrations: the Dowse Library, Thomas Dowse, and Edward Everett.

Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, of Cambridgeport, pronounced before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 9th December, 1858. By Edward Everett. With the Introductory Address by Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Society; and an Appendix. Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. 82. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 353-398, 100-108, 114-122, 126-128, 161-165, 169-175, 177.]

This is, in substance, the same as the previous volume, with the exception of the titlepage and the arrangement. It contains another engraving of Thomas Dowse, but the same engravings of Edward Everett and the Dowse Library. There is still another edition in paper covers without the plates.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JR. Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight; An Historical Monograph. With additions. Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. pp. 36. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 60-88.]

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY. The New England Confederacy of 1643. (A Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston, on the 29th of May, 1843; in celebration of the second Centennial Anniversary of that event. Boston, 1843. 8vo. pp. 47. [Coll. 3d series, IX. 189-223.]

ALDEN, TIMOTHY, JR. An Account of the several Religious Societies in Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, from their first establishment, and of the Ministers of each, to the first of January, 1805. Boston, 1808. 8vo. pp. 40. [Coll. X. 37-72.]

———. Memoirs of Edward Tyng, Esquire, of Boston; and of Hon. William Tyng, Esquire, of Gorham. Boston, 1808. 8vo. pp. 8. [Coll. X. 180-186.]

AMES, ELLIS. [Remarks on an Action of Trespass and Ejectment, relating to Nathaniel Thomas.] No titlepage. [1875.] 8vo. pp. 163-167. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 163-167.]

A few copies were printed without change of paging.

AMES, ELLIS. The Porter-Poor Duel. [1882.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 256-261.]

———. [Extract from the log-book of George Little, containing an account of the Battle between the "Boston" and the "Berceau."] No titlepage. [1883.] 8vo. pp. 269-274. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 269-274.]

A few copies were printed without change of paging.

AMORY, THOMAS COFFIN. General John Sullivan. A Vindication of his character as a Soldier and a Patriot. Morrisania, N. Y., 1867. 8vo. pp. (4), 52. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 380-436.]

This appeared in "The Historical Magazine" (X. 161-177) for December, 1866, and is essentially the same as that printed in the Proceedings for December 13, 1866, though with numerous changes.

———. Memoir of Hon. William Sullivan, prepared for early diary of Massachusetts Historical Proceedings. Cambridge, 1879. 8vo. pp. 13. [Proc. II. (1835-55), 150-160.]

———. Daniel Sullivan's Visits, May and June, 1781, to General John Sullivan, in Philadelphia, to explain Declarations in Sir Henry Clinton's Secret Journal. With additional Comments. Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 47-64.]

APPLETON, JOHN. "Journal de Castorland." Boston, 1864. 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 326-338.]

APPLETON, NATHAN. Memoir of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1856. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 68-82; Coll. 4th series, IV. 495-507.]

This was reprinted in Hunt's "Lives of American Merchants" (New York, 1859), Vol. II. pp. 331-345.

APPLETON, WILLIAM SUMNER. Description of a Selection of Coins and Medals relating to America, exhibited to the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 28, 1870. Cambridge, 1870. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 293-305.]

———. Augustin Dupré, and his Work for America. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 348-352.]

ASPINWALL, THOMAS. Remarks on the Narragansett Patent. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 41. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 41-77.]

———. The same. Second edition. Providence, 1865. 8vo. pp. 40.

BANGS, EDWARD. Memoir of the Hon. Francis Edward Parker. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 247-252.]

This was also reprinted in the volume of "Tributes," edited by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., pp. 26-34, 1887.

BANGS, EDWARD. *Memoir of Henry Austin Whitney*. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 10. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 424-429.]

BARTLETT, JOSIAH. *An Historical Sketch of Charlestown, in the County of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, read to an assembly of citizens at the opening of Washington Hall, Nov. 16, 1813. Boston, 1814. 8vo. pp. 24. [Coll. 2d series, II. 163-184.]

———. *The same*. Boston, 1814. 8vo. pp. 24.

This is a reprint made in the year 1880, page for page, by George M. Elliott, of Lowell, bookseller, and with nearly the same font of type.

BELKNAP, JEREMY. *A Discourse, intended to commemorate the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, 1792, being the completion of the third century since that memorable event. To which are added, four dissertations, connected with various parts of the Discourse, . . . Boston, 1792.* 8vo. pp. 132.

BROOKS, CHARLES. *Memoir of Joseph Willard*. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 25. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 276-298.]

BUGBEE, JAMES MCKELLAR. *The Journal of Ebenezer Wild (1776-1781), who served as Corporal, Sergeant, Ensign, and Lieutenant in the War of the Revolution*. Cambridge, 1891. 8vo. pp. 85. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 78-160.]

CASGRAIN, ABBE HENRY RAYMOND. *The French-War Papers of the Maréchal de Lévis described by the Abbé Casgrain. With Comments by Francis Parkman and Justin Winsor*. Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 11. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 92-100.]

Fifty copies printed.

CAULKINS, MISS FRANCES MANWARING. *Memoir of the Rev. William Adams, of Dedham, Mass., and of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams, of New London, Conn.* No titlepage. [Cambridge, 1849.] 8vo. pp. 5-49. [Coll. 4th series, I. 5-49.]

CHAMBERLAIN, MELLEN. *The Authentication of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776*. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 28. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 272-298.]

———. *Samuel Maverick's Palisade House of 1630*. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 366-373.]

———. *Journal of Captain Henry Dearborn in the Quebec Expedition, 1775*. [With notes.] Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 33. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 275-305.]

CHAMBERLAIN, MELLEN. Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1776-1783. [With notes.] Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 34. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 102-133.]

— —. Remarks on the New Historical School. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 18. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 265-280.]

— —. The Aspinwall-Barlow Library. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [1890.] [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 313-320.]

CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. Memoir of the Hon. John Albion Andrew, LL.D. Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 41-64.]

— —. Memoir of Governor Andrew, with Personal Reminiscences . . . Boston, 1880. 8vo. pp. 298.

CHASE, GEORGE BIGELOW. Memoir of George Tyler Bigelow, sometime Chief Justice of Massachusetts. Boston, 1890. 8vo. pp. 38. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 458-482.]

CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN. [Remarks on presenting a French Atlas to the Society, December 8, 1887.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 46-48.]

DAVIS, GEORGE THOMAS. "The St. Regis Bell." No titlepage. [1870.] 8vo. pp. 311-321. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 311-321.]

This was reprinted from the Proceedings, without change of paging.

DAVIS, JOHN. A Discourse before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, December 22, 1813. At their Anniversary Commemoration of the first landing of our Ancestors at Plymouth, in 1620. Boston, 1814. 8vo. pp. 31. [Coll. 2d series, I. i-xxxi.]

DEANE, CHARLES. The First Plymouth Patent: granted June 1, 1621. Now first printed from the Original Manuscript. Cambridge, privately printed, 1854. 12mo. pp. 16. [Coll. 4th series, II. 156-163.]

One hundred copies were printed, and a few on large paper.

— —. History of Plymouth Plantation. By William Bradford. Edited, with notes. Boston, privately printed, 1856. 8vo. pp. xix, (1), 476, (1). [Coll. 4th series, III.]

Fifty copies printed.

— —. A Bibliographical Essay on Governor Hutchinson's Historical Publications. Boston, privately printed, 1857. 12mo. pp. 39. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 134-150.]

This essay was first printed in "The Historical Magazine" (I. 97-102) for April, 1857, and afterward in the Proceedings above-mentioned, for February 12, 1857, published in 1859. Fifty copies printed.

DEANE, CHARLES. *Letters of Phillis Wheatley, the Negro-Slave Poet of Boston.* Boston, 1864. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 267-279.]

These were communicated to the Society, November 12, 1863; and one hundred copies, with notes, were printed.

— —. A Sermon preached at Boston, in New England, upon a Fast Day, the 19th of January, 1636-37. By the Rev. John Wheelwright. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 22. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 256-274.]

This contains a "Prefatory Note," dated at Cambridge, March, 1867, and is reprinted from the Proceedings for August 9, 1866; before the volume of Proceedings was published it was also printed, by permission, in "The Historical Magazine" (2d series, I. 215-224), with Mr. Deane's notes. It was reprinted from this magazine under the following title, with a mistake in the date of the delivery:—

— —. A Sermon preached at Boston in New England vpon a Fast Day the xvth of January. 1636. By Mr. John Wheelwright. From the Manuscripts in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, first published in The Historical Magazine, for April, 1867. Morrisania, N. Y., 1867. 8vo. pp. viii, 28.

— —. The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia, in 1675 and 1676. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 50. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 299-342.]

The "Prefatory Note" to this edition is signed and dated at Boston, September 20, 1867. The first edition, with the title "Bacon's Rebellion," was reprinted from the Collections, 2d series, Vol. I.

— —. The Last Will and Testament of Captain John Smith; with some additional Memoranda relating to him. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. (2), 7. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 451-456.]

Fifty copies with notes were printed from the Proceedings for January 10, 1867.

— —. Communication respecting the Seal of, the "Council for New England." No titlepage. [1867.] 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 469-472.]

Thirty copies printed.

— —. Memoir of George Livermore. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1869. 8vo. pp. 60. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 415-468.]

Some copies were printed on large paper.

DEANE, CHARLES. The Forms in issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England with some remarks on the Massachusetts Charter of the 4th of March, 1628-9 Cambridge, 1870. 8vo. pp. 24. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 166-188.]

Fifty copies printed.

— —. The Life of Mr. Thomas Dudley, several times Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts. Written, as is supposed, by Cotton Mather. Cambridge, 1870. 8vo. pp. 20. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 202, 203, 207-222.]

One hundred copies printed.

— —. A Dialogue or third conference between some young men born in New England, and some ancient men which came out of Holland and old England, concerning the Church and the government thereof. By William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth. With a Preface and Notes. Boston, 1870. 8vo. pp. xii, 78. Lithograph. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 396-482.]

— —. Letter of Sir John Stanhope to Secretary Davison, concerning Elder Brewster. [1871.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 98-103.]

— —. Death of Matthew Cradock. No titlepage. [1871.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 171-173.]

— —. General Washington's Head-Quarters in Cambridge Boston, 1873. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 257-263.]

Fifty copies printed.

— —. Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter Cambridge, 1873. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 341-358.]

— —. New England's Trials written by Captain John Smith A reprint of the rare first edition of 1620 With a prefatory Note Cambridge, 1873. 12mo. pp. 10, (22). [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 20 unnumbered pages at end of volume, following page 448.]

Fifty copies printed.

— —. Judge Lowell and the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights. Boston, 1874. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 299-304.]

This pamphlet originally contained only eight pages. Page 9, inserted by Mr. Deane, was printed for the Proceedings, with the heading, "To be inserted on page 304, before the President's Remarks"; it also appeared without the page number or heading, as a leaflet.

— —. Journal of a Tour to the White Mountains in July, 1784 by Jeremy Belknap, D.D. Printed from the Original Manuscript, with a Prefatory Note by the Editor Boston, 1876. 8vo. pp. 21. Map. [Coll. 5th series, II. 386-401.]

DEANE, CHARLES. Rules, Orders, and Statutes of Harvard College instituted by the President and Council of New England 23d July, 1686 With Remarks by the Secretary. Cambridge, 1876. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 222-223.]

— —. Notes on a recently discovered Indenture relating to David Thomson of Piscataqua and Massachusetts Bay in New England With a copy of the Indenture Cambridge, 1876. 8vo. pp. 34, (1). [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 358-385.]

One hundred copies printed.

— —. Letters and Documents relating to Slavery in Massachusetts. Edited, with a Preface and Notes. Cambridge, 1877. 8vo. pp. (2), 375-442. [Coll. 5th series, III. 373-442.]

Twenty-five copies printed.

— —. Paul Revere's Signal The True Story of the Signal Lanterns in Christ Church, Boston By the Rev. John Lee Watson, D.D. With Remarks on Laying Dr. Watson's Communication before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Nov. 9, 1876 Cambridge, 1877. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 163-177.]

This was also printed with that part of the title relating to Mr. Deane left out; and some copies, without a titlepage, appeared with the same paging as that of the Proceedings. Another edition was published in New York by Mr. Watson, with the following title:—

— —. Paul Revere's Signal: the True Story of the Signal Lanterns in Christ Church, Boston. By the Rev. John Lee Watson, D.D. With Remarks on Laying Dr. Watson's Communication before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Nov. 9, 1876. New York, 1880. 8vo. pp. 32.

This contains, on page 21, a second title, "Paul Revere's Signal: a Second Letter to the Boston Daily Advertiser: By the Rev. John Lee Watson, D.D. March, 1879."

— —. Memoir of John Appleton, M.D. No titlepage. [1877.] 8vo. pp. 365-367. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 365-367.]

— —. Tutor Henry Flynt's Journey from Cambridge to Portsmouth in 1754 Written by David Sewall who accompanied him With Notes. Cambridge, 1878. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 5-11.]

Fifty copies printed.

— —. Records of the President and Council of New Hampshire from January 1, 1679-80, to December 22, 1680 With Notes

and an Introduction. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 26. Lithograph. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 256-279.]

Fifty copies printed.

DEANE, CHARLES. [Paul Revere's letter to Jeremy Belknap, Boston, January 1, 1798, relating to the signal lanterns and his ride to Lexington on the night of April 18th, 1775.] No titlepage. [1878.] 8vo. pp. 370-376. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 370-376.]

This was communicated, with some remarks, and printed in the Proceedings for November 14, 1878. It also appears in the Collections, Vol. V. pp. 106-112.

— — —. Memoir of Edward Augustus Crowninshield, A.M. No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 356-359.]

— — —. An Account of the White Kennett Library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 274-280.]

— — —. Memoir of the Hon. Richard Frothingham, LL.D. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 17. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 381-393.]

— — —. Memoir of Samuel F. Haven, LL.D. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 16. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 394-405.]

— — —. Remarks on Hubbard's Map of New England Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 12. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 13-21.]

DEVENS, CHARLES. Memoir of Alexander H. Bullock Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 22. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 322-339.]

DEXTER, FRANKLIN BOWDITCH. Harvard-College Monitor's Bill. Communication addressed to Mr. J. L. Sibley. No titlepage. [1868.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 403-408.]

— — —. The Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England. Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 17. Two charts. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 340-352.]

— — —. A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston, March, 1638. [1888.] 8vo. pp. 35. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 159-191.]

DEXTER, GEORGE. Argument of Tutor Nicholas Sever, read before the Lt.-Governor and Council, 23d Augt., 1723, in Support of his Claim to a Seat in the Corporation of Harvard College; with an Introduction. Cambridge, 1878. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 50-67.]

Fifty copies printed.

DEXTER, GEORGE. Letters of Andrew Eliot, D.D., to his sons, Samuel and John. 8vo. pp. 29. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 280-306.]

Fifteen copies were reprinted from the Proceedings for September 12, 1878.

— —. Letters of Christopher Columbus and Americus Vesputius. With an Introduction. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 22. Lithograph. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 318-335.]

— —. Journal of Thomas Wallcut, in 1790. With Notes. Cambridge, 1879. 8vo. pp. 42. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 174-206.]

— —. [Letter of Erasmus Rask to Henry Wheaton.] No title-page. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 18-22. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 18-22.]

This was reprinted from the Proceedings for April 6, 1880.

— —. The First Voyage under Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Patent of 1578. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 12. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 75-83.]

— —. Suffolk County Bar Book. 1770-1805. With Introduction and Notes. Cambridge, 1882. 8vo. pp. 40. Albertype. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 141-179.]

— —. Letters of Henry Wheaton. 1805-6. Cambridge, 1882. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 360-376.]

Fifty copies were reprinted from the Proceedings for September 14, 1882.

— —. Journal of a Tour from Boston to Oneida, June, 1796. By Jeremy Belknap, in Company with Dr. Morse. With Notes. Cambridge, 1882. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 393-423.]

Fifty copies were reprinted from the Proceedings of October 12, 1882.

DEXTER, HENRY MARTYN. Elder Brewster's Library, as interpreted from the Meagre Record at Plymouth. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 51. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 37-85.]

— —. English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 25. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 41-64.]

DU PONCEAU, PETER STEPHEN. A Grammar of the Massachusetts Indian Language. By John Eliot. A New Edition: with Notes and Observations, by Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL.D. and an Introduction and supplementary Observations, by John Pickering. Boston, 1822. 8vo. pp. 28, 3-66, lvi. [Coll. 2d series, IX. 223-312, i-liv.]

ELIOT, SAMUEL. Memoir of Charles Callahan Perkins. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 26. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 223-246.]

- ELLIS, ARTHUR BLAKE. *American Patriotism on the Sea*. Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 15-28.]
———. [The Abode of John Hull and Samuel Sewall.] No titlepage. [1884.] 8vo. pp. 312-326. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 312-326.]

This is a letter written by Estes Howe to Charles Deane, and appears in the Proceedings (2d series, Vol. I.) for November 13, 1884, when it was communicated by Mr. Ellis.

- ELLIS, GEORGE EDWARD. *Memoir of Luther V Bell, M.D., LL.D.* Prepared by vote of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 75. Portrait. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 27-99.]
———. *Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL.D.* Cambridge, 1869. 8vo. pp. 102. Portrait. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 211-310.]
———. *Memoir of Charles Wentworth Upham*. Cambridge, 1877. 8vo. pp. 43. Portrait. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 182-221.]
———. *Memoir of Jacob Bigelow, M.D., LL.D.* Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 105. Portrait. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 383-467.]
———. *John Harvard*. [1885.] 12mo. pp. (2). [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 345-348.]

Extracts from remarks made at a meeting, October 11, 1883, and reprinted in connection with a subscription paper.

- . *Memoir of Nathaniel Thayer, A.M.* Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 51. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 51-63.]
EMERSON, WILLIAM. *Notes on Compton, a township in Newport county, state of Rhode Island*. September, 1803. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [Coll. IX. 199-206.]
FARMER, JOHN. *An Historical Sketch of Amherst, in the County of Hillsborough, in New-Hampshire*. From the first settlement to the present period. Amherst, 1820. 8vo. pp. 35. [Coll. 2d series, II. 247-255.]

This was reprinted from the Collections for 1814, with changes and additions. It appeared in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. V. (Concord, 1837), pp. 79-128; and was reprinted in the same year as the "second edition, enlarged," pp. 52. Sabin, in his "Dictionary of Works relating to America," mentions an edition of 1816, which I have been unable to see.

- FOOTE, HENRY WILDER. *A Discourse on the Russian Victories*, given in King's Chapel, March 25, 1813. By the Rev. James Freeman, D.D. and a Catalogue of the Library given by King William III. to King's Chapel in 1698. With Introductory Remarks. Cam-

- bridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 22. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 379-387, 423-430.]
- FORBES, ROBERT BENNET. Personal Memoranda. No titlepage. [1864.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 410-417.]
- FRANCIS, CONVERS. Memoir of Rev. John Allyn, of Duxbury. No titlepage. [1836.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Coll. 3d series, V. 245-252.]
- . Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford, M.D. No titlepage. [1846.] 8vo. pp. 7. [Coll. 3d series, IX. 75-81.]
- . Memoir of Hon. John Davis, LL.D. Cambridge, 1848. 8vo. pp. 20. [Coll. 3d series, X. 186-203.]
- FREEMAN, JAMES. A Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable, from Cape Cod, or Race Point, in Latitude $42^{\circ} 5'$ to Cape Malebarre, or the Sandy Point of Chatham, in Latitude $41^{\circ} 33'$ pointing out the Spots, on which the Trustees of the Humane Society have erected Huts, and other places where shipwrecked Seamen may look for Shelter. October, 1802. By a Member of the Humane Society. Boston, 1802. 8vo. pp. 15. [Coll. VIII. 110-119.]
- This reprint is set up in different type from that of the Collections. At a meeting of the Trustees of the Humane Society, October 4, 1802, it was voted to print two thousand copies, "to be dispersed among the several Custom-houses and Insurance Offices in this Commonwealth."
- FROTHINGHAM, NATHANIEL LANGDON. Memoir of William Parsons Lunt, D.D. No titlepage. [1858.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Coll. 4th series, IV. 508-514; Proc. III. (1855-58), 207-213.]
- This appeared in the Collections, and in the Proceedings for June 11, 1857. A few copies were also reprinted for the use of the family, under the following title: —
- . A Memoir of William Parsons Lunt, D.D. Boston, 1858. 12mo. pp. 16.
- . Memoir of Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D. Boston, 1854. 8vo. pp. 28. [Coll. 4th series, II. 130-155.]
- . The same. Cambridge, 1855. 8vo. pp. 28.
- FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD. A Declaration of the Affairs of the English People that first inhabited New England. By Phinehas Pratt. With Notes. Boston, 1858. 8vo. pp. 20. [Coll. 4th series, IV. 474-491.]
- . The Battle-Field of Bunker Hill: with a relation of the Action by William Prescott, and Illustrative Documents. With additions. Boston, 1876. 8vo. pp. 46. Two views. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 53-91.]
- . Illustrations of the Siege of Boston. Privately printed. Boston, 1876. 8vo. pp. 40. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 261-298.]

FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD. *Memoir of the Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M.D.* Cambridge, 1879. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. I. (1791-1835), 323-330.]

GOODELL, ABNER CHENEY, JR. *The Trial and Execution, for Petit Treason, of Mark and Phillis, Slaves of Capt. John Codman, who murdered their Master at Charlestown, Mass., in 1755; for which the man was hanged and gibbeted, and the woman was burned to death. Including, also, some account of other punishments by burning in Massachusetts.* Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. pp. 39. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 122-157.]

Two hundred copies reprinted from the Proceedings for March 8, 1883.

———. *An Account of the Seals of the Judicial Courts of the Colony and Province of the Massachusetts Bay: 1680-1780.* Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 157-170.]

One hundred copies were reprinted from the Proceedings for March 8, 1883, with slight changes. This paper was also printed in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXXVII. 349-358) for October, 1883, from which also one hundred copies were reprinted (Boston, 1883), pp. 12; and at the same time another hundred copies, pp. 14, were struck off with a slight change in the titlepage, and a leaf inserted bearing an inscription. All the reprints contain two plates of seals.

———. *Further Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, containing additional evidence of the passage of the Act of 1711, for reversing the attainders of the Witches; also, affirming the legality of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer of 1692: with a heliotype plate of the Act of 1711, as printed in 1713, and an Appendix of Documents, etc.* Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 52. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 280-326.]

———. *Reasons for Concluding that the Act of 1711, reversing the attainders of the Persons convicted of Witchcraft in Massachusetts in the year 1692, became a Law. Being a reply to Supplementary Notes, etc., by George H. Moore, LL.D.* Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 65-71.]

GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY. *Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the Code adopted in the year 1641, and called the Body of Liberties, now first printed.* Boston, 1843. 8vo. pp. 49. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 191-237.]

GRAY, HORACE. *The Case of Nathaniel Jennison for attempting to hold a Negro as a Slave in Massachusetts in 1781. From the Minutes of Chief Justice Cushing with references to contemporaneous*

- records. Boston, 1874. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 292-299.]
- GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Bibliography of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1871. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 2-8.]
- . Paul Lunt's Diary. May-December, 1775. Boston, 1872. 8vo. pp. 19. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 192-207.]
- . A Copy of the Laws of Harvard College, 1655. With an Introduction. Cambridge, 1876. 8vo. pp. 11. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 206-215.]
- . Notice of M. Jean Frédéric de Waldeck. [1876.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 9, 10.]
- . Inscriptions on the Bronze Tablets recently placed on the gates of the Older Burial Grounds in Boston, Massachusetts. Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 209-213.]
- . [A Poem by Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, Wednesday, Jan. 1, 1701.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 13, 14.]
- . Notes on a Copy of Dr. Wm. Douglass's Almanack for 1743, touching on the subject of Medicine in Massachusetts before his time. Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 42-47.]
- . Groton during Shays's Rebellion. No titlepage. [1884.] 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 298-312.]
- This was reprinted from the Proceedings for November 13, 1884, and appeared as No. III. of Volume I. of the Groton Historical Series.
- . Remarks on the early Appearance of the Northern Lights in New England. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 102-105.]
- . [Remarks, June 9, 1887, giving Mrs. Sarah (Chaplin) Rockwood's recollections of Colonel William Prescott.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 320.]
- . Congregational Churches in Nova Scotia. Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 67-73.]
- . The Population of Groton at different times, with some notes on the Provincial Census of 1765. Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 136-140.]

This also appeared in No. V. of Volume II. of the Groton Historical Series.

- . Hubbard's Map of New England, engraved probably by John Foster, the first printer of Boston. With a Fac-simile of the

Map. Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 199-206.]

This contains a copy of the "Wine Hills" map.

GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Note-Book kept by the Rev. William Brinsmead, the First Minister of Marlborough, Mass. Cambridge, 1889. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 298-302.]

———. Note-Book kept by Capt. Robert Keayne, an Early Settler of Boston. Cambridge, 1889. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 313-316.]

———. Maverick's Account of New England. [1889.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 336, 337.]

———. Some Indian Names. No titlepage. [1889.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 373, 374.]

———. Journal kept by Sergeant David Holden of Groton, Mass. during the latter part of the French and Indian War. February 20-November 29, 1760. With Notes and an Introduction. Cambridge, 1889. 8vo. pp. 30. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 384-409.]

———. Remarks on Benjamin Tompson's Elegy on John Woodmancy and Ezekiel Cheever. No titlepage. [1889.] 8vo. pp. 2. Lithograph. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 2, 3.]

———. Remarks on a MS. Volume containing certain minutes of the Massachusetts General Court, 1749, 1750. No titlepage. [1889.] 8vo. pp. 2. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 114, 115.]

———. The Town of Becket. No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 2. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 166, 167.]

———. Blodget's Plan of the Battle on the Shores of Lake George, 8 September, 1755. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 6. Lithograph. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 416-418.]

———. [Remarks on a deed of land given by President Thomas Danforth to the Trustees of the Town of York, July 26, 1684, and on Robert Keayne's Note-Book.] No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 5. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 432-435.]

———. Papers relating to Capt. Thomas Lawrence's Company, raised in Groton, Massachusetts, during the French and Indian War, 1758. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 21-33.]

———. Supplement. Hubbard's Map of New England. No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 11, 12. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 40, 41.]

This was communicated June 12, 1890, and is reprinted as a supplement to "Hubbard's Map of New England" (1888),

with continuous paging. It contains a fac-simile of the "White Hills" map.

GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT. Remarks on an early File of the Boston News-Letter. . . . November 13, 1890. With a Letter by Thomas Jefferson. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 171-175.]

— —. James Otis's Argument against the Writs of Assistance, 1761. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 190-196.]

— —. A Centennial Bibliography of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1891. With an Appendix. Cambridge, 1891. 8vo. pp. 56. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), pp. 203-249, 343-349.]

HALE, GEORGE SILSBEE. Memoir of Hon. Theron Metcalf. Boston, 1876. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 386-393.]

HARRIS, EDWARD DOUBLEDAY. Memoir of Thaddeus William Harris, M.D. Cambridge, 1882. 8vo. pp. 14. Two charts. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 313-322.]

HARRIS, THADDEUS MASON. Chronological and Topographical Account of Dorchester. [1804.] 8vo. pp. 55. [Coll. IX. 147-199.]

HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL. Harvard College and the First Church in Cambridge. No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 396-416.]

HEDGE, FREDERIC HENRY. Memoir of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D.D. With an Appendix. Boston, 1870. 8vo. pp. 20. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 371-386.]

HILL, CLEMENT HUGH. Extracts from the Diary kept by the Hon. Jonathan Mason of a Journey from Boston to Savannah in the Year 1804. [With notes.] Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 5-34.]

HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN. Memoir of Joseph Story, LL.D. Boston, 1868. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 176-205.]

— —. Memoir of the Hon. James Savage, LL.D., late President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Society. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 39. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 117-153.]

HOAR, EBENEZER ROCKWOOD. Memoir of George Bemis, Esq., prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 112-116.]

HOLMES, ABIEL. The History of Cambridge. Boston, 1801. 8vo. pp. (2), 67. [Coll. VII. 1-67.]

— —. A Memoir of Stephen Parmenius of Buda; with a Latin Poem, composed by him in 1583, and now first translated into English, 1804. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 19. [Coll. IX. 49-75.]

— —. A Memoir of the Mohegan Indians. Written in the year 1804. 8vo. pp. 27. [Coll. IX. 75-99.]

- HOLMES, ABIEL. Sketch of the Life and Character of Caleb Gannett, Esq. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 9. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 277-285.]
———. A Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford, in Massachusetts, A. D. 1686; with a Sketch of the entire history of the Protestants of France. Cambridge, 1826. 8vo. pp. iv, 84. [Coll. 3d series, II. 1-83.]

Much of this paper was reprinted in "The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal," Vol. II. No. 6 (October, 1826), pp. 345-370.

- HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL. Medical Directions written for Governor Winthrop, by Ed: Stafford, of London, in 1643. With Notes. Boston, 1862. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. V. (1860-62), 379-399.]
HOMER, JONATHAN. Description and History of Newton, in the County of Middlesex. No titlepage. [1798.] 8vo. pp. 28. [Coll. V. 253-280.]
HUDSON, CHARLES. [Life and Character of Major Pitcairn.] No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 315-326. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 315-326.]
———. Memoir of Lemuel Shattuck. No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 155-165. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 155-165.]
JENKS, HENRY FITCH. Diary of Captain Samuel Jenks, during the French and Indian War, 1760. [With notes.] Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 47. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 352-391.]
KIRKLAND, JOHN THORNTON. Notices of the Life of Major General Benjamin Lincoln. No titlepage. [1815.] 8vo. pp. 23. [Coll. 2d series, III. 233-255.]

In the "Index of Authors" (2d series, X. 201) this is accredited to Mr. Kirkland, but it is signed "P. C." [Peleg Coffin?]

- LIVERMORE, GEORGE. An Historical Research respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers. Boston, 1862. 8vo. pp. xiv, (2), 215. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 82-248.]
———. Supplementary Note [and Index, to be added to the First Edition of "An Historical Research by George Livermore."] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 217-236.

The Supplementary Note was published as a separate pamphlet to be bound up with the Historical Research, printed originally for private distribution before it was set up as a part of the Proceedings. In some copies of the first edition (pp. iii, iv) there is an omission in the "Extract of the Records" at the beginning of the volume; such copies were bound both

with and without the supplement. Of the latter there were also fifty copies on large paper.

LIVERMORE, GEORGE. The same. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1862. [Second edition.] [According to Sabin.] 8vo. pp. xviii, (2), 184.

— — —. The same. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1863. Third edition. Published for the New-England Loyal Publication Society.

— — —. The same. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1863. Fourth edition.

— — —. The same. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1863. Fifth edition. [According to Sabin.]

— — —. The same. Printed by John Wilson and Son, Boston, 1863. Fifth edition. Large Paper (50 copies).

LODGE, HENRY CABOT. A Memoir of Caleb Strong, United States Senator and Governor of Massachusetts. 1745-1818. Cambridge, 1879. 8vo. pp. 29. [Proc. I. (1791-1835), 290-316.]

— — —. Selections from the Letters of the Hon. E. H. Mills. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 44. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 12-53.]

LORING, CHARLES GREELY. Memoir of the Hon. William Sturgis. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1864. 8vo. pp. (2), 64. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 420-473.]

LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND. Memoir of Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1862. 8vo. pp. 15. Portrait. [Proc. V. (1860-62), 500-512.]

LOWELL, CHARLES. Memoir of the Rev. John Pierce, D.D. No titlepage. [1852.] 8vo. pp. 277-295. [Coll. 4th series, I. 277-295.]

LOWELL, JAMES RUSSELL. [Remarks on presenting to the Society an autograph letter of Robert Burns, December 10, 1885.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 155, 156.]

LOWELL, JOHN (*b.* 1769, *d.* 1840). Biographical Notice of the late Hon. Dudley Atkins Tyng, . . . by his intimate friend. [1830.] 8vo. pp. 17. [Coll. 3d series, II. 280-295.]

LOWELL, JOHN. Memoir of the Hon. John Lowell. No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 160-169. [Proc. II. (1835-1855), 160-169.]

McKEAN, JOSEPH. Memoir towards a Character of Rev. John Eliot, S. T. D. prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and published in their Collections. By one of the members. Boston, 1813. 8vo. pp. 40. [Coll. 2d series, I. 211-248.]

MAJOR, RICHARD HENRY. The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers Zeno to the Northern Seas in the Fourteenth Century Boston, 1875. 8vo. pp. 19. Map. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 351-366.]

One hundred copies printed for Charles Deane, who communicated the paper.

MEASE, JAMES. Description of . . Medals struck in relation to Important Events in North America, before and since the Declaration of Independence by the United States. Boston, 1834. 8vo. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 297-320.]

Sabin, in his "Dictionary of Books relating to America," mentions the title, but I have been unable to see a copy of the original. It appeared first in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, Vol. III. (1821), pp. 387-404, and afterward was considerably enlarged for the Collections of this Society.

MERRILL, BENJAMIN. Notice of the Life of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. No titlepage. [1846.] 8vo. pp. 9. [Coll. 3d series, IX. 117-125.]

MINOT, WILLIAM. Memoir of the Hon. Samuel Hoar; prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1862. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. V. (1860-62), 367-372.]

MOORE, GEORGE HENRY. Supplementary Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts: A Critical Examination of the alleged law of 1711 for reversing the Attainders of the Witches of 1692. Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 25. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 77-118.]

———. Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts: A Summary Vindication of the Laws and Liberties concerning Attainders with corruption of blood, escheats, forfeitures for crime, and pardon of offenders in reply to the "Reasons," etc., of Hon. Abner C. Goodell, Jr. New York, 1885. 8vo. pp. 120.

This paper was read at a meeting of the Society, March 12, 1885, and in part before the New York Historical Society, November 4, 1884.

NEWELL, WILLIAM. Memoir of the Rev. Convers Francis, D.D. Cambridge, 1866. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 233-253.]

OLIVER, FITCH EDWARD. Memoir of the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 14. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 299-308.]

PALFREY, FRANCIS WINTHROP. Memoir of the Hon. George S. Hillard, LL.D. [With memorial verses by William W. Story.] No titlepage. [Boston, 1882.] 8vo. pp. 339-348. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 339-348.]

PARKER, JOEL. The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 54. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 14-65.]

PARSONS, THEOPHILUS. *Memoir of Charles Greely Loring; prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Cambridge, 1870. 8vo. pp. 31. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 263-291.]

PEABODY, ANDREW PRESTON. *Memoir of Rev. Charles Mason, D.D. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. With an Appendix.* Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 39. Portrait. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 104-114.]

———. *Memoir of the Hon. Emory Washburn, LL.D.* Cambridge, 1879. 8vo. pp. 14. Portrait. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 23-32.]

———. *Memoir of John Langdon Sibley.* Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 23. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 487-507.]

———. *Memoir of Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, D.D., LL.D.* Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 22. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 161-177.]

———. *Memoir of James Freeman Clarke.* Cambridge, 1889. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 320-335.]

PEMBERTON, THOMAS. *An Historical Journal of the American War. Extracted from the Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Boston, 1795. 8vo. pp. (2), 206. [Coll. II. 41-246.]

This title also appears in substance in Library catalogues with the date 1793, but it is generally taken from manuscript titlepages [by Mr. Pemberton?] to volumes made up bodily from the Collections, though the copy at the Boston Public Library has a titlepage evidently printed many years later. According to Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," there are two other editions, 1810 and 1813, which I have not as yet seen.

PERKINS, AUGUSTUS THORNDIKE. *A Sketch of the Life and some of the Works of John Singleton Copley, R.A.* Cambridge, 1873. 8vo. pp. 13. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 319-329.]

This Sketch appears with some changes and many additions, in a volume with the following title:—

———. *A Sketch of the Life and a List of some of the Works of John Singleton Copley.* Privately printed, 1873. 8vo. pp. 144.

———. *Memoir of Thomas Coffin Amory.* No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 341-346.]

PERKINS, CHARLES CALLAHAN. *Reminiscences of the Insurrection in St. Domingo.* By Samuel G. Perkins. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 88. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 305-390.]

This appears in the Proceedings, April 15, 1886, and was reprinted with an Introduction and Notes.

PICKERING, JOHN. Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians. By Jonathan Edwards, D.D. A New Edition: with Notes. Boston, 1823. 8vo. pp. 82. [Coll. 2d series, X. 81-160.]

———. Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language. By Josiah Cotton. Cambridge, 1829. 8vo. pp. 112. [Coll. 3d series, II. 147-257.]

The "Advertisement" is signed, the first part by J. D. [John Davis?], and the second by J. P[ickering].

PORTER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. Concerning President Garfield's Ancestry. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 15. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 83-94.]

———. Memoir of the Hon. Charles Hudson. No titlepage. [1887.] 8vo. pp. 28-32. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 28-32.]

———. Memoir of John C. Phillips. With the remarks of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and other tributes. Privately printed. Cambridge, 1888. 8vo. pp. 12. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 33-36.]

PRESCOTT, WILLIAM HICKLING. Memoir of Hon. John Pickering, LL.D. Cambridge, 1848. 8vo. pp. 27. [Coll. 3d series, X. 204-224.]

PUTNAM, FREDERICK WARD. On Jadeite Ornaments from Central America. [1886.] 8vo. 1 p. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 170, 171.]

QUINCY, EDMUND. Memoir of Charles Sprague, prepared for the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1875. 8vo. pp. 17. Portrait. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 39-51.]

QUINCY, JOSIAH. Memoir of James Grahame, LL.D., author of the History of the United States of North America. Boston, 1845. 8vo. pp. 51. [Coll. 3d series, IX. 1-41.]

———. Speech of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, delivered in February, 1858, before the Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, . . . No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 344-351.]

QUINT, ALONZO HALL. Journal of the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, N. H. With an Introduction and Notes. Cambridge, 1876. 8vo. pp. 40. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 117-152.]

This is in part printed in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. III. (1882), pp. 40-67.

RIPLEY, SAMUEL. Memoir of the late Hon. Christopher Gore, of Waltham, Mass. [1827.] 8vo. pp. 17 [21]. [Coll. 3d series, III. 191-209.]

ROBBINS, CHANDLER. Memoir of Hon. William Appleton. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. With an Appendix. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 64. Portrait. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 430-469.]

———. Memoir of the Hon. Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 26. Portrait. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 16-35.]

———. Memoir of Rev. Edmund Hamilton Sears, D.D. No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 224-239.]

SALTONSTALL, LEVERETT. An Historical Sketch of Haverhill, in the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts; with biographical Notices. Boston, 1816. 8vo. pp. (2), 56, (1). [Coll. 2d series, IV. 121-176.]

SARGENT, WINTHROP. Letters of John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, 1772-1776. Compiled from the Original MSS., with an Introduction. Cambridge, 1866. 8vo. pp. 100. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 316-412.]

A list of errata, with pages numbered 509, 510, was printed to be inserted after the Index to the same volume of Proceedings; and this was afterward reprinted separately with many additions, and numbered pages 509-511.

SAVAGE, JAMES. Gleanings for New England History. No titlepage. [1843.] 8vo. pp. 106. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 243-348.]

The copy owned by the Society contains manuscript notes by the author.

SHATTUCK, LEMUEL. Memorials of the Whites. No titlepage. [1854.] 8vo. pp. 215-220. [Coll. 4th series, II. 215-220.]

SHURTLEFF, NATHANIEL BRADSTREET. List of the Printed Maps of Boston. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 37-40; VII. (1863-64), 361-362.]

A large part of this pamphlet is appended to a report of the Standing Committee, made by Thomas C. Amory, June 12, 1862, on Names of Streets. The remaining part, dated August, 1863, was communicated to the Society, April 14, 1864. This is probably a second edition.

SIBLEY, JOHN LANGDON. Notices of the Triennial and Annual Catalogues of Harvard University: with a Reprint of the Catalogues of 1674, 1682, and 1700. Boston, 1865. 8vo. pp. (4), 67. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 9-75.]

One hundred and fifty copies were printed, beside thirty on large paper.

SLAFTER, EDMUND FARWELL. *Memoir of Charles Wesley Tuttle*, Ph.D. Boston, 1885. 8vo. pp. 9. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 406-412.]

———. *Memoir of the Rev. William Stoodley Bartlet, A.M.* Boston, 1886. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 430-434.]

———. *Royal Arms and other Regal Emblems and Memorials in use in the Colonies before the American Revolution.* Boston, 1889. 8vo. pp. 28. Illustrated. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 239-264.]

SMITH, CHARLES CARD. *The Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw, of the American Army, April 20-Sept. 26, 1775. With a Memoir by Emory Washburn, and Notes.* Boston, 1877. 8vo. pp. xiv, 86. Portrait. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 65-160.]

———. *The Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw, of the American Army, April 20-Sept. 26, 1775. Including a Memoir by Emory Washburn, and Notes. With additions by Harriet E. Henshaw. Also Fac-similes.* Boston, 1881. 8vo. pp. xiv, 167. Portrait.

———. *An Account of a part of the Sufferings and Losses of Jolley Allen, a Refugee, March, 1776. With a Preface and Notes.* Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 35. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 67-99.]

Twenty-five copies printed. Another edition appeared later, with the following title, published by Mrs. Stoddard:—

———. *An Account of a part of the Sufferings and Losses of Jolley Allen, a Native of London. With a Preface and Notes by Mrs. Frances Mary Stoddard.* Boston, 1883. 8vo. pp. 52.

———. *Some Extracts from the Orderly Book of Colonel Israel Hutchinson, of the American Army, March 20-July 8, 1776. With an Introduction by Lucius R. Paige, and Notes.* Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 335-364.]

Thirty copies printed.

———. *A Short Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* No titlepage. [1882.] 8vo. pp. (3). [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 390-392.]

———. *Memoir of Delano A. Goddard.* Cambridge, 1882. 8vo. pp. 17. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 438-445.]

———. *Memoir of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D.* Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 19. Portrait. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 403-417.]

- SMITH, CHARLES CARD. *Memoir of George Dexter*. Cambridge, 1885. 8vo. pp. 12. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 327-334.]
- — —. *Memoir of the Hon. John J. Babson*. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 138-143.]
- SULLIVAN, JAMES [?]. *Ode for the 23^d of October, 1792*. [Sung at the Society's Celebration on the three hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of America by Columbus.] Broadside.

Mr. Sullivan wrote an Ode for the Congregational Charitable Society, Boston, February 12, 1795, which was sung by Mr. [Daniel?] Rea. As this Ode is of a similar style, and also sung by Mr. Rea, I have thus attributed the authorship.

- SUMNER, GEORGE. *Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo. pp. 35. Lithograph. [Coll. 3d series, IX. 42-74.]
- THOMAS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. *Sketch of the Life and Judicial Labors of Chief-Justice Shaw*. Boston, 1868. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. X. (1867-69), 50-79.]
- TICKNOR, GEORGE. *Papers discussing the comparative merits of Prescott's and Wilson's Histories, Pro. and Con., as laid before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Prof. Geo. Ticknor, Prescott's proposed biographer; also, three letters of Prescott, commending Wilson's Historical Research*. No titlepage. [1861.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. IV. (1858-1860), 277-283.]
- — —. *Remarks on the Character of the late Edward Everett*. (From the Memorial of Edward Everett.) Boston, 1865. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 130-141.]
- TUDOR, WILLIAM, JR. *Memoir of Hon. William Tudor*. No titlepage. [1819.] 8vo. pp. 41. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 285-325.]
- TUTTLE, CHARLES WESLEY. *New Hampshire without Provincial Government. 1689-1690. An Historical Sketch*. Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 13. Lithograph. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 218-228.]

Fifty copies printed.

- TYNG, DUDLEY ATKINS. *Obituary Notice of Professor Peck*. No titlepage. [1822.] 8vo. pp. 10. [Coll. 2d series, X. 161-170.]
- UPHAM, WILLIAM PHINEAS. *Memoir of the Hon. John Glen King, A.M.* No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 37-40. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 37-40.]
- WALKER, JAMES. *Memoir of Hon. Daniel Appleton White*. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 71. Portrait. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 262-330.]
- — —. *Memoir of Josiah Quincy*. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 76. Portrait. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 83-156.]

WARREN, CHARLES HENRY. Paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, January, 1859. No titlepage. [1859.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. IV. (1858-60), 149-154.]

The subject of this paper is the origin of the uniform of the Continental Army.

WASHBURN, EMORY. Extinction of Villenage and Slavery in England; with Somerset's Case. Boston, 1864. 8vo. pp. 21. [Proc. VII. (1863-64), 307-326.]

———. The Origin and Sources of the Bill of Rights declared in the Constitution of Massachusetts. Cambridge, 1866. 8vo. pp. 22. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 294-313.]

———. Memoir of Hon. Levi Lincoln. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1869. 8vo. pp. 39. Portrait. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 47-83.]

———. Memoir of the Hon. Joel Parker, LL.D. Cambridge, 1876. 8vo. pp. 8. Portrait. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 172-179.]

WATERS, HENRY FITZ-GILBERT. A Brief Description of New England and the Several Townes therein together with the present government thereof. [From a Manuscript written in 1660 by Samuel Maverick, and recently discovered in the British Museum by Henry F. Waters, A.B.] [1885.] 8vo. pp. 28. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 231-249.]

This was communicated by John T. Hassam, and is printed in the Proceedings for October 9, 1884. It also appeared in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXXIX. 33-48) for January, 1885, and was reprinted from the Register type, with a Preface by John Ward Dean, dated January 1, 1885.

WATERSTON, ROBERT CASSIE. Letter written from San Francisco, Cal., to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1870. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 347-354.]

———. Remarks upon the Life and Writings of Charles Sprague. Boston, 1875. 8vo. pp. 16. Portrait. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 427-438.]

———. Story of the Old Elm on Boston Common. Boston, 1876. 8vo. pp. 23. [Proc. XIV. (1875-76), 300-315.]

———. Tribute to William Cullen Bryant. At the Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 13, 1878. With an Appendix. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 53, (1). [Proc. XVI. (1878), 183-194.]

Another edition was published, pp. 53, (2), the same year.

WATERSTON, ROBERT CASSIE. William G. Brooks. No titlepage. [1879.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 12-14.]

———. Memoir of George Sumner. Prepared at the Request of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 37. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 189-223.]

———. Memoir of George Barrell Emerson, LL.D. With a Supplement. Cambridge, 1884. 8vo. pp. 124, (2). Portrait. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 232-259.]

WHITMORE, WILLIAM HENRY. Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest Artist resident in New England, and his successors prior to the Revolution. With additions. Cambridge, 1867. 8vo. pp. 31. [Proc. IX. (1866-67), 197-216.]

———. An Essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts, settled prior to A.D. 1775. To which is prefixed an Essay on the Name of the town of Lexington. Boston, 1873. 8vo. pp. (2), 37. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 393-419.]

———. The Genealogy of the Families of Payne and Gore. Boston, 1875. 8vo. pp. 30. Portrait. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 405-424.]

One hundred and fifty copies were reprinted with some additions, for the Prince Society, for distribution among the members; and these contained the additional title: "The Publications of the Prince Society. Established May 25th, 1858. The Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families."

WILLARD, JOSEPH. Memoir of William Lincoln. Cambridge, 1848. 8vo. pp. 13. [Coll. 3d series, X. 225-235.]

———. Naturalization in the American Colonies, with more particular reference to Massachusetts. Boston, 1859. 8vo. pp. 30. [Proc. IV. (1858-60), 337-364.]

———. Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States, by General Knox. With remarks. Boston, 1863. 8vo. pp. 42. [Proc. VI. (1862-63), 364-403.]

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Governor Bradford's Manuscript History of Plymouth Plantation, and its Transmission to our Times. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 18. [Proc. XIX. (1881-82), 106-122.]

Seventy-five copies printed.

———. Two Brief Papers: being the Abandoned Boston; the extent of the Continental Line of the Revolutionary Army Misconceived. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 10. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 200-207.]

Seventy-five copies printed.

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Arnold's Expedition against Quebec. 1775-1776. The Diary of Ebenezer Wild, with a List of such Diaries. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 12. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 265-275.]

Seventy-five copies printed.

— ——. 1779. Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of New York. A Letter from Andrew McFarland Davis to Justin Winsor. With the Journal of William McKendry. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 45. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 436-478.]

One hundred copies printed.

— ——. Note on the Spurious Letters of Montcalm, 1759. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 202-205.]

— ——. Elder William Brewster, of the "Mayflower:" his Books and Autographs, with other Notes. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 17. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 261-274.]

Seventy-five copies printed.

— ——. [Papers on the Wyoming Massacre, October 13, 1887.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 340-347. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 340-347.]

— ——. The Cartographical History of the North-Eastern Boundary Controversy between the United States and Great Britain. Cambridge, 1887. 8vo. pp. 24. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 349-369.]

Seventy-five copies printed.

WINTHROP, BENJAMIN ROBERT. The Washington Chair, presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Benjamin R. Winthrop, Esq., of New York. No titlepage. [1856.] 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. III. (1855-58), 123-125.]

This is also printed in "The Historical Magazine" (Vol. I. pp. 42, 43) for February, 1857.

WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES. Memoir of the Hon. Nathan Appleton, LL.D. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston, 1861. 8vo. pp. (4), 79. Portrait. [Proc. V. (1860-62), 249-308.]

— ——. [Tribute to Benjamin Silliman and Charles Christian Rafn.] No titlepage. [1864.] 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. VIII. (1864-65), 80-83.]

— ——. [Tributes to Gulian C. Verplanck and Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, April 14, 1870.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 233-239. [Proc. XI. (1869-70), 233-239.]

These pages were printed as they stand in the Proceedings, and a cover was made for the pamphlet, with the title: "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the Annual Meeting, April 14, 1870."

WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES. Letters of Mrs. Lucy Downing, 1626-1674. With a preface containing some account of her distinguished son, Sir George Downing, Bart. Boston, 1871. 8vo. pp. (2), xxxi-xliv, (2), 63. [Coll. 5th series, I. xxxi-xliv, (2), 1-63.]

The unsigned preface, pp. xxxi-xliv, was written by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

— —. The Building and the Finances of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Remarks of the President at the Monthly Meeting, July 13, 1871. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. XII. (1871-73), 131-137.]

— —. The Confession and Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh. No titlepage. [1873.] 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 83-98.]

— —. Memoir of Hon. William Minot, A.M. No titlepage. [1874.] 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 255-259.]

Twelve copies printed.

— —. Agassiz. No titlepage. [1874.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. XIII. (1873-75), 282-287.]

Thirty-six copies printed.

— —. [Remarks at the meeting, October 12, 1876.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 1-8.]

— —. France and the United States. Historical Review, by the Count Adolphe de Circourt. Boston, 1877. 8vo. pp. 55. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 13-64.]

This was communicated, with some remarks, by Mr. Winthrop at a meeting of the Society, October 12, 1876. The "accomplished lady" mentioned in the introduction was Mrs. Martha LeBaron Goddard, wife of our late member Mr. Delano A. Goddard.

— —. [Remarks, October 11, 1877, on the death of M. Thiers.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 314-319. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 314-319.]

— —. Memoir of the Hon. John H. Clifford, LL.D. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [With an Appendix.] Boston, 1877. 8vo. pp. 30. Portrait. [Proc. XV. (1876-77), 368-379.]

WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES. Correspondence of Hartlib, Haak, Oldenburg, and others of the Founders of the Royal Society, with Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. 1661-1672. With an Introduction and Notes. Boston, 1878. 8vo. pp. 49. [Proc. XVI. (1878), 206-251.]

— —. [Remarks at the meeting, September 11, 1879, concerning the King's Chapel Burying Ground.] 8vo. pp. 126-133. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 126-133.]

Pages 121 to 134 of the Proceedings including these remarks were also printed separately without change of paging.

— —. [Tribute to the Memory of Count Adolphe de Circourt.] No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 7. [Proc. XVII. (1879-80), 307-313.]

— —. [Diary of Edward Taylor.] No titlepage. [1880.] 8vo. pp. 4-18. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 4-18.]

— —. [Course pursued by some of the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony toward the English Church.] No titlepage. [1881.] 8vo. pp. 288-301. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 288-301.]

— —. The Portraits of John Hampden, in the Executive Mansion at Washington, and of Lafayette, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States. Boston, 1881. 8vo. pp. 17. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 436-444; XIX. (1881-82), 55-59.]

This was reprinted from the Proceedings of June 9 and September 8, 1881.

— —. [Remarks at the meeting on December 14, 1882.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 37-45.]

This was reprinted from the Proceedings with a cover bearing the title: "Monthly Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 14 December, 1882."

— —. [Remarks at the meeting on February 8, 1883.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. XX. (1882-83), 95-102.]

This was reprinted from the Proceedings with a cover bearing the title, "Monthly Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 8 February, 1883."

— —. Notice of M. Mignet. No titlepage. [1884.] 8vo. pp. 9. [Proc. 2d series, I. (1884-85), 139-145.]

— —. Thomas Handasyd Perkins and the Monument to Washington. No titlepage. [1885.] 8vo. pp. 8. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 140-147.]

— —. Francis E. Parker. No titlepage. [1886.] 8vo. pp. 2. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 209, 210.]

WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES. Original Crayon of Daniel Webster. No titlepage. [1886.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 217-219.]

———. A Night in the Library of Harvard College. No titlepage. [1887.] 8vo. pp. 3. [Proc. 2d series, III. (1886-87), 216-218.]

———. [Report of the Committee in regard to the Figures of four Frenchmen to be grouped around the statue of Lafayette, made to the Society, December 8, 1887.] No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. 2d series, IV. (1887-89), 37-41.]

———. Diplomatic Services of George William Erving, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D. With an Introduction. Cambridge, 1890. 8vo. pp. 32. [Proc. 2d series, V. (1889-90), 4-33.]

———. Notice of Jeremiah Morrow and Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, with a correction of some errors. No titlepage. [1890.] 8vo. pp. 6. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 72-76.]

WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES, JR. Memoir of Robert M. Mason. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 24. Portrait. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 302-317.]

———. A Difference of Opinion concerning the reason why Katharine Winthrop refused to marry Chief Justice Sewall. Boston, 1885. 8vo. pp. 25.

———. Letters of John, Lord Cutts to Colonel Joseph Dudley, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. 1693-1700. [With notes.] Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 31. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 171-199.]

———. Memoir of the Hon. David Sears. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cambridge, 1886. 8vo. pp. 31. Portrait. [Proc. 2d series, II. (1885-86), 405-429.]

YOUNG, EDWARD JAMES. Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College. 1655-1791. Translated and arranged, with an Introduction and Notes. Cambridge, 1880. 8vo. pp. 38. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 119-151.]

———. Professor J. Lewis Diman, D.D. A Memorial Tribute. Cambridge, 1881. 8vo. pp. 16. [Proc. XVIII. (1880-81), 331-340.]

———. Remarks [on the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Martin Luther]. No titlepage. 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. XX. (1882-1883), 355-358.]

———. Remarks concerning a Letter of Lafayette to Washington, made . . . November 13, 1890. 8vo. pp. 4. [Proc. 2d series, VI. (1890-91), 169-171.]

Thirty copies printed.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, from the Committee for publishing a volume of Belknap Papers, reported that the volume

will be ready on the day of the centennial commemoration. It will make a volume of about six hundred and sixty pages, and contains letters from upward of sixty persons. Among them are letters from the Rev. John Eliot of the New North Church, the Rev. Peter Thacher of the Brattle Street Church, both of whom were original members of this Society, Paine Wingate, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Abigail Adams, Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, Benjamin Rush, and Professor Ebeling, the distinguished German geographer. There is also a very interesting account of the church troubles at Dover, New Hampshire, which led to Mr. Belknap's removal to Boston.

The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS exhibited a bill of sale of a negro, while slavery still existed in Massachusetts. It is as follows:—

MILTON June the 9 1747 I the Subscriber Elizabeth Wadsworth of milton have Reced of mr Timothy Tolman of Stoughton the sum of one Hundred and forty pounds old Tenor in full for a negro fello about Eighteen years of age named Primas—I say Recd of me in presence of

BENJAMIN WADSWORTH

ELIZABETH ^{her}+ WADSWORTH.
_{mark.}

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON communicated a letter to Sir William Pepperrell from William Coffin, Jr., an uncle of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin:—

BOSTON Aug^t 19th, 1746.

HONOURABLE S^r,— Having severall times waited on you with a design to Convince you of my innocence in Relation to that unjust aspersion of L^t Coll^t Ry—n's & to begg your assistance in other matters, but you being always exceeding buissey, that I have not had y^e happiness to Converse with you, therefore being emboldn'd from your kindly saying you wou'd serve me when it was in your power, I now trouble you a few lines. I flatter myself had I not been opposed in my Recruiting & so Cruelly used by that false Coll^t, ere now I shou'd have had y^e happiness to have serv'd under you, & when I tell you I am without a freind to mention me to y^e Gov^t in Respect to y^e present Expedition & that by an asurance of your providing for me I have been at some expence of money & a good deal of time in order to have Recruited for your Regim^t tho my endeavours was not Crown'd with Success, & with a Veiw of being under you I quitted the Navey where I was a Rated Midshipman, by that means lost my share of prize money of y^e South Sea Man &c. & in a great measure lost M^r War-

rens freindship by leaving him, from y^e above Considerations, hope you'll excuse my importunity & forgive my Boldness in asking a place in y^e Regim^t as I understand some Gentlemen belonging to y^e Regm^t are to be better provided for in y^e present Expedition. I inclose a letter from my good freind M^r Odiorne to me, in order to shew you that any service you'll be kind enough to do me will be acknowledged by him, if you dont incline to do anything for me in y^e Regm^t, if you'll use y^e influence With y^e Gov^t for me in Relation to y^e present expedition I shall take it as a great favour, Notwithstanding I have taken a great deal of pains to Raise men I have not been able to list any more than fifteen w^{ch} merritts (if any merrit their is in listing men) no more than an Ensigns Comiss^o, Your kind Reception of this letter with any service You'll be pleased to do me, shall ever be gratefully Acknowledged by

Yo^r Most Humble & Most Obedient Serv^t

W^m COFFIN, jun^r

To S^t W^m PEPPERRELL Baronet &c.

MR. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., communicated from the Winthrop Papers some humorous verses entitled "The Strange Escape of Captain Anthony Strange Out of the Prison." The manuscript is in an unknown hand, without date, but apparently at least two hundred years old. Mr. Winthrop said that he had not been successful in discovering who this Captain Anthony Strange was, and whether the prison from which he made his escape was in England or New England. He suggested that perhaps some other member might be able to furnish a clew.

Mr. Winthrop's remarks elicited some inquiries from Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT, Dr. ELLIS, and the Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., with reference to college customs.

Hon. Mellen CHAMBERLAIN said that he had recently received from London a manuscript containing some interesting facts respecting Daniel Leonard, of Taunton, the Loyalist author of the "Massachusettensis" papers, which originally appeared in the "Massachusetts Gazette" during the winter of 1774-1775, and before their completion were brought to a close by the events at Lexington, April 19, 1775.

Although Daniel Leonard was of a very respectable family, of large fortune (of which he made considerable display), a lawyer of some practice, and had participated in the debates through several sessions of the General Court by which he was

elected as one of the Committee of Intercolonial Correspondence formed in 1773,¹ yet neither as lawyer, politician, nor writer on political subjects, is he often mentioned in the histories of those days. This may have been owing to the remoteness of his residence from the scene of immediate political conflict, as was the case with Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, one of the ablest and most useful but least known of the Revolutionary patriots.² But that Leonard was a man of some consequence is evident from his appointment as one of the Mandamus Councillors under the new order of things in 1774. It is a noticeable fact, however, that under the mask of "Massachusettensis," he opened a political controversy which not only threw the Whig camp into consternation, but was noised abroad on both sides of the water, yet with only a conjecture as to its origin. John Adams, then lately returned from the session of the first Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, in which he had greatly distinguished himself in securing the passage of the fourth article of the Declaration of Rights, with characteristic ardor, rushed to the defence in a series of papers, published in the organ of the Whigs, under the signature of "Novanglus." The discussion as a whole was then regarded, as it ever since has been, as the ablest which had appeared, and cannot now be overlooked by one who wishes to understand the constitutional questions then at issue. Nevertheless, it had been preceded by a very able debate in Massachusetts (to say nothing of the "Farmer's Let-

¹ The Journal of its Proceedings, so far as it is known to have been preserved, may be found in the Proceedings of the Society, 2d ser. vol. iv. p. 85; and on page 109 is a reference to a photograph of Daniel Leonard in the Cabinet, which seems to have attracted little attention.

² This matter of residence with reference to Boston was not without important consequences to both parties. Many of the ablest of the Loyalists, such as Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, James Putnam and the Chandlers of Worcester, John Worthington of Springfield, and the Winslows and Thomases of Plymouth County, were too remote from one another as well as from the centre of political affairs, to allow of that ready concert and unity of action which gave promptitude and efficiency to the work of the Boston Whigs, who could assemble at an hour's notice. That stage of the Revolution which immediately preceded the resort to arms was, not only with reference to other colonies, but also to Massachusetts, largely a Boston affair, managed by self-constituted committees; and we find some indications of dissatisfaction in other places at the assumption of the Boston patriots not only to lead, but to dictate the policy of the Whigs elsewhere. An instance of this in 1774, as expressed by Dr. Belknap, then residing at Dover, New Hampshire, may be found reported in the Society's Proceedings, 2d ser. vol. ii. p. 481.

ters," and other papers elsewhere) during the winter of 1773, comprised in the messages of Governor Hutchinson to the General Court, and in the replies of the two houses prepared chiefly by Bowdoin, Hawley, John Adams, and Samuel Adams, who probably had the largest share at least in their composition. Of these neither Hutchinson, Bowdoin, nor Samuel Adams had been trained to the law; but all were graduates of the College, of large experience in political affairs, and of ripe age. Samuel Adams's astuteness as a politician and his skill as a writer, Hutchinson has acknowledged with candor; and Edward Everett once spoke of Hutchinson's messages as very able.

The writers of the "*Massachusettensis-Novanglus*" papers were younger men, — Adams about forty, and Leonard only thirty-four. Lecky, in his "*History of England*,"¹ speaks of Leonard's letters as "very remarkable"; and John Adams's replies, though evidently written in great haste and regardless of order, show erudition and a grasp of principles, in which respect he was not surpassed, perhaps not equalled, by any of his contemporaries. But at times he became almost acrimonious; and where the argument of his antagonist pressed him closely, he was not above resorting to the personal reply.

In this, however, he was wide of the mark; for he supposed at that time and for more than forty years afterwards, that "*Massachusettensis*" was his old and valued friend Jonathan Sewall. How one who was in all the secrets of his own party and in many of those of the other party could have been so much at fault, is incomprehensible; for the Rev. John Eliot, writing from Cambridge, April 11, 1775, to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, at Dover, New Hampshire, says: "*Massachusettensis* and *Novanglus* have taken different routs. Each discovers great ingenuity and learning. The writer of *Mas.* is supposed to be Mr. Leonard, and his antagonist Mr. John Adams. They will both be printed in pamphlets."² The last paper of "*Massachusettensis*" bears date April 3, and that of "*Novanglus*" April 17, 1775; and thus it appears that even before the debate was ended, its authors were rightly conjectured, its importance appreciated, and its circulation in

¹ Vol. ii. p. 442, n.

² Belknap Papers, part iii. p. 86.

a more permanent form contemplated. Leonard, as is now known, took care to conceal his participation in the debate by causing all his papers to be copied before sending them to the printer; and it is not unlikely that his youth, his ostentatious display of wealth and rather luxurious way of living and passing his time, misled John Adams, since the wide and careful reading of recondite English authorities, and the very powerful reasoning of "Massachusettensis," expressed in a correct and interesting style, pointed to a man who, like Jonathan Sewall, had given his days and nights to assiduous study rather than to the excitements of the card-table. Be that as it may, we have John Adams's word for it, that he did not think Daniel Leonard equal to the production of the papers which, nearly fifty years after their publication, he learned were from his pen.

Judge Chamberlain said he had not intended to allude to the authorship of the "Massachusettensis" papers,—for that was well settled,—nor would he repeat the facts of Daniel Leonard's life given in Sabine's "Loyalists," or in the paper of the Society's late associate, Ellis Ames, Esq., to be found in its Proceedings,¹ but merely to call attention to some circumstances brought to light in the memorial which he should presently lay on the table. It was well known that Daniel Leonard, with other Loyalists, left Boston in Sir William Howe's fleet on the evacuation of that town in March, 1776, and that some time afterwards he was appointed Chief Justice of Bermuda. But the precise grounds of his appointment to that place, its emoluments, the difficulties in reaching it, and Leonard's return to England to protect his interests, were, so far as Judge Chamberlain was aware, new, and certainly not without interest in their relation to a man remarkable as one of the ablest constitutionalists of the Revolution. Judge Chamberlain also said that he had speculated, but without other reason than the identity of names, whether or not the Judge Burch mentioned in the memorial could have been William Burch, one of the Commissioners of Revenue in Boston, whose house was attacked by the mob, March 4, 1768, during the riots caused by seizures of smuggled goods under the guns of the "Romney."

The memorial is as follows:—

¹ Vol. xiii. p. 52.

To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury.

The Memorial of Daniel Leonard Chief Justice of Bermuda

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That there is no Salary annexed to the Office he has the honor to hold, and that all the Emoluments arising from it do not exceed £30 per Annum; in consequence of which no professional person has ever held it for any time

That Government having been repeatedly requested to make some Provision for the Administration of Justice in Bermuda the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Sackville when Secretary of State for the American department, was pleased to propose that the Memorialist who had been regularly educated to the profession of the Law should be appointed the Chief Justice

That the Memorialist understanding that the appointment was not lucrative and that the expences of maintaining a Family at Bermuda are much greater than in England, took the liberty to offer his Services, provided the amounts of his Office of Solicitor of the American Customs, which were £360 per Annum and the allowance of £200 as a Councillor of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay, both of which had been given him for his sufferings as an American Loyalist, and both of which he then held as Sine Cures might be made certain

That his Lordship was pleased to say that he considered the offer as reasonable, and by an official Letter recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to give such directions as should be necessary for carrying the proposal into effect

The Memorialist having lately waited upon Lord Viscount Sackville, his Lordship was pleased to say that he well recollects the official transaction to have been as here stated, and that he will signify the same, whenever he should be desired

The Lords of the Treasury upon taking the above mentioned Letter into Consideration, made an Order that the Memorialists Office of Solicitor should cease, and that he should be paid annually its amount being £360 in addition to his allowance of £200 as a Councillor being in the whole £560 per Annum by M^r Rowe, which order appears by the Treasury Books

Upon the faith and credit of this Establishment the Memorialist purchased a Law Library and made all the provision necessary for removing his Family, which then consisted of eight persons, to Bermuda and taking upon him the duties of the appointment. Not being able to get a passage directly to Bermuda, he was obliged to make several Voyages, and to reside with his Family several Months at different Islands in the

West Indies at an expence scarcely credible. At Bermuda he took a Lease of an House for four years ; repaired and furnished it, and made the necessary provision for living there. The doing of all which has been attended with an expence exceeding his establishment near four fold owing to the extravagant price, that every thing bears in the West Indies and more especially at Bermuda in War-time ; But he looked forward with pleasure to the reduction of expences that peace should bring with it, to enable him to fulfill his engagements, having been obliged to draw to the full amount of his establishment as it became due, and to take up a large sum of Money on the credit of it. The attentions shewn him by the Inhabitants rendered his situation in other respects agreeable, and he trusts his public Conduct has not been reprehensible

In December, the Memorialist received advices that Government had directed an Enquiry to be made into the Claims of such of the American Loyalists as had allowances made them, in order to make a reduction, and until that was done it was probable that no future payments would be made

Apprehensive that his Claims would not be fully known unless he was present, and fearing that his Bills would come back and his Creditors that had supplied him with money on the credit of his establishment be uneasy he thought it prudent to come directly to England

Upon requesting his Excellency Governor Brown to grant leave of absence for a short time he expressed a readiness to do it provided some provision should be made for the Administration of Justice in the meantime. The Memorialist accordingly entered into an Agreement in Writing to make a compensation to Judge Burch, on whom the Business devolves, and obtained his Excellency's leave of absence for a few Months

Before the Memorialist arrived in England the Commissioners appointed for examining the claims of the American Loyalists, had taken his case into consideration, and reported a reduction of £260 from the £560 leaving only £300 to be paid in future and upon giving him a very long and candid hearing were pleased to say, that they [had] not made nor could with propriety make him an allowance in consideration of his Claims as Chief Justice of Bermuda, their Examination being from the nature of the appointment restricted to the Claims of American Loyalists as such, and therefore they did not see any reason for altering the report already made

The Memorialist does not ask for any additional allowance for the unforeseen and unavoidable expence that attended his carrying his Family to Bermuda, and making a Settlement there in War-time, as he engaged to do it in Consideration of his Salary which was then promised — Nor for the total derangement of his affairs in being obliged suddenly to leave the Island — nor for the expences attending his

coming to England and returning to Bermuda although he apprehends he has an Equitable Claim thereto— But he trusts your Lordships candour will excuse his claiming from the faith of Government the performance of a Stipulation which was then made to him in continuing the provision of £560 per Annum in some proper mode, unless the Memorialist has been so unfortunate as to have deviated from the line of his duty

Your Lordships Memorialist therefore humbly prays that such a Salary may be annexed to the Office of Chief Justice of Bermuda, as shall be sufficient to support the dignity of his Majestys Commission and shall be an Equivalent to the reduction made from his before mentioned allowance

And the Memorialist as in duty bound shall ever pray

March 23^d 1784 at the desire of M^r Leonard I certify that the agreement made with him respecting his allowance upon his going out Chief Justice to the Island of Bermuda is accurately stated in this Memorial, and I farther Certify that his conduct whilst I was in office justly entitled him to the Confidence and Protection of Government

SACKVILLE.

Mr. ARTHUR B. ELLIS communicated a letter from John W. Blake, of Brattleboro', Vermont, to his daughter, giving an account of the battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane, as it is now called.

BRATTLEBORO', Aug't 22^d, 1814.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,— As it must be very gratifying, I give to you a transcript of a letter under Jones own hand, since the terrible battle at Bridgewater.

FORT ERIE, U. CANADA, Augt. 9th, 1814.

MY DEAR FATHER,— I know you must be anxious to know that I am yet alive, as you must undoubtedly ere this have heard of the sanguinary engagement at Bridgewater. This engagement, my dear father, far, yes very far, exceeds any engagement ever fought in our country, considering the numbers engaged, in point of desperate fighting & numbers killed. The battle of the 5th at Chippewa bears no sort of comparison. I had the honor to command a comp^y in the action which commenced sun $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour high & was pushed with lusty sinew untill $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 at night. I took into the action 20 only of my comp^y, the remainder being on the oposite side of the river with Capt. Foster. Of the 20 taken into the field, 8 were wounded, 5 killed, 7 only escaping unhurt. Our brigade, which is the first, composed of 9th, 11th, & 25 regts., commanded by the brave &

most gallant Scott, commenced the action against twice our numbers, & sustained it for one hour before we were reinforced by the 2^d brigade, they having to march 3 miles. Our line was formed under such a shower of musketry & thundering of artillery as you can have no idea of, the enemy having thirteen pieces of cannon. Many a brave fellow fell at this time. Such a scene I hope may never again be witnessed by any *human* beings. Thank God I have survived it. As I can give you no adequate idea of this desperate conflict, will refer you to the official account you will soon receive. Our loss in killed & wounded, 5 to 600; the enemy's, 9 to 1000. Many of the officers who are our prisoners, & have fought in Egypt, pronounce this the most desperate battle, for the number engaged, that *they* had ever witnessed. You may have some idea of it when I tell you that we four times charged them & crossed bayonets, so that the fire from the enemy's guns burnt our men in many instances. The remainder of the Royall Scotts were all, save 10 or 15, killed & made prisoners by the 25th; among them was the famous *Maj: Genl Riall*, who commanded in the action & was severely wounded, but it is said is recovering. He observed to Genl Scott after the action, that he always knew the Americans to be *brave*, but had no idea that he should find them *desperadoes*. We are now fortified at this post; the enemy $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile from us in considerable force, behind a skirt of wood. Our piquet guards, one hundred yards apart; a firing of musketry, & now & then a little artillery, is of course kept up. They have thrown many shells & shot into our camp, — a shot struck about 10 feet in front of the markee in which I am writing. Genl Gaines commands us, Brown & Scott with their aids being wounded. I am now entitled to a captaincy, one of our capt. being killed in the last action. Shall receive notice of my promotion in the next Army Register — say 2 months. After shifting the *swab*, I am determined to resign my commission as capt. & return to my friends, having satisfied myself that *hard* fighting is not the most pleasant amusement in the world. I have written frequently, but have rec^d only one letter from *you*, none from any other of the family — pray write soon & direct to me at Fort Erie. Love to my dear brothers & sisters — hope I may soon see them — in much haste.

Truly y^r aff't son,

JONES.

I have given you Jones' letter, underscoring & all, with accuracy, that you may be better able to judge of his feelings at this moment — his $\frac{1}{2}$ of the killed & wounded on the different sides is, I take it, an *officer's* acct. & we presume our loss was much greater than is stated. It is said that of 19 recruits of Foster & Jones, from the town of Walpole, only two remain sound, 17 having been killed & wounded. I am highly gratified that your brother appears to think he shall be

satisfied with his military career in course of a week or two. I propose to sett off, with Brother Charles, probably some day of this week, for Canandaigua, to look with him at some lands papa proposes to give him. I have lands & [at?] Jericho in York State which I shall take in the way, and when at Genesee, think we shall extend our jaunt to Buf-faloe [*torn*] Fort at Erie, if indeed ten days hence Americans [*torn*] be permitted to visit it. We have rumours & hand-bills of a battle on the 15th on Erie, in which we are said to have repelled the Britttish with great loss on their side, as usual, & very little loss on ours. Still it is most certain, that two or three such splendid victories as we boast of late, would extinguish the little remnant of regular troops we may have remaining. We are all very well. I go this moment to the post-office, where I hope to find letters from you, & anxiously expect some farther accts from our western frontier. My love to M^r Cabot, my dear little Mary. Continue to be a good child, & write me often. Most affectionately,
Present me most respectfully to
M^r G. Cabot & Lady. I don't
know any treat that I ever expect in this life to participate, which [I] look forward to with more impatience than to meeting them as your patrons & friends. In haste. Adieu, my dear child.

N. B. As husband & wife should have no secrets, I shall hear-after *address your* letters to your husband. So it will be still your task to answer.

[Addressed] HENRY CABOT, Esq^r, Boston.]

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., read an extract from a letter of the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, of White Earth, Minnesota, tending to show a similarity between the dialect of Eliot's Indian Bible and the dialect of the Ojibway Indians at the present day. Mr. Gilfillan says: "At a small country hotel in Minnesota I came across the Lord's Prayer from Eliot's Bible, and it was almost the same as Ojibway; most of the words were perfectly understandable. So I judge Eliot's Bible to be only about as different from Chippewa or Ojibway as Yorkshire English or Lowland Scotch would be from English."

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH read a letter from our associate Mr. Justin Winsor, to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was unavoidably absent, dated London, Dec. 23, 1890. Mr. Winsor writes:—

"I have looked this morning at the MS. map in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, which we ascribe to Governor Winthrop

from the legends on it being in his hand. I give a fac-simile of it in the third volume of my 'America,' from a glass negative which I had made several years ago. It shows Boston and the surrounding country as they understood its geography about 1634. I wished to see it, on the chance of there being something on the back or in the watermark which might throw additional light on it. I found no watermark, and nothing on the back but the words, in the Governor's handwriting, 'Massachusetts in N: Englande.' The MS., which is folded once, as bound in a folio, not very thick, of other maps, some relating to America, shows the creases which indicate that it was folded to be enclosed in a letter. Such letter, if it could be found, would doubtless be helpful in aiding the inquirer in tracing the progress of the early settlers' knowledge of the country about Boston. There is no apparent clew to such letter from the map's position among the MSS.; but I have always had a suspicion that such a letter might be undistinguished in their catalogue. Maunde Thompson, the principal Librarian, told me he would have a search made at some early date. Apparently the map had been copied by pricking through with the point of a needle all the details. If this copy had been made since the rise of interest in such subjects, one would think it might not have been buried from sight for so many years. It is quite possible that it might have been done somewhere near the time of its transmission to England.

"I have been devoting a good deal of time in examining the methods of keeping archives at the Public Record Office, and at the Foreign Office and other departments of the government, as well as in the British Museum, where the papers of statesmen come naturally in due time. We are apt to think that arrangements of this kind are perfect in England. I find many defects in the system; but it is not easy to see how, with human agencies, some of the defects can be removed. . . .

"If the Committee now charged on the part of the American Historical Association to promote the founding of a Public Record Office and Historical MSS. Commission in Washington,—and now as a section of the Smithsonian Institution such committee is acting with a sort of official prestige,—can ever get a bill to that end through Congress, I hope that the defects as well as the benefits of the English system will be understood. The working here shows that we must not look for perfection so long as human agencies are the means. . . .

"We have much to do, after Congress is induced to take the step which we urge, in getting a building fit rather for its purpose than as an architectural monument to be gaped at, and in getting a staff which is properly instructed, suitably paid, and free from the necessity of subserviency to political chiefs."

Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS communicated the memoir of the late Richard H. Dana, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

A new serial of the Proceedings was ready for delivery at this meeting.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. RICHARD H. DANA, LL.D.
BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

RICHARD HENRY DANA was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 1, 1815, and died at Rome, Italy, January 6, 1882.

He came from an old Massachusetts stock long resident in Cambridge, the early records of which town mention one Richard Dana in the year 1640. How long he had then been in the country does not appear.

Mr. Dana was a descendant of lawyers on both the father's and the mother's side, his great-grandfather, who also was named Richard, having married one of the Trowbridge family, eminent in the judicial records of the Massachusetts Colony. His grandfather, Francis Dana, was a delegate from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress, and in 1780 was appointed by it the first American minister to the Court of Russia. He afterwards held a succession of high offices, finally becoming (1791) the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, from which position he retired in 1806.

Chief Justice Dana married Elizabeth Ellery, a member of the well-known Ellery family of Newport, Rhode Island, and by her had seven children. The second of these was Richard Henry Dana, the first of that name, who was born in 1787, and died in 1879. He is remembered as a poet and essayist. His eldest son, the subject of this memoir, was named after him.

Mr. Dana was educated in the schools of Cambridge and Cambridgeport, and in 1825, when he was ten years old, was a pupil of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who for a time kept a private school in Cambridge. In July, 1831, he entered Harvard College, and soon took a high rank in his class. As a result of one of the so-called rebellions, which were of almost constant

8

1-
2.
n
e
n

's
as
y,
y.
n-
d
e
g
n-

of
d
d
d
is

d
a
te
ol-
of
nt



Niel H. Danc Jr

recurrence at that period in the history of the college, he was, towards the close of his Freshman year, suspended, and passed six months of rustication with the Rev. Leonard Woods, Jr., afterwards president of Bowdoin College, who then was a resident licentiate of Andover Theological Seminary. Returning to Cambridge when his period of suspension was over, Mr. Dana had finished his Sophomore and just entered on his Junior year, when he had an attack of measles which left his eyes so weak that for a while he could not endure the ordinary light of day, and even when they grew better any effort at reading caused him intense pain. After this had continued for several months, he made up his mind to take a long sea-voyage, in order at once to relieve himself from the weariness of his situation at home, to see strange lands and modes of life, and, if possible, to restore his strength of sight. Accordingly, he sailed from Boston in the brig "Pilgrim" on the 14th of August, 1834, and, passing nearly two years upon the coast of California, he returned in the ship "Alert," reaching Boston on the 22d of September, 1836. This was the voyage an account of which he afterwards wrote under the title of "Two Years before the Mast,"—a book which has since become a classic, and taken its place in literature as "the greatest sea-book that was ever written in any language."¹

In December, 1836, Mr. Dana joined the Senior class at Harvard, remaining with it until graduation, a period of only six months. During this time his marks made him first scholar in his class; but as at graduation he had been with it less than a year no special rank was given him, though in the Commencement exercises he was assigned the part which usually falls to the fifth scholar.

Deciding to study law, he entered the Dane Law School, over which Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf then presided. He was also instructor in elocution in Harvard College, having received his appointment in January, 1839. In February, 1840, he resigned this position, and left the Law School, entering the office of the late Charles G. Loring, of Boston, to obtain a knowledge of practice.

During this period he wrote his book "Two Years before the Mast," which was published in 1840. In 1841 he brought

¹ W. Clark Russell, "On the Death of Richard Dana," in "My Watch Below," Harper's Franklin Square Library, No. 264, p. 61.

out a second book, entitled "The Seaman's Friend." In September, 1840, he opened an office in Boston, and began the practice of the law. A year afterwards he married Miss Sarah Watson, a daughter of William Watson, of Hartford, Connecticut. Between the years 1842 and 1848 Mr. Dana devoted himself to the practice of his profession, occasionally lecturing before country lyceums on Edmund Burke and other topics. In July, 1848, he made his first appearance in political life as Chairman of a Free-Soil meeting held at Tremont Temple. He was then in his thirty-second year, and up to that period of his life had been a member of the Whig party. Having now joined the Free-Soil party, in August, 1848, he attended the Buffalo convention which nominated Martin Van Buren, of New York, for the Presidency, and in the deliberations of the convention he took an active part. During the years 1849 and 1850, while following actively the practice of his profession, he interested himself in the politics of Massachusetts, and in 1851, the Fugitive Slave Law being then in operation, he became counsel for Shadrach, the first fugitive arrested in Boston, who was almost immediately rescued by a mob. Subsequently, Mr. Dana was of counsel for the parties indicted for the rescue. In April of the same year occurred the famous Sims fugitive slave case, in which also Mr. Dana was counsel.

A convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, having been called the previous year, met in the State House at Boston in May, 1853. Mr. Dana was a member of this convention, representing the town of Manchester. He took a most active part in its deliberations, and in formulating their results. His action as a member of the convention added greatly to his reputation both as a lawyer and a debater.

In May, 1854, occurred another and the last case in Massachusetts under the Fugitive Slave Law. Anthony Burns was arrested in Boston upon charge of breaking into and robbing a jewelry-store. He was at once carried to the court-house, where he was held in close confinement until his trial before United States Commissioner Edward G. Loring. His rendition was ordered, and took place upon the 2d of June following. Mr. Dana acted as the counsel of Burns throughout. After the trial was over, and Burns had been delivered to the claimant, Mr. Dana was assaulted while on his way to his home in

Cambridge by one of the ruffians composing what was called the Marshal's Guard in that case, and came near losing his life.

In 1856 he visited England, where, both on account of his book and of the course he had pursued in the Fugitive Slave cases, he received numerous and gratifying social attentions.

Returning to America in September, 1856, for the next four years Mr. Dana devoted himself assiduously to the practice of his profession. Early in 1859 he made a hurried visit to Cuba, which resulted in the publication of a small volume recounting his experiences and the results of his observation while in that island, which was published under the title of "To Cuba and Back."

In May, 1859, Mr. Dana's health broke down in consequence of overwork, and it became necessary for him to abandon the practice of his profession for the time being, and seek rest and recovery in prolonged travel. He accordingly left home on the 20th of July following, for a voyage round the world, in the course of which he visited California, the Sandwich Islands, China and Japan, the East Indies, returning by way of Egypt, Venice, Turin, Switzerland, and England, reaching home on the 27th of September, 1860.

As the result of the presidential election of 1860, Mr. Dana was in May, 1861, appointed United States District Attorney for the district of Massachusetts. As District Attorney, he rendered, during the War of the Rebellion, most efficient professional service in connection with the so-called Prize causes (2 Black, 635), arguing the questions of constitutional law involved before the Supreme Court of the United States. This case was one of the most important ever decided by a legal tribunal, as upon it depended the right of the United States Government to maintain a blockade of the Confederate ports.

While holding the position of United States District Attorney, Mr. Dana edited an edition of Wheaton's "Elements of International Law." This work afterwards involved him in a long and vexatious litigation with William Beach Lawrence, the editor of the two immediately preceding editions of the "Elements," which continued in the courts from October, 1866, to July, 1881, when the report of the Master in Chancery to whom it was referred was at last made. This

report practically exonerated Mr. Dana from the charge of plagiarism which had been advanced against him.

Resigning the office of District Attorney on account of his unwillingness to co-operate in the policy of reconstruction after the Rebellion inaugurated by President Andrew Johnson, Mr. Dana returned to the practice of his profession, which he continued until August, 1878, when, from considerations of health, he finally withdrew from it and went to Europe, with the intention of there preparing a treatise upon international law.

In the years 1866-1867 and 1867-1868 Mr. Dana was a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts. In the autumn of 1868 he made a canvass of the fifth district of Massachusetts, known as the Essex District, as a candidate for Congress, in opposition to Gen. B. F. Butler. The issue upon which he became a candidate was that of the national credit as affected by the proposal to pay the bonds of the United States in legal-tender currency.

Mr. Dana was elected a member of this Society Sept. 9, 1858.¹ He was too much immersed in his profession to take a continuous and active part at its meetings, but he participated in the proceedings on the occasion of the death of Josiah Quincy² and on that of Edward Everett.³ On another occasion he brought to the notice of the Society curious historical documents found among the papers of his family.

He was, in 1864, elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

On the 22d of February, 1865, Mr. Dana delivered an address on the Life and Character of Edward Everett before the city authorities of Cambridge. On the 19th of April, 1875, he delivered the address at Lexington at the centennial of the revolutionary action of that day.

He was chosen one of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College in 1865, and served upon it for two successive terms until 1877. During the academic years 1866-1867 and 1867-1868 he delivered courses of lectures on the subject of International Law before the Law School of Harvard University. He was Vice-President of the Harvard chapter of the *Φ B K* Society during the years 1863-1871, and was President of the

¹ Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 123.

² Ibid., vol. vii. pp. 398-405.

³ Ibid., vol. viii. pp. 152-154.

chapter from 1871 to 1876. He was elected President of the Union Club of Boston in December, 1867, and served as such through the years 1868-1870.

In religion Mr. Dana was a devout Episcopalian, and as such became an original member (1844) of the Church of the Advent Society of Boston.

Retiring from his profession in August, 1878, as I have said, Mr. Dana passed the remaining years of his life in Europe, revisiting this country once only, in the summer of 1881. At the time of his death he was at work on the first chapters of the treatise on international law, in the preparation of which he had for several years been engaged.

The work of preparing a memoir of Mr. Dana was assigned to me by Mr. Winthrop, then President of this Society, at a meeting held on the 12th of January, 1882, immediately after Mr. Dana's death. I subsequently called upon the family for the material and data necessary to enable me to prepare such a memoir; and, in response to my request, they most kindly put in my hands a large body of matter, both in manuscript and print, including the diaries and correspondence of Mr. Dana, together with his familiar letters to members of his own family and others. An examination of these papers satisfied me that they contained much of interest and value, which should not be lost. My memoir, therefore, gradually expanded into a biography, which has recently appeared in two octavo volumes; and a copy of it has been placed in the Library of the Society. Under these circumstances a more detailed memoir here of the events and points of greater interest in the life of Mr. Dana becomes unnecessary.

CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION.

THE one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society was celebrated in the Arlington Street Church, on Saturday, Jan. 24, 1891, the exercises beginning at twelve o'clock, M. While the Society and its guests were assembling, numerous familiar tunes were played on the chime of bells in the church tower, and after the audience were seated a voluntary on the organ was played by the organist of the church.

The President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, then rose and made the following introductory address:—

The Massachusetts Historical Society, through some of its members, and through the use of the treasured materials in its cabinets and upon its shelves, has aided in very many of the occasions of centennial and other commemorative observance of incidents and events in our general and local annals. The date has now been reached when the Society has thought it to be fit to have an observance of that character for itself. This centennial is to be simple and undemonstrative. We would commemorate our founders, and dignify their aims and work. The worship of ancestors is not altogether a heathen prompting, if we avail ourselves of the range of usage for the word "worship," and make a judicious selection among ancestors.

We trace our birth, as a Society, to the "First Meeting," a hundred years ago, in a private house, in pleasant fellowship, of ten good and cultivated men in professional employments, whose forethought took in a desirable object which is to us a reality. They were all natives of Massachusetts, mostly of Boston. They had all passed through the perils and sacrifices of our Revolutionary struggle. They knew well the worthy stock from which they had sprung, and the annals of the Colonial and Provincial eras. They knew that Massachusetts had, and would have, a history. They planned and animated this Society—the first of all those now so numerous in the Union of States—with a view primarily to the record and

conservation of the history of this Commonwealth. The time of their meeting was most opportune for its purpose, of gathering and preserving valuable materials then scattered and exposed to decay and loss. Each one of that little fellowship had already quietly and diligently been an intelligent and discriminating collector of such papers. These they brought in at successive meetings, to begin for those who should follow them the now large and rich deposit. The best furnished of those founders in especial tastes, knowledge, and experience was that honored and revered man, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, who, at the time, was the minister of the religious society now in succession continuing its existence and work in this place of worship. The incorporated society which they instituted had a charter limit of sixty members. This was extended in 1857 to one hundred members. Doubtless this limit would have since been further extended had not the formation in the State of numerous other societies, general and local, for like historical objects, engaged congenial fellowships of members and workers.

Up to this date, our full roll bears the names of three hundred and sixty-four Resident Members. As one by one they have passed among the stars, the friendly hand of some associate has committed a memoir of them to the printed page. Having been privileged with membership through just half of the century of the Society, I have personally known at least three quarters of those who in the swift generations have been on that roll. As I have run my eye over it, I have been impressed by the thought that it is a largely inclusive list of the scholars and writers in this State, in biography, history, and general literature, with senators, judges, high magistrates, eminent merchants, who were more than merchants, and benefactors of city, State, and nation.

The Society has issued, of its own publications, eighty-three volumes; while independently of its mediumship, its members have been the editors and authors of very many contributions in all departments of literature.

Addressing myself for a moment solely to the members of the Society, let me say that if we were meeting now in our own halls, the sad but grateful office would engage us of paying our tribute of profound respect to the exalted character and the eminent career, in professions of war and peace, of the last of

our Resident Members so recently removed by death. We hesitate whether to speak of him by his military or judicial title, for Charles Devens was equally able and honored as general and as judge. He had been anticipating with pleasure and interest a share in this occasion. The date will soon come when that tribute will be offered by us.

And only with the same brevity can we refer to the fact that the death, in his ninety-first year, of our nation's great historian, George Bancroft, removes from our roll the name which had been longest on it, before that of any now living, as a Resident Member, till his removal from this State, and since as leading our Honorary list. We wait for the opportunity to commemorate him.

Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, — the senior in age among the members, and the third on the roll.

Our Father who art in heaven, we honor thee as the creator, the lawgiver, and the final judge of men. We rejoice in the consciousness that thou art also our preserver and benefactor, the Father of our spirits, the giver of every good gift and every perfect gift. We thank thee for the manifold blessings which thou hast bestowed upon us; and especially at this time and on this occasion would we thank thee for those institutions of education and religion and civil liberty which we inherit from our Puritan and Pilgrim ancestors, brave and devout men, who feared God and endeavored to obey his commandments as they understood them; men who forsook the comforts of home and civilization and exposed themselves to the perils and privations of the wilderness, that they might worship thee according to the dictates of their own consciences without let or hindrance; men who manifested the same zeal for God when they set their faces as flint against those whom they regarded as interlopers, preachers of damnable heresies, and disturbers of the public peace. We thank thee that when they had accomplished their work and slept in the dust, their posterity for successive generations, though abating somewhat from the rigor of their exclusiveness, cherished and maintained the institutions which they had established, and that they not only cherished these, but at length, through the force of argument and by force of arms, secured the substantial privilege of

self-government. We thank thee that in due time, a hundred years ago, an association was formed for the purpose of ascertaining so far as they could the virtues, the labors, and the success of their ancestors, to the end that their memory might not perish from the earth and might be honored by posterity; and although these also one by one have fallen asleep, that thou hast supplied their places by others, so that the association still exists, and this day assembles to thank thee for thy past mercies and to implore thy blessing on the future. We pray that thou wilt make us faithful to the work assigned us, remembering that to honor one's parents is the first commandment given with promise, and that we honor them not only by obeying their commands in our minority and ministering to their comfort in their old age, but by perpetuating the memory of their virtues and their good deeds. We pray thee to make us faithful even unto death; and when time with us shall be no longer, we beseech thee to permit us to unite with every creature in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, in ascribing blessing, and honor, and glory, and power unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb forever and ever. Amen.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

Happily our associate whose name has been longest on the roll of our Resident Members is with us to-day. That name has borne its honors not only through the century of this Society, but from the beginning of our wilderness history. The venerated father and founder of Massachusetts, whose own autograph journal of its plantation is enshrined in our cabinet, is represented by a living voice which we are to hear. Robert C. Winthrop was our faithful and honored President for thirty years. There is no reason, but in his own will, why he is not still so to-day. I will ask him on this occasion to say a few words to us,—which is all that he has promised.

Mr. WINTHROP's address was as follows:—

I thank you, Mr. President, I thank you sincerely, for the compliment of this call and for the kind terms in which you have expressed it. I heartily wish it were in my power to render any more adequate response. It is, however, a most gra-

cious and welcome arrangement of our Committee which has summoned us oldest members and oldest men to the front, at the outset of these exercises, to invoke, it may be, the blessing of God, or to say our little say and be disposed of, leaving a clear and ample field for our accomplished and eloquent younger brother, Colonel Higginson. To him, I am conscious, belong rightfully the topics and the time of this occasion, and I shall trespass very briefly upon either of them. I could not, however, my friends, I could not find it quite in my heart to refuse altogether the invitation of the Committee, and to be wholly silent on this Hundredth Anniversary of a Society with which I have been so long and so peculiarly connected.

It is true, Mr. President, as you have reminded us, it is true, though it seems to me like as a dream when one awaketh, that I am in my fifty-second year of membership, having been a Resident Member for more than one half, and President for nearly one third, of the whole century which is commemorated to-day. I cannot forget that my immediate predecessor in the order of election was the genial and beloved Prescott, whose "Ferdinand and Isabella" — which will have a new interest for us as the anniversary of the advent of Columbus approaches — holds no second place among those historical triumphs which have been successively achieved by our lamented Ticknor and Sparks and Palfrey and Frothingham and Motley and Bancroft, and by our living and still laboring Francis Parkman.

Had this celebration occurred only a single week earlier, my friends, I might have said, and should have said, that there was one left, the only one, of those by whom I was elected and into whose company I was admitted fifty-two years ago. George Bancroft was then a Resident Member of our Society, just entering upon those historical labors which have rendered him so illustrious throughout the world. To-day, when his grave is but just closed, we can remember him only, as I certainly do, with heartfelt emotions of respect, of affection, and of sorrow.

I dare not detain you by dwelling on the occasions when Edward Everett was charming us by his tributes to Humboldt and Hallam and Lord Macaulay, and to our great benefactor, Thomas Dowse; or when the venerable Josiah Quincy, so long our senior member, was entertaining us with extracts from his

patriot father's journal, or with his own personal reminiscences of Washington; or when dear old James Savage was electrifying us with flashes of wit, or astounding us with some nugget of history freshly dug out from mines which he was never weary of exploring; or when Emerson was regaling us with some of his humorous and pungent paragraphs about Thomas Carlyle or with his glowing praises of Walter Scott; or, once again, when good George Livermore was ushering us with so much rapture into that Dowse Library, which he had done more than any one else to secure, arrange, and decorate, and where sons and grandsons have since been welcomed to the chairs of their fathers or grandfathers. All these incidents in our proceedings, and many others like them, are fresh in the memory of others as well as of myself, and I must hasten to a conclusion.

Until this Society was organized a hundred years ago to-day, by our eminent and revered founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, — prompted, as we may not forget, by Mr. John Pintard, of the St. Tammany Society of New York, — no historical society existed in America. I am not sure that there was such a society in any part of the world. But the fulness of time had come. The Constitution of the United States had been adopted. Washington was already in the second year of the first term of his illustrious and incomparable presidency. A glorious future was just opening for our country, and for political and human liberty everywhere, though by many eyes it could only be seen as through a glass darkly. It was only our great Bostonian, Franklin, who, as he gazed at the emblem on the back of the chair in which Washington had been seated as president of the Constitutional Convention, saw plainly that it was a rising and not a setting sun.

The past, however, was secure. And the history of that eventful and memorable past — of that long Colonial and Provincial period from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, and even before Jamestown, to Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill and Saratoga and Yorktown — with all its varied and momentous incidents, out of which a glorious nation had at length been evolved — for it was evolution even more than revolution which made us a nation — was still to be rescued from any danger or risk of oblivion, and its precious records to be gathered up and embalmed for posterity.

That most interesting and most valuable department of historical labor has recently culminated in the production of "The Narrative and Critical History of America," by our indefatigable Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Winsor, now seeking fresh materials in Europe; and, let me add, in the still more recent production of "The Genesis of the United States," by Alexander Brown, of Virginia, to which, as the author states in his preface, our ever-lamented associate Charles Deane "gave his helping hand from the beginning to the end." In all that line of work this Massachusetts Historical Society was the acknowledged and recognized pioneer.

It stood alone for ten or twelve years; but under its influence and example there is now hardly a State, a county, a city, town, or village without its historical society, or something of the same sort. Meantime an American Historical Association has reached its seventh year with a charter from Congress, and promises excellent results. I am by no means sure, however, that it remains for any other Society, national, State, or local, to exhibit richer and more abundant fruit than that to which we can this day point.

A few more words, Mr. President, and I shall eagerly resume my seat; for my voice, which has served me so faithfully during a long, long life, has of late so sadly failed me that I dare not attempt to press it further. Our Society's first century is completed. It is not for me to speak of the great names which have adorned its roll, or to review its varied and invaluable record, or to enlarge on the results of its influence and example in all parts of the country. I think we may point to them all with just satisfaction and pride. But let me only, in conclusion, express my fervent hope that this venerable Society may have a second century as honorable and as distinguished as its first,—I cannot ask for more; that our Commonwealth and our whole country may never cease to furnish scenes and subjects worthy to be recorded and illustrated; and that pens and tongues may never be wanting to portray them with attractiveness, with brilliancy, and above all, with truth;—ever recognizing and ever obeying those two great laws of history so tersely proclaimed by the matchless orator of ancient Rome: *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat; ne quid veri non audeat*:—"Never daring to say what is false, nor ever not daring to say what is true."

At the conclusion of Mr. WINTHROP'S remarks, the following anthem was sung by the regular church choir:—

“ Praise God in his holiness.
Praise him in the firmament of his power,
Young men and maidens, old men and children,
Praise the name of the Lord.
Let the saints be joyful with glory.
Let them rejoice in their beds;
Let everything that hath breath
Praise the Lord.
Praise God in his holiness. Amen.”

The PRESIDENT then said:—

The earliest historical paper on the actual occupancy of this Bay Colony, written in part on the sea and in part at Salem, is from the pen of Francis Higginson, the chosen minister of the advance settlement before the coming of Winthrop's company. The name and lineage of Higginson have ever since been in honor and service here. It was held by the founders of our Puritan State that the same individual citizen, according to his gifts and the need of the times, might serve the Commonwealth in various capacities,—in the ministry, the magistracy, and the soldiery, as witness the names of Saltonstall, Sewall, Stoughton, and others. We have asked our associate Thomas Wentworth Higginson to address us on this occasion. He has filled the Puritan ideal of a citizen's range of office,—elder, reformer, military commander, historian, Deputy to the Great and General Court, and is now the military historian of the Commonwealth.

Mr. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON then spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—To the list of modest services which has been so kindly given by the President, his predecessor, the earlier President of this Society, has added one which, at the present stage of affairs at least, I find dearer than any other. I know no other association than the Massachusetts Historical Society where a man in the sixties might still be designated and invited to speak

as a younger brother; and with that charming greeting still in my ears, I shall avail myself of the few lingering privileges of youth to address you upon an occasion which appeals so deeply to us all.

The approaching quatercentennial celebration of the discovery of America by Columbus recalls to us the fact that nearly one hundred years ago, on Oct. 23, 1792, the founder of this Society, the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, gave an address by its request on the tercentennial anniversary of the same event. He was a man of various attainments, as well as varied services, — so varied, indeed, that one feels surprised that there is as yet no memorial of him upon the walls of this church. The address covers an immense range of themes, as was the wont of the multifarious men of that day, before the age of specialists; and it closes with this happy prognostication: "Notwithstanding any present unfavorable appearances, yet we have the greatest reason to expect that the time will come when knowledge will universally prevail." Sustained by this robust hope, Dr. Belknap dismisses the readers of the printed discourse, adding only a few supplementary essays, — one "on the question whether the honey-bee is native to America"; and another on "the color of the native Americans and the recent population of this continent." The first of these points, as to the honey-bee, may now be regarded as settled; but the last is not, in all parts of the land, a point on which knowledge can yet be said universally to prevail.

But the spirit of this address — its frank and universal desire to know, to think, and to record — marks the atmosphere in which this Society had its being. At the close of its first hundred years it is a pleasure to think that it had its origin not in the whim of a monarch, nor even the foresight of a statesman, but in the spontaneous activity of honest and busy minds. Its formation did not represent, moreover, the first dawning of the historic consciousness in the New England colonies, but was only the first effort to organize that consciousness. No set of new colonists, probably, ever recorded their own history so promptly and continuously as did the founders of New England. A modern thinker (Thoreau) has expressed the opinion that we never can write in a diary what most interests us, because to write in the diary is not that which most interests us. But the leaders of the Ply-

mouth and Salem colonies wrote from the very beginning; each new colony was born writing, as one might say, — as if a baby were to raise his head from his cradle, and demand pen and ink to put down his experiences. They kept back nothing, so far as they knew it, — their events, their needs, their sins; we know what they had for breakfast, though it might be clams or frost-fish; we know wherewithal they were clothed. This from the earliest period; and when we come to the storm and stress of the Revolution it is the same thing. Men came through it historians of themselves; and so, on an unknown day in the year 1790, five educated men, all of whom had taken a vigorous part in public affairs, met to organize the first historical society in America.

Two of these were lawyers and judges, who had seen thoroughly the unsettled temper of the time, — Judge Tudor and Judge Winthrop. The first of these had been judge-advocate on General Washington's staff; the second had been wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill. Three of the number were of those Revolutionary clergymen who played, like *Æsop's* trumpeter, a more important part in the contest than the very soldiers. John Eliot had been chaplain to a regiment. Jeremy Belknap had declined a chaplaincy, but had long since (1772) preached a sermon on "Military Duty," had gone about preaching in the camps round Boston, and has left us in his journals the most graphic account of their condition. Peter Thacher had prepared for the Committee of Safety an official "Report on the Battle of Bunker Hill," though he preached a sermon against "Standing Armies," and was so suspicious towards despots that he opposed in the State Convention the very creation of that office now regarded as too much shorn of its power, the governorship of Massachusetts. And as these five men were thus imbued with the spirit of their time, so they were already furnished with the materials for its history. Belknap had in his hands inestimable collections of Revolutionary correspondence, besides the diaries of both the Mathers; Eliot had the manuscript of Hubbard's "History of New England," rescued by his father, Andrew Eliot, from the flames of Hutchinson's house, and afterwards printed by this Society; Thacher and Winthrop had some of the papers of their prominent and influential families. They all remembered the destruction of the Harvard College library by fire, that of Thomas

Prince's precious manuscripts by the British, that of Hutchinson's priceless collections by a mob. They resolved to bring together and preserve — in print if possible — what of historic material they could obtain; and the eighty volumes of this Society's publications are the monument of their endeavor.

First, however, they must enlarge their number. These five men agreed that at the next meeting each should bring a friend, thus introducing that element of clubable friendship which all such societies are sometimes accused of making too prominent. Thus were added the Hon. James Sullivan, brother of the General of that family, — himself an ex-member of Congress, the historian of Maine and of the Penobscot Indians, and afterwards Governor of the State; the Rev. Dr. James Freeman, to whom we owe the transcription and preservation of the Plymouth Colony Records; Judge Minot, the historian of Shays's Insurrection and author of a continuation of Hutchinson's History; Thomas Wallcut, the Secretary of the Society, many of whose valuable papers are now the property of the American Antiquarian Society; and Dr. Baylies, of Dighton, a member of Congress and also of the State Provincial Congress and Constitutional Convention. It would have been hard to find in the men of that day a stronger combination of able members to constitute the nucleus of a historical society. They met for organization, Jan. 24, 1791, a hundred years ago to-day.

The Society began its modest career in Judge Tudor's study; then met in Judge Sullivan's; was then promoted to an upper attic in Faneuil Hall; then migrated to a new building erected as a linen factory on what is now Hamilton Place, where it was the guest of the Massachusetts Bank; and then, in 1793, to a new building in the Tontine Crescent. At first, like all such societies, it was somewhat too comprehensive in its purposes, deriving from Dr. Belknap a strong inclination for natural history. As has been seen, he was interested in the honey-bee; he had recorded with interest in his diary of 1759 that bears were very numerous in Cambridge, and had killed several people; and he went on the first scientific exploration of the White Mountains in 1784. The original plan of the Society included a natural history collection, and the early records specify among its treasures two stones, called the Devil's Foot and the Petrified Kitten. The

plan specifies that the accounts of the Society should always be kept in dollars and cents, and the circulars of information were comprehensive enough for a census. In all these respects it ran curiously parallel with another early society established in New York, between which and it there were frequent negotiations, — the now famous society of St. Tammany, afterwards called Tammany alone. The negotiations took place through a Mr. Pintard, who is described by Dr. Belknap as “very loquacious and unreserved,” neither of which traits became latterly descriptive of the Society he represented. That Society, however, seems gradually to have dropped history and natural history for pursuits of more immediate human interest. It concluded that the proper study of mankind is man; and its accounts, though doubtless kept like ours, in dollars and cents, are not always so easily accessible to the public.

The long career of our own Society has been indicated to you by our President, and it has been the parent of many other State historical societies. The service done by them can never be fully measured; for this service is, in the nature of the case, composite and perhaps fragmentary. Instead of dwelling in detail upon such services, instead of giving in detail the list of publications or the catalogue of great names, it seems to me better to revert to the principles which lie or should lie beneath their work. Once in a century is surely not too often to revise those principles or to reassert them.

That these societies have created, or even largely and expressly proclaimed, what is called “the modern scientific theory” of history, can hardly be asserted; but that they have furnished many of its documents, and that in a true spirit, can safely be maintained. It must be remarked that the word “scientific” is itself a word permitting a great range of meaning, and, indeed, resembles a box with a false bottom, of which you never know how much or how little it contains. The name is a label so cheap and easy that it covers all things, — from the books which are all facts and no theory to those which are all theory and no facts. The patient reader is sometimes tempted to paraphrase Madame Roland’s rather apocryphal appeal to liberty, and say, “O Science, what crimes are committed in thy name!” Of the most conspicuous representative of what is called the modern method, Herbert Spencer, a younger English historian, himself eminent, once

said to me that in his opinion Mr. Spencer had never yet so much as learned what historical evidence meant; that where he found a fact that looked toward his theory, no matter though it rested only on some stray anonymous line in a newspaper, in it went. *Tantène cœlestibus iræ!* However unjust or hasty may be this assertion in regard to Mr. Spencer, it is unquestionably within the truth as regards many who have shielded themselves under cover of his great reputation.

Perhaps it would be safest to say that if mathematics, or even chemistry, may be classed as exact sciences, history must undoubtedly be placed among the inexact. Defined once as "a fable agreed upon," the advance of time often only enhances its difficulties. The daughter of Lord North told Rogers that her father disliked reading history "because he doubted its truth"; and Horace Walpole says that Sir Robert Walpole in his old age would not allow him to read history aloud, saying, "Anything but history; for that must be false." Whether we hold with Mr. Winsor that it should rest mainly on the security of formal and official documents, or with Mr. McMaster that it should rest largely on the contemporary evidence of letters and newspapers, the truth may equally elude us. If we trust official documents, we must believe, against all evidence, that the Mexican War began by act of Mexico. If we trust the newspapers, we cannot extract a single correct version by averaging a dozen that are equally incorrect. At the beginning of the civil war we believed in masked batteries and Black Horse cavalries on the testimony of an intelligent contraband. During the course of the war our knowledge was constantly based on contemporary reports, equally contraband, but not always intelligent. At the end of the war the editors of the "Century War Book" can get no nearer the battle of Shiloh than to present four different narratives from four different generals, two on each side; and all more or less irreconcilable with one another. I asked an eminent war correspondent how he could reconcile it to his conscience to represent himself as personally observing two scenes happening at the same moment, but ten miles apart; he said that he knew his business, that the public demanded in every case the testimony of an honest eyewitness given in the first person singular, and he was bound to supply it. The smallest company, the closest opportunity, is no guarantee of

accuracy. We do not know to this moment whether Pitt's last words were, as Mr. Rose reported in the House of Commons, "Oh, my country," or whether, as the nurse thought, he called for barley water. We do not know whether John Randolph in the hour of death, as Whittier sublimely says,

"Traced with dying hand, Remorse,
And perished in the tracing,"

or whether, as is since rumored, his wandering brain recalled the name of one R. E. Morse, who owed him a debt, and he reminded his executors to collect it.

If history is thus to be recognized as an inexact science, it is not possible for this historical society, or any other, to make it otherwise. There are, however, two obstacles tending to make it yet more inexact, and both of these can be diminished. One of these is the tradition formerly known, in Fielding's phrase, as "The Dignity of History"; and the other is the strange indifference long prevailing as to the real meaning and value of a quotation mark. On both of these points this Society has rendered a distinct service.

First, as to the dignity of history. Lord Bacon tells us, in his "De Augmentis," that dramatic poetry is history made visible, — "*Dramatica Poesis est velut historia spectabilis.*" But it was *historia respectabilis* that was for a long time the recognized ideal; and for the sake of an assumed dignity, the human and familiar aspects were left out. I can remember that our Puritan ancestors never seemed to me quite human until I came across that story of Holy Mr. Cotton and the street boys of Boston, — indeed, it never had occurred to me that there were then any street boys, only church boys. You remember the tale, — that as Mr. Cotton, grown a little deaf with age, plodded along the street thinking of his next sermon, some boys said, "Let's put a trick upon Old Cotton" — (Old Cotton!). So one of them twitched his cloak and called in his deafest ear, "Cotton, thou art an old fool!" What said the venerable man? Did he call out the constables and the tithingmen? Not at all. He whirled round quickly and said cheerily, "I know it, I know it. The Lord make both thee and me wiser!" and went on his way chuckling, doubtless feeling that he had quite outwitted the boys.

Before such an anecdote as that, the dignity of history disappears, and even the Puritans grow human. So who can

doubt that much of an exaggerated awe — amounting in many youthful minds to aversion — to George Washington has grown out of this same treatment. His life had been written again and again by Marshall, Bancroft, Ramsay, Sparks, and even the irreverent Weems, and I am not aware that anybody, down to the genial Irving, had admitted that Washington could laugh. Even Irving keeps it for his fourth volume, and hides it in an obscure foot-note; but he finally admits that Washington, on one occasion, was so amused by a field-incident, that he not only laughed, but could not stop laughing, and actually rolled on the ground before he could recover. Fancy the picture! More than six feet of Father of his Country rolling on the grass, trying to get to the end of a laugh! It seems like profanation; but would he not seem nearer to us, and nearer to the young people of America, had we been permitted to know that fact a little earlier? Yet from the moment when the President of this Society edited for us the diaries of Samuel Sewall, our Puritan Pepys, that nightmare of artificial dignity disappeared. We only honor the just and upright judge the more because our sympathies follow that courageous and unwearied heart in the wooing of a series of successive widows; and see him handing about at lawsuits, weddings, and funerals those little English and Latin verses which must have added new terrors to death, litigation, and courtship.

And so of the other step forward, — the meaning of a quotation mark. It is now well known that the historians of the last generation, influenced, perhaps, in America by the extraordinary liberties taken by Washington with his own letters, had no such impression as now exists of the precise and definite guarantee which a quotation mark should carry with it. I do not now refer to those accidental variations which are so hard to avoid, but to conscious and deliberate alteration, to revision, rearrangement, or undesignated omission, while the quotation marks still shelter all. It would be easy to illustrate this from men so eminent and honorable as Bancroft, Hildreth, and Frothingham. The long Sparks-Mahon controversy is still remembered. I have in my possession the manuscript material for a very conspicuous biography published nearly half a century ago, and edited by men as absolutely conscientious as ever existed. On comparison it appears

that not a letter nor a fragment of journal, scarcely even a sentence, was printed without revision and alteration, almost always of a literary character, and usually quite needless ; and all these garbled passages were included within the sanctity of quotation marks, without a hint on the part of the editors that they were not giving the precise words of the original. I am satisfied that one great reason of the vastly higher standard of accuracy which now prevails, is the continued example of this and kindred societies in preserving the original spelling and quoting *verbatim et literatim* when they quote at all.

May the Society, under your guidance, Mr. President, go on to vindicate, in this and in all ways, its high career of usefulness ! Who shall participate in its next Centennial we know not ; we only know that not one of us will be there. The building in which we meet may endure until that day, but we shall not, nor can we guide our successors. May the Society itself be as long-lived as the State from which it takes its name ! Cradled amid the storms of revolution, may it prolong its usefulness through coming centuries of happy peace !

The doxology was sung by the whole congregation standing :

“ From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator’s praise arise ;
Let the Redeemer’s name be sung,
Through every land, by every tongue !

“ Eternal are thy mercies, Lord !
Eternal truth attends thy word :
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.”

The benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE : —

As God was with the fathers, so may he be with the children.

The Lord bless you and keep you :

The Lord make his face shine upon you, and be gracious unto you :

The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace.

And the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.
Amen.

After the conclusion of the exercises in the church, an informal reception was given by the senior member, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, at his residence, No. 90 Marlborough Street. Of the ninety-seven members on the roll on the day of the commemoration, the presence of sixty-five was recorded; five were absent in Europe, three were engaged in the public service at Washington; and several others were absent from the State or were detained by serious illness and other unavoidable causes. The weather was remarkably mild and pleasant.¹

¹ At the monthly meeting of the Society in March, 1844, "the President communicated from Dr. Lowell a suggestion as to the expediency of celebrating the termination of the first half-century of the incorporation of the Society." The suggestion was subsequently adopted, and a committee was appointed, composed of Isaac P. Davis, Francis C. Gray, Alexander Young, Charles F. Adams, and William Minot, "to make arrangements for the place, hour, and manner of proceeding in the celebration." Under their direction, an address by John Gorham Palfrey was delivered in the Masonic Temple, at the corner of Tremont Street and Temple Place, Thursday afternoon, Oct. 31, 1844, at half-past three o'clock. The "Boston Daily Advertiser" of the following day says: "Mr. Palfrey's Address before the Historical Society, yesterday afternoon, was listened to by a large and highly discriminating audience with great pleasure. It was a performance worthy of the speaker's high reputation, and that of the Society which he represented. We regret that the very unseasonable hour selected for the discourse prevented a still larger attendance. As it was, there was a full representation of the Society, among whose members we noticed the venerable John Quincy Adams, and many ladies were also present." Rev. Dr. Pierce, who was present at the stated meeting of the Society, held on the same day, makes no reference in his journal to the commemorative exercises; and there is no account of them in the records of the Society. The address is printed in 3 Coll. IX. 165-188.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last stated meeting, the Recording Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Judge William S. Shurtleff, who was in Europe at the time of his election as a Resident Member, and who had just returned home.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the last month. Among the accessions was a manuscript journal, in five quarto volumes, kept by Charles Pickering, M.D., during the years 1838-1841, when he was connected with the Antarctic Exploring Expedition sent out by the United States Government, and bequeathed to the Society by his widow. There was also a manuscript, given by Miss Elizabeth Frame, of Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, containing sketches of sixteen ministers settled in that Province during the last century, of whom eleven were graduates of Harvard College, as well as other interesting matter.

The Cabinet-keeper called attention to two fine portraits, by Copley, of Samuel Quincy and his wife, which had been placed on deposit with the Society by Mr. Quincy Phillips, of Cambridge, their great-grandson. Samuel Quincy was an older brother of Josiah Quincy, Jr., but adhered to the British Government, and was Solicitor-General at the time of the so-called Boston Massacre. The maiden name of Mrs. Quincy was Hannah Hill.

THE PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:—

Those of us who attended the funeral rites of our late eminent and highly esteemed associate, Charles Devens, as well as those who have followed the numerous and earnest eulogiums of him, in public and private, have had an impressive reminder of the many points at which he touched the highest interests and hearts of this community. Those funeral rites,

with their union of religious and military observances, and the full assembling and participation of those who represent the responsibilities and honors of our professional and social life, were our homage to the soldier and the jurist, the general and the judge. Like Sir Harry Vane, of Milton's sonnet, he knew "the bounds of either sword," of war and peace. Not a word of exception has found utterance to the universal and varied tributes paid to him as the leader of an army and the high magistrate on the bench. But besides all these have been the expressions of esteem and warm attachment in private relations, for the charms and the dignity, the refinement and the urbanity, which gave such a singular attractiveness to his character, to his features, to his speech, and his whole presence. It was by these that we knew him best, and so esteemed him as our associate here in the patriotism of our historical studies.

We would place upon our records this expression of our regret in parting with him, and our memory of him for all that he was.

Mr. JOHN C. ROPES, being called on, said : —

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, — It is not easy for me — it would not be easy, I imagine, for many of us here — to speak of our good friend General Devens in the way in which the world at large would expect that we should speak of him. He was eminently a public man, — for nearly all his life he was in the public service, and for far the greater part of his mature life he occupied posts of high honor and trust ; and all these positions he filled faithfully and with distinction. Yet we do not think of him, now that he has gone, so much as an eminent and honored servant of the State, but rather as a friend, a loyal, warm-hearted, cordial, unvarying, unaffected friend and neighbor. For such he was, first and foremost. His heart was warm ; his character sound and sweet ; his feelings quick and spontaneous ; his behavior modest, while full of real dignity ; his whole attitude to other men genuinely kind and considerate, free from every description of pride, vanity, or affectation. No more companionable man ever lived. No man so much in the world was ever less worldly than he. The native kindness and sincerity of his nature withstood all the temptations of high office and of public life. He was always the same to

his friends; and many, very many, who perhaps never felt that they had a right to claim the tie of friendship with him, came sufficiently within the sphere of his influence to be profoundly impressed by his kindliness, his genuineness, and his nobility of soul.

In him the elements were indeed well mingled. Few men have left a more satisfactory impression behind them. Of distinguished presence, wearing the dignities of office with becoming grace, easily accessible, attractive to all men in manner and behavior, with oratorical powers rarely excelled, his outward presence and bearing impressed all with whom he came into contact. Then his life, his thoroughly manly life, in which, from first to last, his energies and his talents were devoted to the public service, in the course of which he unhesitatingly welcomed the opportunity of drawing his sword at his country's call,— what a varied and interesting series of pictures does not his life present? Few are the men of our time— busy, eventful, and active as our time has been—who have passed through a more marked career than General Devens passed through. Let us look at it for a few moments.

Born in 1820, graduated from Harvard in 1838, a country lawyer for a few years, he makes his first public appearance as United States Marshal at the time of the fugitive slave cases. No emergency could have tested the quality of a man more thoroughly than the emergency in which Marshal Devens, then scarcely over thirty years of age, found himself placed, when, as the civil officer of the United States Government here in Massachusetts, he was responsible for the custody and rendition of the fugitive, Sims. But he never hesitated; he never wavered. He did his duty as the officer of the law, and then he did his best to ransom the unfortunate victim of slavery.

A few years more, and the war came. Devens was among the very first to volunteer. He was in command of his regiment, the Fifteenth, in the first action in which Massachusetts was seriously interested, the unfortunate battle of Ball's Bluff. Perhaps you do not all of you know that he was struck by a musket-ball full in the chest; but, fortunately, the ball hit a metal-covered button, and glanced off without inflicting serious hurt. When we were driven off the field, Colonel Devens swam the Potomac to Harrison's Island.

At Fair Oaks, on the 31st of May, 1862, as a brigadier-general, commanding a brigade in Couch's division, he took a prominent part in the obstinate resistance which that able officer made to the overwhelming attack of the enemy upon the isolated Fourth Corps. Here he was wounded in the arm, and though he would not quit the field, he was disabled for several weeks thereafter. In this way it happened that he took no part in the Seven Days' Battles.

Couch's division, in Franklin's corps, did not arrive on the field of Antietam till that bloody fight was over. When it did arrive, it was for General Devens to learn of the terrible losses suffered by his old regiment, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, in the gallant but rash charge of Sedgwick's division, which brave old General Sumner led, regardless of the most ordinary precautions, into the enemy's woods. It was in this ill-advised manœuvre that our late associate, General Palfrey, received the wound which so sorely afflicted him through life.

At Fredericksburg, General Devens's brigade crossed at the lower crossing, and was not actively engaged.

At Chancellorsville, however, the fates were against him. He had recently been transferred to the Eleventh Corps, upon whose exposed right flank Stonewall Jackson hurled his powerful corps on the afternoon of Saturday, May 2, 1863, with such terrible effect. General Devens was in no way responsible for the disaster. He did all that a brave man could do to maintain a fight that was hopeless from the first. Wounded very painfully in the foot at the beginning of the action, he kept his horse, and for a full hour rode along the half-broken lines endeavoring to restore order. This wound prevented his being at Gettysburg.

We next find him commanding a division under Gen. W. F. Smith in the Eighteenth Corps at Bermuda Hundred. He took an active part in the bloody assault on the enemy's lines at Cold Harbor on the 3d of June, 1864. He was so lame from rheumatism that he could neither mount nor walk, and was carried about the field from place to place in a litter.

Lastly, we find him leading a division of the Twenty-fourth Corps into Richmond, the first division of the Union army that entered that stubbornly defended city.

And such a close of such a hazardous military career as General Devens had led, was surely most fortunate and happy.

He had sought no exemptions from danger and duty, he had stood in his lot, he had received the buffets of battle; but fate had been kind to him.

Then, after remaining in the army nearly a year, he returned to his home, and was called at once to the bench of the Superior Court. After a few years he was promoted to the Supreme Bench. Here he filled with great satisfaction the responsible duties of that important post.

But life had another change in store for him. President Hayes offered him a seat in his Cabinet; and after some little hesitation, Judge Devens accepted the offer, and became the Attorney-General of the United States. Few men have lived better suited to adorn and to enjoy Washington life than Judge Devens. His large knowledge of men and things, his unflinching good temper, his ready and unvarying courtesy, his excellent judgment, his common-sense, his eloquence, made him a very valued member of Mr. Hayes's Cabinet. And these four years undoubtedly enriched considerably his experience of the world. He must have enjoyed them greatly.

When the administration of President Hayes had finished its course, Judge Devens returned to Massachusetts, only to receive again a place on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. He was fortunate in this; for no other place could he have filled so well. I have not time to speak as I would like to do of his services on the bench. But we can never forget the serious and conscientious attention with which he discharged every duty and approached the consideration of every question, and the sound, sensible, and experienced judgment which he brought to bear on the matters that came before him. He was not a particularly learned judge, nor was he noted for the possession of any special qualification for the office; but he was an eminently useful judge, and a most conscientious, upright, and considerate magistrate.

Fortunate as our friend was in his life, he was, to my thinking, equally fortunate in the manner of his death. There was no long and gloomy sickness, — no pain, no suffering, no wasting away of the bodily powers, no wretched enfeeblement of the mind. All was peace and content and serenity, until in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye as it were, the summons came; and then, without an instant's delay, the good soldier obeyed.

It is not going too far to say that in one respect, certainly, General Devens's place in our community cannot be filled. He had been for many years the spokesman of the city and Commonwealth on certain public topics. He had long ranked as an orator next to our distinguished ex-President, Mr. Winthrop; and during the last few years circumstances had compelled him to assume a very large share of the duties which those men who are so happily constituted that they can understand and sympathize with the best thought of the community, and can also give to that thought utterance and expression in forcible and attractive speech, must always undertake. Hence General Devens was very often called upon, sometimes to commemorate the anniversaries of the Revolution, sometimes to eulogize the heroes of our recent struggle. His address on the centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, and his oration at Worcester on General Grant, are perhaps the finest of those efforts. But his opening lecture in the Lowell Institute Course of Lectures on the Civil War, a few years ago, and his oration last April before the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, recur to my mind as striking and masterly performances. His eloquence had the true ring in it. While he disdained none of the graces of oratory, — and he knew them all, — he delighted in plain, direct, and cogent arguments and in earnest, simple, and elevated reflections. He never soared above his audience; but he always carried them along with him to a higher plane than that whereon they stood when he began to speak. Many of these addresses were to small and select gatherings; many were informal; many were on subjects connected with the late war, on which he could speak as one who knew the actors and events and as one who had played a prominent part. Whatever the occasion, General Devens invariably rose to the full height of it; he was always serious, earnest, and strong, and he was always felicitous. No audience ever wearied of hearing him. His fine presence, his singularly harmonious voice, his graceful carriage, his mastery of the subject and the occasion, secured for him not only the welcome, but also the undivided attention and appreciation of the people. In these respects we have no one who can at all fill his place; for we have no one left who has for so many years served the public in so many capacities, and who, possessing as he did the undiminished confidence

of the community, is so well fitted to be its exponent — to interpret its sentiments and express its emotions — on the various occasions when a public utterance of some sort is imperatively demanded.

In respect to no man in our day has the feeling of regret for his loss been more sincere or more universal. No man in our time also has been more thoroughly understood and appreciated. In this connection it is interesting, and also, as I venture to think, instructive, to remember that Judge Devens was no professional reformer or philanthropist. We are, I think, too apt in this community, where so many practical and unpractical reforms, so many wise and foolish innovations, so many endeavors to cure our own disorders, and so many denunciations of the evil practices of other countries, have had their origin and their term, longer or shorter, of existence, to undervalue the man whose life has simply consisted in the faithful and honorable performance, first, of the duties which belong to all good citizens, and, secondly, of those tasks which the public has specially laid upon him. But to have well performed these tasks and duties is, after all, to have fulfilled the principal duties and the principal tasks outside of one's private and personal life. It is an error to suppose that only those who devote themselves ostensibly to the work of reforming their own and other countries "leave the world better than they found it." They, also, whose private lives are above reproach, and whose public work has been thoroughly, honestly, and patriotically done, are certainly entitled to this praise. Such men as our late associate equally advance the good cause, equally promote the welfare of their country and of the race, because they give their strength, their talents, and their lives to the public service.

Mr. Ropes was followed by Mr. HENRY LEE, who said : —

I have a word or two to say about Charles Devens, with whom I have stood in friendly, familiar relations ever since my college days, when I was invited occasionally to his father's house in Cambridge.

I have been wont to speak of him as

"Sweet Fortune's minion and her pride";

and when one recounts the series of high positions, civil and military, to which he has been preferred, with never a break,

from his earliest manhood to the day of his death, my speech seems justified.

Scarcely was he out of college and had begun his law practice in Franklin County than he was elected Brigadier-General of Militia; soon afterward he was chosen State Senator.

He could not have been over thirty years old when he was made United States Marshal for the district of Massachusetts.

In the war, starting out as Major, he became successively Colonel, Brigadier, then Brevet-Major, General of Volunteers, Military Governor of South Carolina. Returned home, he was appointed Judge of the Superior, then of the Supreme Court; then taken by President Hayes as his Attorney-General, and at the close of his administration instantly reappointed Judge of the Supreme Court.

This opportune vacancy on the bench at the very moment his time as United States Attorney-General ended, did prompt me to remark to his kinsman, that Cousin Charles came down always upon his feet; and he agreed with me.

His early promotion over his fellows of equal worth and talents is to be ascribed to his personal attributes, — his stature, his bright eyes, his mellifluous voice, his flowing speech, his genial and dignified deportment, which distinguished him in all companies, but more especially upon the small stage on which he made his *début*. While his general symmetry and suavity helped him in certain directions and to a certain extent, it disparaged him with the fastidious and sceptical.

The world is impatient and incredulous of perfection; the "*totus, teres atque rotundus*" fades in the eye, and provokes criticism rather than admiration.

A mezzotint makes one long for the biting-in of the etching. Pope's Homer is so smooth that sense is lost in sound; and so with persons. Dr. Channing's soft speech stung at least one sensitive person to profanity. General Washington, as handed down by pen and pencil, was too smooth, too perfect; it was only the revelation of his outburst of wrath at Monmouth, and of laughter over Old Put, that justified him to his countrymen. Our friend suffered in like manner; his symmetry and suavity brought him under suspicion, caused him to be underrated intellectually and morally.

But it was no padding, no veneering. If ever a man could be a hero to his valet, General Devens might have been that man. The nearer one came to him, the higher he stood in one's

regard. It was his thorough amiability joined to his conscientious discharge of every duty assumed, which won for him the love and respect of those about him, and secured for him the unbroken continuance of promotion first hazarded upon his extrinsic recommendations.

Although as marshal he rendered up the slave under the cruel fugitive slave law, as a man he sought earnestly to purchase his freedom; when the war, that touchstone of character which converted lambs to lions and some lions to lambs, broke out, and the State was called upon for aid, the "suaviter in modo" was found to be combined in our friend with the "fortiter in re." He went at an hour's notice, and served faithfully and ably, in spite of repeated wounds, through all those haggard years, and for a year afterward as Military Governor of South Carolina. When peace returned, he held the sword of justice as firmly as a ruder, blunter man.

I sometimes rallied him upon his smooth and kindly relations with men whom I felt inclined to denounce; but I became convinced that this uniform courtesy and lenity credited his heart, while it did not discredit his head: it was Christian charity.

My old friend would not stand so high in my regard but for the unique exhibition of one memorable day when he had been invited to deliver the oration. Summoned betimes in the morning, and carted about over an endless route for six or seven hours; then, after tedious marshalling, forced to listen to successive and inordinate speeches by committee-men, Grand Master of Masons, Mayor, everybody but the selected speaker, the sun went down, and darkness fell before the orator of the day was allowed to hold forth. For once even his patience was exhausted; he gave a few extracts from his oration by torchlight, and withdrew. I was refreshed by his undisguised righteous indignation at this preposterous, egotistic disregard of proportions.

As to eloquence, how many better orations have been given than his on the centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, on the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument, on Grant, spoken at Gettysburg, not to mention his speech at the Harvard Commemoration as spokesman of the returned volunteers, his annual addresses while President of the Bunker Hill Monu-

ment Association, his series of speeches at the Jubilee of Harvard College?

Upon that occasion he exercised his habit of infinite painstaking; no other alumnus would have performed the task of presiding officer so perfectly.

A tender devotion and constancy characterized his domestic relations. A home of his own in the fullest sense of the word he never had; his father's home was broken up upon the death of his mother and sister, when he was a young lawyer in Greenfield, — a bereavement the more poignant that they lost their lives in preserving his. His father lived to a great age, and I can bear witness to the son's filial piety; the love which husbands and fathers lavish upon their wives and children, he shed upon the scattered groups of relatives, — a love ardently reciprocated.

This tenderness of heart extended beyond his family circle. Breakfasting with him during the Grand Army Encampment last summer, he confessed that the sight of these veterans brought back so feelingly the setting forth for the war, that his tears would flow.

In familiar intercourse he was genial and entertaining. A kindly humor enlivened his chat; he told a story with the art of an old campaigner.

A few words spoken by me elsewhere apply to him here:

"He has been one of our most faithful members; his stately and benign presence graced our meetings."

"Here, as elsewhere, he diffused a spirit of chivalric courtesy by his dignified and cordial greetings, his temperate and kindly discourse."

"To the respect inspired by his honorable public service in peace and war was added the affection begotten of his unswerving loyalty to his friends, and his solicitous consideration of all, young and old, far and near."

When I heard of his death, there came to me the sense of the loss of a friend, and of the glory of a well-spent life.

Mr. Ropes was then appointed to write a memoir of Judge Devens, for publication in a future volume of the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT then paid the following tribute to the late George Bancroft, whose name had long stood at the head of the list of Corresponding Members: —

For reasons the force of which we all recognize, we take our appropriate part with so many other societies and individuals in paying our tribute to the late George Bancroft, so distinguished in his career of fourscore and ten years in civil and political life, and as the foremost among the historians of our country. While a citizen of Northampton, he was elected a Resident Member of this Society, in June, 1834. By his removal from this State to New York, he ceased to be such in December, 1849. In February of the next year he was put on our Honorary list, at the head of which he has remained. Our records show that before his election here he had been earnestly interested in our work, and had used and contributed to our resources. He regularly attended our meetings during his residence, and made good use of our collections for his historical work.

Allow me, in what I shall say, to speak of him somewhat personally, with regard and respect, recalling long-past years of intimate relations. In my latest intercourse with him in his advanced age, he said more than once that we two had probably known each other in the form of our acquaintance longer than any other two of our friends. In my early boyhood he was my teacher in studies preparatory for college. I recall that he then put me to service in reading his manuscript as he corrected the proof-sheets of his first book, a translation from the German of Heeren's "Politics of Ancient Greece." He was then a somewhat dreamy, absent-minded scholar, impulsive and effusive in his manifestations, as, indeed, he continued to be through life. I saw much of him in his summers at Newport, the last interview being a month before he completed his ninetieth year. His step even then was elastic and vigorous, and he was genial and cheery in speech. But his memory was broken to the degree that he asked me twice within the hour how old he was. His reminiscences of his earliest years were bright. He spoke of his father, the family of thirteen children and their surroundings, — living on a salary of five hundred dollars and a farm in the then country town of Worcester. His father, an able and venerated minister, whose long life was but six years short of that of his distinguished son, broke in upon his course of study at Harvard to take part in the patriotism at Lexington and Bunker Hill. His ministry of fifty-three years was to a society made

up of many distinguished men in public life. Dr. Bancroft was a warm admirer and early biographer of Washington. He had many perplexities to meet; but as an earnest Federalist, not the least of them was that his distinguished son, before he had reached the age of thirty, was a Democratic writer, orator, and politician, and a fervent one of the sort. That son's course of life as such, with its occupations, honors, offices, and public services, has been abundantly traced by an industrious press. Perhaps I may date, by a personal memory, the starting-point of his official life. Happening to be in Washington in 1837, and meeting Mr. Bancroft, we attended at the White House a reception of Indian chiefs by President Van Buren. The report was that on that visit he informed the President that he was engaged in writing our history from a Democratic point of view. So he received the appointment of Collector of the Port of Boston, the duties of which, strange and inapt to him, he faithfully discharged. But his zeal and ardor and high enthusiasm were engaged in his historical task. Let me give a personal illustration of this.

On sailing for Europe in the spring of 1838, I had committed to my care a few copies of Mr. Prescott's "*Ferdinand and Isabella*," then just published, and of the first two volumes of Mr. Bancroft's history. These were for Lord Brougham, Sydney Smith, Mr. Hallam, and others. Besides the office of hunting up and sending to Mr. Bancroft many books which he desired, he earnestly and persistently pressed on me a service which I found very embarrassing, and could discharge but imperfectly. This was to make for him laborious researches in public offices, and to take copies of important documents and papers needed by him for his history. He plied me with urgent letters in this behalf. I had but a year for the whole of Europe, and he would have had me give months to that work in dismal offices. Those State papers were not then, as now, gathered in one large repository and arranged and calendared, but were scattered in various depositories. I did some such work on reaching London, and recall how I grudged the musty task, with youthful blood and energy and the sights of London inviting me at the time of the Coronation. It was wholly a labor of love on my part for my early instructor, without remuneration. I will copy a part of one of Mr. Bancroft's urgent letters wishing to get me at work again, on returning to London from the Conti-

nent. I cite this letter for two reasons,—first to show the zeal of the writer, and also as suggesting by contrast how far Mr. Bancroft then was from anticipating what splendid opportunities he was a few years afterward to enjoy in England and on the Continent, in his diplomatic offices.

Boston, Feb. 21, 1839.

MY DEAR ELLIS, — As the time draws near for your return to England, my anxiety increases in relation to the search which I trust you will make into the records in London. Remain there two or three months; make a vigorous onset. I will cheerfully defray the expense of your stay, if you will give your time to this subject. The investigation will interest and delight you, and will remain an agreeable source of reminiscences. You will confer a favor on the country by consulting the sources of its history. You will confer on me the greatest obligation.

The period of history to which inquiry should be directed is from 1688 to 1765, and especially to Virginia and the Southern States. Make little extracts and abstracts; but above all mark the document and the date.

John Locke, you know, was Secretary in the Plantation Office; do see if in any way we can connect his name with our history further than it has already been done in the histories of Carolina.

Particularly it is important to watch the dawnings of a republican spirit, as the evidence of its existence opened upon the English.

Nothing curious can come amiss. You are versed in these matters, and will know what to select. I have therefore most earnestly to urge upon you the office of investigating these records. Let us get at the truth,—and do you aid me in it.

I cannot disguise my strong reliance upon you in this matter. Stay there in London. Let the expense be mine. I will cheerfully bear it. Stay by all means, and do this thoroughly.

I wish you could get Aspinwall to arrange with some English publisher for publishing my work when the third volume appears,—Colburn, or the one who published for Prescott. Talk, if you get a chance, with Forster about it. Remember the English offices. Go deep into them. Delay your return home. Spend two months at the work. Depend upon it you will do well to do so, for your country, for your own reputation, for your friend George Bancroft. If I could use any new term of entreaty, I would do so. But I rely on you fully. Let me not be disappointed. The disappointment would be serious. . . .

I should add to this letter that when I came home, followed by many cases of choice books, Mr. Bancroft being then the

Collector of the Port, his and mine were free of duty, on my taking, at his prompting, the oath that the contents were only personal effects and tools of my trade.

Of the estimate and repute of Democracy in Boston at that time — especially of Mr. Bancroft's form and tone of it, and as held by those who would have been his natural social and scholarly intimates — I have nothing to say. The elders here will remember the social and professional alienations and the political animosities which led him to change his residence to New York. Some grudges were long retained. His accession to the Cabinet of Mr. Polk as Secretary of the Navy was a matter of amusement to his acquaintances, as seemingly incongruous for a dreamy man of books, who, it was jocosely said, did not know the bow from the stern of a ship. But the ships did not trouble him as did their commanders and officers, in their jealousies and rivalries for place and station. His way was through piques and embarrassments of promises and professions. His efficient and now applauded service in that office was in the creation and support of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

But we must look back in his career to find the key to it. He once told me that he had never received a farthing by inheritance through his whole life. With the repute of precocious scholarship he went, in his eleventh year, to Exeter Academy as a beneficiary pupil. He afterward gratefully acknowledged his obligation by founding a scholarship in the academy for others to be favored as he had been. A like office of love he performed for Harvard, putting his gift in the name of the benignant Kirkland, so endeared to all his pupils. And yet another endowment was made by him for promising scholars in the public schools of his native town. He earned his own livelihood. He had, as he deserved, the repute of thrift and sagacity in investing in property. He told me that of his estate in Newport, originally fronting on the avenue and running a long depth to the cliffs, he profited enough by the sale of the front part, which he did not wish to keep, to pay for his fair house, outbuildings, lawn, flower and vegetable gardens, leaving a balance in hand.

It was the deciding event for him that on graduating, at the age of seventeen, by the suggestion and with the patronage of Edward Everett and other college friends, he went abroad for

diligent study in Germany, and travel in Europe, to fit himself as a teacher and professor. But this was not to be long his sphere. He made scholarly acquisitions, won high honors, was intimate with gifted men; but best of all, he thoroughly mastered the German language and German literature, retaining them for life, so that when he went to Germany as our minister, he had advantages and privileges such as have rarely been reached by our diplomats abroad. His preceding English mission was also honored by like distinctions. These missions followed the previous tentative experiences as a Democratic politician. But of one bent and passion which possessed him as an ardent young scholar in Germany, there have been differences of judgment.

In view of the remarkable and lengthened career of Mr. Bancroft, its labors, honors, and accomplishments, perhaps others may have shared with me the regret that the incidents, method, and occupations of his life could not have been reversed, so that his close and sharp contact with men and practical public affairs might have engaged the earlier years, leaving the calm maturity of his mind and experience, as with Hume, Gibbon, and Macaulay, for the composition of history. It is true that the forty years covering the vigor of his life elapsed between the publication in 1834 of the first volume of his history and that of the tenth in 1874, and that for much in the interval he had a rarely favorable converse with men. Yet it is also true that the ideal conception of the scheme, the method and the aim of his proposed work, of what history should be, how it should be constructed, took possession of him before he had really entered on his manhood, and while he was a student in Germany. His youth and his surroundings, his models, examples, and teachers, introduced into the warp and woof of the earliest volumes of his history elements and qualities, and we may say idiosyncrasies, which characterize it to its close. Hegel said that the Germans, instead of writing history, were always beating their brains to discover how history ought to be written. Mr. Bancroft, in his essay on "The Progress of Mankind," had affirmed that the poet had a nobler office than the historian. It is not strange, therefore, that he sometimes jealously trespassed on the higher province of the poet. His high-flown rhetoric, his discursive ranging, his philosophical disquisitions burdened his pages. Instead of

leaving history to yield philosophy to his readers, he sought to insinuate philosophy into his narrations. Scholar, and to a degree philosopher, as he was, it took him time to learn that only the simplest terms of expression fit the highest and deepest thoughts, the gravest themes, and the most signal events. Some, doubtless many, persons read the first, perhaps the first two, volumes of his history in its earliest form, but, overborne by the exuberance and redundancy of its composition, went no further with it. As early as 1841, when but two volumes had appeared, Mr. Bancroft was induced by his publishers to reduce and simplify their contents by abridgment for a large class of readers. I have heard, I know not how true it may be, that this abridgment was made by one of his three accomplished sisters engaged in teaching in Worcester; but his name alone is on the titlepage.

Of course his work has received a large share not only of approval and praise, but also of sharp and censorious criticism, alike for its method and style, and for its pronounced judgments on events and persons. By two successive recastings, reconstructions, revisions, and condensations of his ten volumes, Mr. Bancroft has sought to heed what he considered pertinent in these strictures and criticisms. I have a substantial volume of pamphlets in which grandsons and representatives of eminent men, generals and others, challenged and disputed his judgment of them. In the prefaces to both of his condensations of his work, — that of 1876 and that of 1882, — using in each fuller new materials, he says, with a degree of candor not satisfactory to all, that he has given due and fair regard to all critical matters, and still stands for his own views where others may be at variance with him.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then rose and said, —

It has rarely happened, Mr. President, to this Society, or indeed to any other society, to lose from the roll of its living members, in such close succession, three names so distinguished in their different spheres as those of Dr. Henry M. Dexter, Gen. Charles Devens, and George Bancroft. I can add but little to the just tributes which have already been paid to them, here and elsewhere, on this and other occasions. I should be sorry, however, to have seemed insensible to such

losses, even though the few words I may say of them may be, or may appear to be, superfluous.

Of Dr. Dexter I can say, without qualification or fear of dispute, that his loss to our historical work is the greatest we have met with since the death of Dr. Deane. Neither of them, I think, has left his peer in our ranks, or in any other ranks, for the devoted and untiring study, and for the clear and able exposition, of some of the most interesting and important events and characters of our earliest New England history. I valued Dr. Dexter, too, as a personal friend, to whom I owed not a few most kind recognitions, and whose complimentary dedication of his memorable volume on Roger Williams I should be ungrateful to forget.

Of Charles Devens I can hardly speak too warmly. He was a man who seemed to find the precise place for which he was peculiarly fitted in each one of the varied public offices which he successively filled. One might say that he was born to be a general, or that he was born to be a judge, or that he was born to be an orator. He was plainly born for all, and was eminent in all. But he was born also for good fellowship, and for the kindest and most agreeable association and intercourse with his fellowmen. His friendship was coveted and prized by all who knew him, and he had no enemies. Recently elected one of the Peabody Education Trustees, on the resignation of our sadly disabled and greatly esteemed associate, Col. Theodore Lyman, he had already so far commended himself to the regard and respect of those most deeply interested in that Trust as to be invited to deliver an address in South Carolina. I was the medium of that invitation a few weeks only before his death; and his note to me, one of the last which he could have written to any one, expressed his high appreciation of so unexpected a compliment, and his regret at being compelled to decline it. He will be missed in our board, in this Society, and in social life everywhere.

Of George Bancroft I can hardly confine myself to so brief a notice. That long, long life of ninety years and three months presents most widely varied aspects to one who attempts to review it in detail. You, Mr. President, who had known him longer than any of us, have just described it with your uniform felicity and fulness. He played many parts, and made his mark in them all. I knew him first as a politician, and some-

times found occasion to arraign the radicalism of his early days. I knew him next as Secretary of the Navy, while I was in Congress, when he won the enviable distinction of founding the Naval Academy at Annapolis. I knew him soon afterward as our American Minister to England, during my first visit to London in 1847, where I experienced much personal kindness from him and his amiable wife, and was in the way of observing the distinguished position which he held in English literary circles. My letters from Webster and Everett had given me access to all that was highest and best in the London life of that period; but I met him everywhere, and witnessed the high estimation in which he was held by literary men like Rogers and Hallam and Alison and Milman and Lord Mahon, and by statesmen like Peel, Palmerston, and Russell.

More recently he has been our Minister to Germany, where he was successful in some very interesting and important negotiations, and where he won the special regard and confidence of the noble old Emperor William, who presented to him a fine portrait of himself, and whose gallant grandson, the present Emperor, caused an imperial wreath to be laid on his coffin. Meanwhile, throughout the whole period in which he was engaged in these public duties, at home and abroad, and in all the years which intervened or succeeded them, Mr. Bancroft was primarily and peculiarly an historian; and unlike so many of our scholars who have made history their pursuit, he took his own country exclusively for his theme. Much as we may admire and honor those of our literary men who have earned wide and just celebrity by their brilliant descriptions of memorable events or characters of other ages and other lands, I think we owe a special debt of gratitude to those who have devoted their time and talents to describing and illustrating the rise and progress of our own great Republic.

You have well said, Mr. President, that Bancroft was foremost as the historian of the United States. His great work, in all its varied editions, will always be read and recognized as the leading authority in American history for the period which it includes. His style may be criticised and censured as redundant or rhetorical. His philosophy may be discarded as partaking occasionally of that German mysticism which he imbibed in his youth. A vein of partisanship, too, may some-

times be detected amid all his professions of impartiality. It could hardly be otherwise. No one in writing history, or in doing anything else, can escape from himself; or can wholly conceal, even should he try to do so, his own preconceived opinions, his own individual peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. Gibbon could not restrain his infidel speculations and theories. Hume yielded recklessly to his passion for the old Stuart dynasties. Macaulay was often overmastered by his own splendid rhetoric and brilliant illustration. If we do not quite accept the old French maxim that the style is the man, we must admit that the man can hardly fail to expose himself in the style. The judicial moderation and calm self-repression of Henry Hallam and John Richard Green and our own Prescott, to name no others, were in the men before they were manifested in their pages.

Bancroft, as I have said, in early life was a radical. He had a deep tinge of mingled poetry and philosophy. His temperament was singularly nervous, impulsive, and sometimes almost spasmodic. All these elements were betrayed in his early productions and editions. But with them all, and above them all, his love of country and his devotion to the history of his country were abundantly displayed; and he was never wearied in searching for the authentic materials out of which that history must be composed. He gave proof from the first that he regarded history as no mere sensational narrative of incidents or dry-as-dust compend of traditions, caught up at second-hand or at random, and arranged to sustain a preconceived theory or a favorite view. He fully realized that any thing worthy of the name of history could only be founded on impartial research and on a diligent sifting of original records. He sought those records everywhere, at home and abroad, and studied and compared them with untiring labor. I think, from all I have heard, and from much that I have personally known, that no man ever labored harder to get at the truth, as to the events or the men whom he described, than George Bancroft. Nor can I hesitate to avow my conviction, however he may have sometimes erred, that the truth of history was uppermost in his aims and efforts from first to last.

I know not whether he had ever seen that striking letter of old John Adams to our founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, in 1789, which is contained in the new centennial volume of our Col-

lections, just laid on our table. "My experience," wrote John Adams, "has very much diminished my faith in the veracity of history; it has convinced me that many of the most important facts are concealed; some of the most important characters but imperfectly known; many false facts imposed on historians and the world, and many empty characters displayed in great pomp. All this, I am sure, will happen in our American history."

It was a wholesome warning, and may have stimulated the earnest efforts of Dr. Belknap to establish our Society in the following year. But nearly half a century elapsed before Bancroft, impressed with the same ideas, incorporated them substantially into the preface to his first volume, and claimed credit for "the sincerity with which he had sought to collect truth from trustworthy documents and testimony." To that credit he is richly entitled, and American History owes him a debt of respect and gratitude which can hardly be exaggerated.

Of Bancroft's later years a single reminiscence must suffice. Year by year I saw him in the early spring at Washington and in the summer or autumn at Newport, and many a charming drive or walk I had with him and many a delightful dinner at his table. While I was at Washington last May he was very ill, and for many days his life was despaired of. But the very morning before I was to return home I received a kind message that he would like to see me for a single moment. I was admitted to his bedroom, where he was lying in a state of entire prostration. He raised himself with an effort to take my hand, and exclaimed: "Oh, Winthrop, how long it seems since you and I were playing together as boys at Cambridge." He had mistaken me for my brother, who had been a class-mate and a successful competitor of his at Harvard, in the class of 1817, and who died of consumption in 1819. His mind was wandering back to his college days, and to those with whom he had been associated in the very distinguished class of which he was the only survivor. I did not let him know that I perceived his mistake, but after an affectionate exchange of good wishes, bade him what proved to be a last farewell. I did not leave his room, however, without a bunch of the beautiful roses which he kept always blooming for his friends. He prided himself on his roses hardly less than on his history.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH communicated from the papers of the late Charles Deane copies of the Spanish and Latin inscriptions on Cabot's *mappe-monde*, now in the National Library at Paris, together with a translation of them into English, and spoke in substance as follows :—

At the meeting of this Society, in October, 1882, our lamented associate, Mr. Charles Deane, placed on the table as a gift from the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was then in Europe, a photographic copy of the map known as Cabot's *mappe-monde*, preserved in the National Library in Paris.¹ The brief account of the map and its inscriptions which Mr. Deane gave excited much interest; and the whole subject was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Deane, Mr. Winsor, and that accomplished scholar, the late George Dexter, who died in December, 1883. It was known that the chairman had already begun a careful study of the internal and external evidence as to the authenticity of the map; and shortly after his appointment he caused the inscriptions to be translated, at his own expense, by Mr. George Bendelari, at that time Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages in Yale College. He also carried on an extensive correspondence with M. C. Letort, of the National Library, in Paris; Mr. J. F. Nicholls, of the Free Library, Bristol, England; our Corresponding Members, the late J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, Long Island, and Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College; and with other gentlemen who were specialists on one or another of the questions which he had under consideration. During his last sickness, and in anticipation of the fatal result, he directed these papers to be sent to me, and expressed a strong desire to see me immediately on my return from Europe. Unfortunately, when I reached home he was too weak to see

¹ Thirteen copies of the map were made. Of these two were retained by the National Library. The other eleven copies were disposed of as follows: to the Massachusetts Historical Society; the American Antiquarian Society; the Boston Athenæum; the Boston Public Library; Harvard University Library; the New York Historical Society; the Virginia Historical Society; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Long Island Historical Society; Judge Charles P. Daly, for the American Geographical Society; and Gen. John Marshall Brown, of Portland, Maine. The map measures about four feet on the sides, and about six feet at the top and bottom. It has been but little injured; and on the original the figures of the men and animals are colored.

any one. He died a few weeks afterward; and I now know only in general what were his wishes in the matter. In accordance with those wishes, copies of the Spanish and Latin legends on the Cabot map, and the translation made for Mr. Deane, are herewith communicated for the Proceedings.

Our learned associate had long been familiar with the history and character of the map, and in 1866 he examined the original, and gave a short account of it at the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in October of that year.¹ But there are no memoranda among his papers to show what would have been the form and substance of the report which he intended to make to this Society. We cannot, however, be in any doubt as to his views. They are clearly and admirably set forth in his chapter on "The Voyages of the Cabots," in the third volume of "The Narrative and Critical History of America"; and an extract from the "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information" in that chapter will lessen our regret that Mr. Deane did not draw up the formal report which he intended to prepare. The proof-sheets of that chapter were sent to Mr. Brevoort, who in returning them wrote to Mr. Deane, under date of May 31, 1882: "I sent you all the Cabot proofs on Monday, having read much of it several times over. Your work is very impartial and comprehensive, and you have collected all that is known about this very reticent explorer without setting up any theory of your own on particular dates or facts. The Domestic Papers of Henry VII. when printed may develop some new matter, and some Cabot map may turn up; but all we know now is in your collection of materials. The map with its legends must remain a puzzle that may be cleared up." Mr. Brevoort might have expressed himself even more strongly as to the thoroughness and exactness of Mr. Deane's work without risk of exaggeration.

In the Essay to which I have referred Mr. Deane writes:

"I now come to a map of Sebastian Cabot, bearing date 1544, as the year of its composition, a copy of which was discovered in Germany in 1843, by Von Martius, in the house of a Bavarian curate, and deposited in the following year in the National Library in Paris. It has been described at some length by M. D'Avezac, in the *Bulletin de la Société de*

¹ See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 20, 1866, pp. 12-14; and also Proceedings of the same Society, April 24, 1867, pp. 43-50.

Géographie, 4 ser. xiv, 268-270, 1857. It is a large, elliptical *mappe monde*, engraved on metal, with geographical delineations drawn upon it down to the time it was made. I saw the map in Paris in 1866. On its two sides are two tables: the first, on the left, inscribed at the head 'Tabula Prima'; and that on the right, 'Tabula Secunda.' On these tables are seventeen legends, or inscriptions, in duplicate; that is to say, in Spanish and in Latin, the latter supposed to be a translation of the former, — each Latin legend immediately following the Spanish original, and bearing the same number.

"After the seventeen legends in Spanish and in Latin, we come to a title or heading: 'Plinio en el second libro capitulo lxxix., escriue' ('Pliny, in the second book, chapter 79, writes'). Then follows an inscription in Spanish, No. 18, from Pliny's *Natural History*, cap. lxvii., the chapter given above being an error. Four brief inscriptions, also in Spanish, numbered 19 to 22, relating to the natural productions of islands in the eastern seas, taken from other authors, complete the list. So there are twenty-two Spanish inscriptions or legends on the map, — ten on the first table and twelve on the second, — the last five of which have no Latin *exemplaires*; and there are no Latin inscriptions without the same text in Spanish immediately preceding.

"There are no headings prefixed to the inscriptions, except the 1st, the 17th, and 18th. The first inscription, relating to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, has this title, beneath Tabula Prima: 'del almirante.' The 17th — a long inscription — has this title: '*Retulo, del auctor conçiértas razones de la variación que haze il aguia del marear con la estrella del Norte*' ('A discourse of the author of the map, giving certain reasons for the variation of the magnetic needle in reference to the North Star'). It is also repeated in Latin over the version of the inscription in that language. The title to the 18th inscription, if it may be called a title, has already been given.

"The 17th inscription begins as follows: 'Sebastian Caboto, capitan y piloto mayor de la S. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor hizo este figura extenda en plano, anno del nascim^o de nrõ Salvador Iesu Christo de MDXLIIII annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud con sus vientos como carta de marear, imitando en parte al Ptolomeo, y en parte alos modernos descubridores, asi Espanoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre, y por el descubierto, por donde, podras navegar como por carta de marear, teniendo respecto a luariación que haze el aguia,' etc. ('Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot-major of his sacred imperial majesty, the emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of this name, and the king our lord, made this figure extended on a plane surface, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1544, having drawn it by degrees of latitude and longitude, with the winds, as a sailing chart, following partly Ptol-

emy and partly the modern discoveries, Spanish and Portuguese, and partly the discovery made by his father and himself: by it you may sail as by a sea-chart, having regard to the variation of the needle,' etc.). Then follows a discussion relating to the variation of the magnetic needle, which Cabot claims first to have noticed.

"In the inscription, No. 8, which treats of Newfoundland, it says: 'This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, MCCCCXCIV. [1494] on the 24th of June, in the morning, which country they called "primum visam"; and a large island adjacent to it they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day.'

"A fac-simile of this map was published in Paris by M. Jomard, in Plate XX. of his *Monuments de la Géographie* (begun in 1842, and issued during several years following, down to 1862), but without the legends on its sides, which unquestionably belong to the map itself; for those which, on account of their length, are not included within the interior of the map, are attached to it by proper references. M. Jomard promised a separate volume of 'texte explicatif,' but death prevented the accomplishment of his purpose.

"If this map, with the date of its composition, is authentic, it is the first time the name of John Cabot has been introduced to our notice in any printed document, in connection with the discovery of North America. Here the name is brought in jointly with that of Sebastian Cabot, on the authority apparently of Sebastian himself. He is said to be the maker of the map, and if he did not write the legends on its sides he may be supposed not to have been ignorant of their having been placed there. As to Legend No. 8, copied above, who but Sebastian Cabot would know the facts embodied in it,—namely, that the discovery was made by both the father and the son, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning; that the land was called *prima vista*, or its equivalent, and that the island near by was called St. John, as the discovery was made on St. John's Day. Whether or not Sebastian Cabot's statement is to be implicitly relied on, in associating his own name with his father's in the voyage of discovery, in view of the evidence which has recently come to light, the legend itself must have proceeded from him. Some additional information in the latter part of the inscription, relating to the native inhabitants, and the productions of the country, may have been gathered in the voyage of the following year. Sebastian Cabot, without doubt, was in possession of his father's maps, on which would be inscribed by John Cabot himself the day on which the discovery was made.

"Whatever opinions, therefore, historical scholars may entertain as to Sebastian Cabot's connection with this map in its present form, or with the inscriptions upon it as a whole, all must admit that the state-

ments embodied in No. 8, and, it may be added, in No. 17, could have been communicated by no one but Sebastian Cabot himself. The only alternative is that they are a base fabrication by a stranger. Moreover, this very map itself, or a map with these legends upon it, as we shall see farther on, was in the possession of Richard Eden, or was accessible to him; and one of its long inscriptions was translated into English, and printed in his *Decades*, in 1555, as from 'Cabot's own card,'—and this at a time when Cabot was living in London, and apparently on terms of intimacy with Eden. Legend No. 8 contains an important statement which is confirmed by evidence recently come to light, namely, the fact of John Cabot's agency in the discovery of North America; and although the name of the son is here associated with the father, it is a positive relief to find an acknowledgment from Sebastian himself of a truth that was to receive, before the close of the century, important support from the publication of the *Letters Patent* from the archives of the State. And this should serve to modify our estimate of the authenticity of reports purporting to come from Sebastian, in which the father is wholly ignored, and the son alone is represented as the hero. The long inscription, No. 17, contains an honorable mention of his father, as we have already seen; and in the Latin duplicate, the language in the passage which I have given in English will be seen to be even more emphatic than is expressed in the Spanish text. Indeed, in several instances in the Latin, though generally following the Spanish, so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, there are some statements of fact not to be found in the Spanish. The passage already cited concludes thus in the Latin: 'And also from the experience and practice of long sea-service of the most excellent John Cabot, a Venetian by nation, and of my author [the map is here made to speak for itself], Sebastian his son, the most learned of all men in knowledge of the stars and the art of navigation, who have discovered a certain part of the globe for a long time hidden from our people.'

"Though we are not quite willing to believe that Sebastian Cabot wrote the eulogy of himself contained in this passage, yet who but he could have known of those facts concerning his father, who, we suppose, had been dead some fifty years before this map was composed?

"The map itself, as a work of Sebastian Cabot, is unsatisfactory, and many of the legends on its sides are also unworthy of its alleged author. It brought forward for the first time, in Legend 8, the year 1494 as the year of the discovery of North America, which the late M. D'Avezac accepted, but which I cannot but think, from undoubted evidence, to be adduced farther on, is wrong. The 'terram primum visam' of the legend is inscribed on the northern part of Cape Breton, and there would seem to be no good reason for not accepting this point on the coast as Cabot's landfall. The 'y de s. Juan,' the present Prince Ed-

ward Island, is laid down on the map; and although Dr. Kohl thinks that the name was given by the French, and that Cabot may have taken it, not from his own survey, but from the French maps, I have seen no evidence of the application of the name on any map before this of Cabot. Cartier gave the name 'Saint Jean' to a cape on the west coast of Newfoundland, in 1534, discovered also on St. John's Day; but this fact was not known, in print at least, till 1556, when the account of his first voyage was published in the third volume of Ramusio.

"We find no strictly contemporaneous reference to this map, or evidence that it exerted any influence on opinions respecting the first two voyages of the Cabots; and the name of John Cabot again sinks out of sight. Dr. Kohl has called attention to the fact that the author of this map has copied the coast line of the northern shore largely from Ribero.

"It may be added that the inscription No. 8, on Cabot's map, has since its republication by Hakluyt, with an English version by him, in 1589, been regarded as containing the most definite and satisfactory statement which had appeared as to the discovery of North America, the date as to the year having been subjected to some interesting criticisms, to be referred to farther on."¹

In copying this clear and exact statement by Mr. Deane, I have omitted the footnotes; but one of them is of sufficient importance to be given here as an appendix to the foregoing. It is as follows:

"It is supposed that a new edition of this map was published in 1549, the year after Sebastian Cabot returned to England. The only evidence of this is contained in a thick duodecimo volume first published in 1594, at Herborn, in Nassau, edited by Nathan Chytræus, entitled *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ*, — a work consisting of monumental and other inscriptions, antique legends, and curious bits of antiquity in prose and verse, picked up by the diligent compiler in almost every country in Europe. He was in England in 1565; and apparently at Oxford, he saw a document, 'a geographical table,' under which he found several inscriptions in not very elegant Latin, which he copied and printed in his volume, filling twenty-two pages of the book. They are wholly in Latin, and correspond substantially with the Latin inscriptions on the Paris map described above. There is this difference. The inscriptions here are but nineteen in number, whereas on the Paris map there are twenty-two, five of them in Spanish only. No. xviii. of Chytræus is in the body only of the map, and in Spanish; and No. xix. appears

¹ Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. pp. 20-24. It was Mr. Deane's opinion that the date on the map, MCCCCXCVII (1494), was a mistake for MCCCCXCVII (1497).

only in Spanish. In Chytræus, each inscription has a title prefixed, wanting, as a rule, on the Paris map. There are some verbal variations in the text, owing probably to the contingencies of transcription and of printing. In the legend No. xvii., which has the title, '*Inscriptio seu titulus Auctoris*,' the date 1549 is inserted as the year in which the map to which the inscriptions belonged was composed, instead of 1544, as in the Paris map."¹

The references in the body of the map to the legends at the sides are placed as follows : —

- No. 1, between the Bermuda Islands and the West Indies.
- No. 2, north of the Island of Antigua.
- No. 3, opposite to the west coast of Mexico.
- No. 4, opposite to the Strait of Magellan.
- No. 5, at the Molucca Islands.
- No. 6, opposite to the coast of Peru.
- No. 7, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata.
- No. 8, in Hudson Bay.
- No. 9, opposite to Iceland.
- No. 10, in the northern part of Russia.
- No. 11, in the northeastern part of Asia, where the reference is incorrectly given to Table 2, No. 2.
- No. 12, in the northern part of Asia.
- No. 13, in the middle of Africa.
- No. 14, in Hindostan, without a numerical reference, but it is indicated by the picture of a woman surrounded by flames.
- No. 15, north of Japan.
- No. 16, near Sumatra.
- No. 17, on the eastern side of the map, just south of the equator.
- No. 18, north of Europe and Asia.
- No. 19, in the Indian Ocean, nearly south of Hindostan.
- No. 20, directly below the preceding reference.
- No. 21, in the Indian Ocean, northwest from No. 19.
- No. 22, near Ceylon.

The Spanish and Latin inscriptions as copied for Mr. Deane, and the English translation procured by him, here follow. In the translation, words which are in the Spanish version but not in the Latin are printed in italics. The additions of the Latin version are given in the footnotes. Mr. Deane apparently employed two different persons to copy the inscriptions.

¹ Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. p. 21. Mr. Deane owned two editions of Chytræus (1594 and 1606); and there was an edition dated 1600.

The copyist of the Spanish version found his text put upon the map in such a bungling manner, in respect to the separation of syllables and the running together of words and in other ways, that he wrote out the abbreviations and corrected the spelling, in order to render the meaning intelligible. His copy has, therefore, been carefully followed. The Latin version was in a better state, but it contained a great number of abbreviations which could not be easily represented by modern type; and though these abbreviations were preserved by the Latin copyist, they have been spelled out in printing, to conform to the rule adopted with regard to the Spanish version.

TABULA PRIMA.

Del almirante.

Nº 1. El almirante Don Christoval Colon, de nacion ginovez, se ofresció á los Catholicos Reyes, de gloriosa memoria, que descubriria las islas y tierra firme de las Indias, por el occidente, si para ello le diesen suficiente armada y favor, y aviendole, armado tres caravelas, el anno de 1492 passó á descubririas; y dende en adelante otras muchas personas an proseguido el dicho descubrimiento, segun que por la presente discrecion [descripcion] se manifesta.

Nº 2. En la isla Española ay mucho oro de nascimiento, y azul muy fino, y mucho azucar y cañaistola, e infinito ganado de toda suerte. Los puercos desta isla dan á los dolientes, como acá en nuestras partes carnero. Tiene esta dicha isla muchos puertos y muy buenos, y el principal dellos es la cibdad de Sant Domingo, que es una cibdad muy buena y de mucho tracto: y todos los otros son lugares edificados y pueblados por los Españoles. Y en la isla de Cuba, y de Sant Joan, y en todas las otras islas & tierra firme, se halla mucho oro de nascimiento: Y en la cibdad de Sant Domingo tiene su magestad su chancelleria Real, y en todos los otros pueblos y provincias gobernadores y regidores que los gobiernan y rigen con mucha justicia. Y cada dia se van descubriendo nue-

Nº 1. Architalassus Dominus Christophorus Colon natione Ligur, aperturum se occidentales Indorum Insulas & continentem Regibus Catholicis felicis memorie pollicitus est, si ad hanc provinciam capessendam, necessaria sibi abunde impenderint; quippe qui trium navium, regio apparatus, & copiis omnibus, suffultum emiserunt, anno ab orbe redempto 1492; post eum plurimi succedentes has provincias nobis clausas aperuerunt, pro ut in præsentí descriptione patet.

Nº 2. Hispania hæc Insula innumeri prædives pecoris & armentorum est. Plurimo inde extracto abundat auro, Saccaro & Cassia fistula; permulte navium stationes, ac tutissimi insunt portus. Præcipuus autem omnium est sancti Dominici, quæ civitas insignis esse perhibetur, multique commercii, reliquæ siquidem Colonie ductæ ab Hispaniis & conditæ sunt. Cubæ ac divi Joannis cæterisque omnibus Insulis, necnon continenti, auri fodinæ innumerae passim effodiuntur. Hæc loca omnia frequentibus incolis habitantur. Celebris divi Dominici urbe, regium forum præest, Imperatoris edicto, in aliis vero oppidis, villis & Insulis, ejus gubernatores & populos regunt, ratione & legum sinceritate potius quam animi affectibus. Incognite seu ignotæ nobis Indorum regiones indies aperiuntur, ex-

vas tierras y provincias muy ricas, por donde nuestra sancta fe catholica es, y será, muy aumentada; y estos Reynos de Castilla han grandescidos de muy gloriosa fama y riquezas

Nº 3. Esta tierra firme, que los Españoles llamaron la nueva España, conquistóla el muy illustre cavallero don Fernando Cortes, Marques del Valle de Guaxacon. Ay en esta tierra provincias y cibdades innumerables; la principal dellas es la cibdad de Mexico, la qual tiene mas de cinquenta mil vezinos; está en una laguna salada que coge quarenta leguas. Ay en dicha cibdad, y en todas las otras provincias mucho oro, plata de nascimiento y de todo genero de piedras preciosas; y criase en la dicha tierra y provincias mucha seda y muy buena, y algodón y alumbre, orchilla, y pastel, grana, y azafran, y azucar, y de todo lo suso dicho mucha cantidad, de lo qual muchas naos vienen cargadas á estos Reynos de España. Los naturales desta tierra son muy avisados en todo tracto de mercaderias; usan en lugar de moneda unas almendras partidas por medio que ellos llaman cacao, o cacanghate, barbara dicion. Tienen mucho trigo, y cevada, y otras muchas semillas, y viñas y muchas fructas de diversas suertes. Es tierra de muchos animales; ciervos, puercos monteses, leones, pardos, tygres y otra mucha caza, así de aves como de animales terrestres. Es gente muy abil en contrahazer al natural qualquiera figura de bulto y en debuxar pinturas. Las mugeres comunemente se adornan con piedras preciosas y perlas de valor. Usan estos Indios cierta especie de papel en el qual debuxan con figuras todo lo que quieren dezir, en lugar de letras. Nunca tuvieron paz entre ellos, antes los unos perseguian á los otros con batallas continuas, en las quales, los que eran presos de una parte y de otra los enemigos los sacrificavan á sus dioses, cuyos cuerpos muertos eran mantenimientos publicos á la hueste. Eran ydolatras y adoravan lo que se les antojava; eran muy amigos de comer carne humana; puesto que al

pugnanturque, quo fides catholica felix ac faustum capit incrementum. Hispania vero congestis undique opibus ditior evadit.

Nº 3. Hanc continentem Hispani à suo nomine novam Hispaniam denominaverunt, quam illustris dominus Fernandus Cortesius, Vallis & Guaxaco Marchio expugnavit; ejus plurimæ insunt provincie, urbesque innumerae habitantur, quarum insignior Mexicum nuncupatur, Indorum nomine. Hæc siquidem numero quingenta incolorum millia excedit, eamque Lacus quidam salsus circuit, quadraginta parasangis; inde extracta maxima auri & argenti copia, ac preciosis lapillis, cum reliquæ aliæ hujus provincie urbes, tum ipsa Mexicum præcipuè abundat, plurimæ hæc bombix & gossipium, alumen, crocum, glastum, aliæque ad inficiendum colores producuntur. Præsertim saccharum, seu arundineus succus, adeo passim prodit, ut omnes Hispanorum naves annuatim ad Bæthicam Hispaniam onerentur, indeque ad omnes provincias, hujus incolæ ad commutandas omnimodas merces callidissimi sunt. Pro numis enucleatis mediis amigdalis utuntur, quod numerum genus Cacao, seu Cacagnato barbaro Indorum nomine appellant; tritico, ordeo, aliisque seminibus, uvis & cæteris fructibus plurimum abundat; innumera terrestrium animalium genera, præcipuè Cervorum, Aprorum, Leonum, Pardorum, Tigridum passim vagantur, aviumque volatiliū inexhausta propemodum multitudo, quæ quidem loca omnia venationis plena. Ea gens doctissima & apprime studiosa est, tam ad formandas qualescunque res sculpendi arte, quam ad effigiendas quasvis exacte figuras graphice. Eorum mulieres gemmis unionibus & preciosis lapillis adornantur. Papyri quodam genere Indi utuntur, in quo figuris quibusdam deliniant quæcunque voluerint pro lilteris. Nunquam mutuo pacem inlerunt concordii fœdere, quinimò se invicem insequabantur bellis assiduīs ac detestandis. Qui vero ex utraque acie victi capiebantur, hi cœu victimæ diis patriis pro victoria litabantur, quorum

presente se despojaron de aquellas fieras y crueles costumbres, y se vistieron de Jesu Christo, creyendo de buen corazon nuestra sancta ley Evangelica, y obedesciendo á la sancta madre yglesia y á sus mandamientos sanctisimos.

Nº 4. Este estrecho de todos sanctos descubrió Hernando de Magallanes, Capitan de una armada que mandó hazer la S. c. c. m. del Imperator Don Carlos y Rey, nuestro sennor, para el descubrimiento de las islas Maluco. Ay en este estrecho hombres de tan grande estatura que parescen Gigantes. Es tierra muy desierta; y vistense de pieles de animales.

Nº 5. Estas islas de Maluco fueron descubiertas por Fernando de Magallanes, Capitan de una armada que su magestad mandó hazer para el descubrimiento de las dichas islas, y por Joan Sebastian del Canno: es á saber, que el dicho Fernando de Magallanes descubrió el estrecho de todos sanctos, el qual está en LII grados y medio hazia el polo Antartico; y despues de aver passado el dicho yio estrecho syn' [estrecho, y no sin] grandisimo trabajo y peligro, prosiguló su viaje hazia las dichas yslas por espacio de muchos dias, [y] llegó á unas yslas de las quales la meridional dellas está en XII grados; y por ser la gente della tan buliciosa, y porque les hurtaron el batel de una nao, la pusieron nombre la Aguada, porque ay tomaron agua; y de ay adelante descubrieron otra, que se dize Bunham, y Aceilani, y otra, que se dize Cubu, en la qual ysla murió el dicho Capitan, Hernando de Magallanes, en una escaramuza que uvo con

cadavera pro publicis dapibus exercitui apparabantur. Ea gens Idolorum cultrix erat, carnis hominum avidissima, adorabatque omnia quibus animus ejus quotidie afflicebatur. Etai tempestate nostra ferinis illis antiquis moribus exuta & Christum Dominum nostrum se induens, eum fido corde profiteatur, veneretur, & colat: Evangelicæ fidei, Christicolæque religioni firmiter credens, sacre sanctæque Catholicæ orthodoxorum Ecclesiæ synceris monitis divinisque præceptis obtemperans.

Nº 4. Fretum hoc Omnium Sanctorum Fernandus Magallianus aperuit, quem classis regie Hispanorum ad aperiendum expugnandumque Malucarum Insulas S. c. c. Majestas Caroli Imperatoris invictissimæ Regis Domini nostri hujus nominis quinti, ducem præfecerat. Qui hoc freto degunt, Gigantes potius terrigenesque homines esse traduntur, horum regio amplissima, vasta solitudine, ac raro habitatore colitur, hi hominum solis animalium pellibus induuntur.

Nº 5. Has Malucarum Insulas Fernandus Magallianus diu nostratibus clausas aperuit, necnon Joannes Sebastianus del Canno ejus successor, quem inquam Fernandum ad opulentissimas has Indorum Insulas aperiendas S. c. c. Majestas Caroli Imperatoris domini nostri hujus nomine quinti, suæ regis Hispanorum classi ducem & gubernatorem præfecerat, quæ quidem classis è portu Hispalis insignis clivitatis Beticæ provinciæ nauticum solvit. Is itaque primo fretum Omnium Sanctorum aperuit, quod ab equinoctiali ad Antarticum vergens 52. gradibus cum dimidio distat; cumque supradictas Insulas petens haud sine maximo sui periculo suorumque labore intolerabili, ulterius navigare pergeret. Tandem longo post tempore quibusdam appulit Insulis, è quibus à Polo Arctico, quæ magis ad meridiem expectat duodecim ab æquatore gradibus semota est, cujus homines agilitate aprime callidi sunt, quorum latrociniis, quia cymbula quædam classis, è conspectu nautarum Hispanorum evanuit, ea loca, latronum Insulas denominaverunt. Hinc deinceps

los naturales della; y la gente que quedó de la dicha armada eligieron Joan Sebastian del Canno por Capitan della: el qual despues descubrió la ysla de Bendanao, en la qual ay mucho oro de nacimiento y canela muy fina; y asý mismo descubrió á la ysla de Polloan, y á la de Brunay, y á la de Gilolo, y á la ysla de Tridori, y á la de Terenati, y Motil, y otras muchas, en las quales ay mucho oro, y clavo, y nuez moscada, y otro genero de especeria y drogueria. Cargó el dicho Sebastian del Canno dos naos, que les avia quedado de cinco que llevaron, de clavo en la dicha ysla de Tidorí, porque en ella, y en la dicha ysla de Terenati, dizen nacer el dicho clavo, y no en otra alguna; y asý mismo truxo mucha canela y nuez moscada. Y viniendo la buelta del cabo de buena esperanza por el mar Indico adelante, para venir á España, una nao le fue forzado de arribar y tornar á la ysla de Tidorí, de donde se partió, por la mucha agua que hazia; y el dicho Capitan Joan Sebastian del Canno, con su nao, nombrada Sancta Maria de la victoria, vino á estos Reynos de Castilla, á la cibdad de Sevilla, Anno de m. d. xxii, por el cabo de buena esperanza. De manera que claramente parece aver dado el dicho Joan Sebastian del Canno una buelta á todo lo universo; por quanto fue tanto por occidente, aunque no por un paralelo, que bolvió por el oriente al lugar occidental de donde se partió.

Nº 6. Estas provincias fueron descubiertas por el honrado y muy efforzado cavallero, Francisco Pizarro, el qual fue governador dellas durante su vida; en las quales ay infinito oro y plata de nacimiento, y minas de esmeraldas muy finas. El pan que tienen hazenlo de maiz, y el vino semejantemente; tienen mucho trigo y otras semillas.

ulteriori navigatione aperuit quendam Insulam, cui Laguada nomen indidit- quoniam eodem aquatum ire illi contigit: Aperuit & alias Bunham scilicet, Aceliani & Acubu, quarum ultima dictus Fernandus Magellianus congressu quodam Indorum hostium vita functus est, cui Joannes Sebastianus del Caño totius classis suffragiis, votisque omnium electus feliciter successit, qui postea sequentes Insulas Bedenao, Apoloam, Brunai, Gilolo, Atidori, Terrenati, Motil, aliasque quàm plurimas Insulas prosperè aperuit quibus maxima auri copia exoritur, Gariophilorum, Cinamomi, nucisque miristice, ac omnium aromatum & mercium, adeò ut ipse classiarius Joannes Sebastianus del Caño duas naves ex quinque, quas à naufragio ceperat incolumes, Tidorí Insula Gariophyllis oneravit. In illa siquidem ac Terenati tantum, in aliis vero Insulis nusquam produci aiunt: Abundat itidem Cinamomum, ac nuces miristice Bendenaolégantur, quarum etiam maximam copiam inde abstulit. Dumque is ad Hispaniam per mare Indicum rediret, ac bonæ spei promontorium insinuare perperat, altera navium sentinam exantlare haud faciliè valens, ne fluctibus obrueretur, Tidorí Insulam iterum petere coactus fuit, unde mare metiri coeperat: Joannes vero Sebastianus del Canno bonæ spei promontorium pertransiens, navi, qua vehebatur cui nomen diva victrix Maria, Hispalim civitatem Beticæ regionis tuto adire potitus est, unde primum navigare inchoaverat, Anno à nativitate redemptoris 1522. Ex quo satis constat Joannem Sebastianum del Canno totum orbem circulariter navigasse, utpote qui adeo occidentalem plagam usque permeavit, ut eam transiens ad occidentem iterum rediret, unde primum iter coeperat.

Nº 6. Has provincias nobis aperuerunt expugnaveruntque magnanimi equites Franciscus Pizarro & Almagro, qui inquam Franciscus Pizarro has dum vixerit gubernavit; copiosè inde extractis divitiis. Abundant enim aurifodinis & preciosis Smaragdia. Panis eorum quo vescuntur, & vinum quod bibunt, ex quadam spica prægrandi fit,

Es gente bellicosa; usan en sus guerras arcos, y hondas, y lanzas; sus armaduras son de oro y plata. Ay en las dichas provincias unas ovejas de hechura de pequennos camelos; tienen la lana muy fina. Son gentes idolatras y de muy sutil ingenio; y en toda la ribera de la mar, con mas de veinte leguas dentro de la tierra, no llueve. Es tierra muy sana. Los Christianos tienen hecho en ella muchos pueblos, y cada dia van aumentandolos.

Nº 7. Lllaman los Indios á este gran Rio, el Rio huruai, en castellano, el Rio de la plata. Toman este nombre del Rio huruai, el qual es un Rio muy caudaloso, que entra en el gran Rio de Parana. Descubriólo Joan Diaz de Solis, piloto mayor de los catholicos reyes de gloriosa memoria; y descubrió hasta una isla, que el dicho Joan Diaz puso nombre la isla de Martin Garcia, porque en ella enterró un marinero, que se decia Martin Garcia; la qual dicha isla está obra de treynta leguas arriba de la boca deste Rio; y costéle bien caro el dicho descubrimiento, porque los Yndios de la dicha tierra lo mataron y lo comieron. Y despues passados muchos annos lo bolvió á hallar Sebastian Caboto, Capitan y Piloto mayor de S. c. e. m. del Imperador don Carlos, quinto deste nombre y Rey, nuestro sennor, el qual yva por Capitan general de una armada que su majestad mandó hazer para el descubrimiento de Tarsis, y Ofir y Catayo oriental; el qual dicho capitan Sebastian Caboto vino á este Rio por caso fortuito, porque la nao capitana, en que yva, se le perdió, y visto que no podia seguir el dicho su viaje, acordó de descubrir con la gente que llevava el dicho Rio, vista la grandisima relacion que los Indios de la tierra le dieron de la grandisima riqueza de oro y plata, que en la dicha tierra avia; y no sin grandisimo trabajo y hambre y peligros, así de su persona como de los que con el iban. Y procuró el dicho capitan de hazer cerca del dicho rio algunas poblaciones de la gente que llevó de España. Este Rio es mayor que nynguno de quantos acá

que Indorum idiomate Maiz appellatur. Ea gens belligera est, acri ingenio, idolorumque cultrix, utiturque in bello fundis, arcu & iaculis. Armaturæ eorum aureæ sunt & argentæ. Genus quoddam ovium illic nascitur parvorum Camelorum simile, quarum lana mollis ac subtilissima est; ad viginti parasangas & amplius, tota litoralis ora nunquam pluvia madescet. Christicolæ plurimas illic ducunt colonias, indiesque eas augere student.

Nº 7. Vastum flumen hoc Indorum lingua Vruai, Hispano vero idiomate Rio de la plata nuncupatur, cui affluit & alius fluvius Parana nomine; hoc autem Joannes Dias de Solis invictissimorum catholicorumque regum Ferdinandi & Elizabeth archigubernius primus aperuit, Insulæ tenuis, quam à nomine cujusdam nautæ suæ classis ibi sepulti, Insulam Martini Gartiæ denominavit, quæ memoratum intra flumen ab ejus hostiis quadraginta parasangis distat. Hanc siquidem per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum, dum clausum suis aperit, expugnatque, ab Indis oppressus occisusque devoratur. Elapsis autem postea multis annis Sebastianus Cabotus navigandi arte astorumque peritissimus, dux & archigubernius Caroli Imperatoris, hujus nominis quinti regisque potentissimi, denuo nobis aperuit classe regia, cui ipse Imperator ducem præfecerat ad aperiendum insulas Tarsis, Ofir, Ciapangu & Eioicai, qui inquam archigubernius obiter flumen hoc intravit, in causa fuit, quia navium eius ductrix naufragium fecerat, procellosis obruta fluctibus, quo cursum sibi destinatum cum sociis minimè continuare potuit, cumque his nautis, qui mari recepti aderant, flumen aperire aggressus est haud sine magno sui periculo suorumque labore intolerabili, fame ac rerum omnium penuria, à nonnullis Indorum antea certior factus, regionem istam auro & argento omnium opulentissimam esse, quo solertissimus dux & archigubernius motus ducere colonias cepit; prope flumen nonnullos arces ac propugnacula condere diligenter curavit, quibus Hispani incolæ facile tuerentur, & vim hostium

se conocen; tiene de ancho en la entrada, que entra en la mar, veinte y cinco leguas, y trezientas leguas arriba de la dicha entrada tiene dos leguas en ancho. La causa de ser tan grande y poderoso es que entran en el otros muchos ríos, grandes y caudalosos. Es río de infinitísimo pescado y el mejor que ay en el mundo. La gente en llegando á aquella tierra quiso conocer si era fértil, y aparejada para labrar y llevar pan; y sembraron en el mes de setiembre LII granos de trigo, que no se halló mas en las naos, y cogieron luego en el mes de diciembre cinquenta y dos mill granos de trigo, que esta misma fertilidad se halló en todas las otras semillas. Los que en aquella tierra biven dicen, que no lexos de ay en la tierra adentro, que ay unas grandes sierras de donde sacan infinitísimo oro, y que mas adelante en las mismas sierras sacan infinita plata. Ay en esta tierra unas ovejas grandes como asnos comunes, de figura de camelos, salvo que tienen la lana tan fina como seda; y otras muy diversas animales. La gente de la dicha tierra es muy diferente entre sí, porque los que biven en las aldeas de las sierras son blancos como nosotros, y los que estan hazia la ribera del río son morenos. Algunos dellos dicen que en las dichas sierras ay hombres que tienen el rostro como de perro, y otros de la rodilla abaxo como de Abestruz, y que estos son grandes trabajadores y que cogen mucho mays, de que hazen pan, y vino del. Otras muchas cosas dicen de aquella tierra que no se pone aquí por no ser prolixas.

Nº 8. Esta tierra fue descubierta por Joan Caboto Veneciano y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de m. cccc. xciii, á veinte y quatro de Junio por la manñana; á la qual pusieron nombre prima tierra vista, y á una isla grande, que está par de la dicha tierra, le pusieron nombre

Indorum inde propellerent. Hoc flumen majus est omnibus nobis cognitis, cujus ostia mare adfluentia latitudine viginti quinque parasangis protenduntur. Reliquum hujus supra trecentas ab ostiis latitudine duobus parasangis dimittitur, cujus vasta profunditas causatur ex multorum confluxu ingentium fluviorum; multis abundat & optimis piscibus omnium quas mare nutrit. Gens nostra cum primum his appulit oris, an culta tellus illa fertilis esset & aptissima lætas ferre segetes periculum fecit, collectis quinquaginta duobus tritici granis, quæ in tota eorum classe invenerant mense Septembri terræ mandavit. Decembri vero duo milia supra quinquaginta mensult,¹ aliorum seminum ac leguminum eadem est fertilitas. Hujus regionis incolæ non procul inde celsos quosdam montes inesse aiunt, è quibus ingentem auri copiam extrahere solent, nec multo longiori intervallo alios asserunt innumero abundare argento, & alia cum visu tum dictu innumerabilia enarrantur, quæ pro eorum prolixitate ne fastidiant animos silentio traduntur. Hi homines proni sunt ad laborem, ac terræ cultus studiosissimi, unde multum vini & panis conficiunt ex ea spica, quam Indi Maiz appellant. Quoddam genus ovium hic magno corpore adest parvorum camelorum instar, quarum vellera permolli ac tenuissima lana, ceu bombice exornantur suntuque alia quàm plurima diversorum animalium genera. Hujus regionis homines, forma & colore inter se longe differunt siquidem qui in montibus degunt, albi colore & nobis similes sunt: qui vero fluminis ripas incolunt, hi fusco & tetro colore nigrent. Nonnulli eorum caninam faciem habere perhibentur, quidam autem pedes & tibias ad struthocamelorum similitudinem habent.

Nº 8. Terram hanc olim nobis clausam aperuit Joannes Cabotus Venetus, necnon Sebastianus Cabotus ejus filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494. die vero 24. Julii,² hora 5. sub diluculo, quam terram primum visam appellarunt, & In-

¹ Should be "mensuit."

² In Chytraeus it reads "1594 die verò 24. Janii."

sant Joan, por aver sido descubierta el mismo dia. La gente della andan vestidos de pieles de animales, usan en sus guerras arcos y flechas, lanzas, y dardos, y unas porras de palo, y hondas. Es tierra muy steril; ay en ella muchos orsos blancos, y ciervos muy grandes como cavallos, y otras muchas animales; y semejantemente ay pescado infinito, sollos, salmones, lenguados muy grandes de vara en largo, y otras muchas diversidades de pescados, y la mayor multitud dellos se dizen baccallaos; y así mismo ay en la dicha tierra halcones, prietos como cuervos, aguilas, perdicés, pardillas, y otras muchas aves de diversas maneras.

Nº 9. En esta ysla de Islanda ay grandisima multitud de pescado; tomanlo en el yvierno, y secanlo con el grande frio que haze allá porque esta dicha isla está dentro del circulo Artico; y en el verano van allá de muchas partes, y mercan del dicho pescado así seco á trueque de harina y cervesa; y este dicho pescado es tan seco y duro, que para comerlo lo baten con unos martillos de hierro encima de unas piedras duras como marmol, y despues le ponen á remojar un dia o dos, y así lo comen despues, cozido con manteca de vacas. Y en toda esta mar setentrional ay grandisima multitud de pescado, y muchos dellos grandes y de monstruosa forma; an visto los que en esta mar navigan morenas grandisimas, que parescen grandes sierpes, y acometer á los navios para comerse los navegantes. Los naturales de la dicha isla la mayor parte dellos hazen sus casas debaxo de tierra, y las paredes de huesos de pescados; no tienen leña salvo unos pequenos arbolezitos y destos muy pocos, y en pocos lugares, Mas el Proveedor de todas las cosas lo provee cada anno, que le viene por la mar, de hazia las partes setentrionales de la dicha isla, muy grandisima multitud de arboles de diversas suertes y grandezas, como cosa de naufragio, transportados de furiosos vientos septentrionales á la costa de la dicha isla; de los quales los naturales se proveen, y gastan para

esulam quandam magnam ei oppositam, Insulam divi Joannis nominarunt, quippe que solenni die festo divi Joannis aperta fuit. Hujus terræ incolæ pellibus animalium induuntur, arcu in bello, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clavis ligneis, & fundis utuntur: sterilis incultaque tellus fuit, leonibus, ursis albis, procerisque cervis, piscibus innumeris, lupis scilicet, salmonibus & ingentibus soleis unius ulnæ longitudine, aliisque diversis piscium generibus abundat, horum autem maxima copia est, quos vulgus Bacallios appellat; ad hæc insunt accipitres nigri corvorum similes, aquilæ, perdicæque fusco colore, aliæque diversæ volucres.

Nº 9. Hæc Insula innumera piscium multitudinem abundat, quos ejus incolæ hyeme capiunt & Boreali horriferoque frigore desiccant, utpote inque sub Arcti sita circulo, penetrabile frigus constringit desiccando. Ineunte autem vere Angli, Germani, aliarumque diversarum regionum incolæ huc adnavigant, pisces hos frigore desiccatos empturi, cervisæ & farinæ commutatione. Estque hoc piscium genus adeo durum, ut malleis ferreis superlapidem pertundere necesse sit, postea vero aqua biduo molire, quo tandem butyro condientes comedant. Nec solum hæc Insula ingentem piscium copiam alit, sed etiam totum mare Scythicum, quorum nonnulli adeo vasto corpore emergunt, ut monstra potius marina quam pisces videantur. Fertur à quibusdam hoc mare navigantibus adeo hic ingentes murenas prospici, serpentibus similes ut naves ipsas invadere audeant, quo nautas & vectores arripientes devorent. Insulæ hujus incolæ subterranea domicilia sibi construunt, quorum parietes piscium ossibus erigunt, lignorum autem penuria laborant, perexigua siquidem arbuscula raraque hic pullulant, sed summus ille gubernator his necessaria annuatim satis copiosè largitur ex Septentrionali plaga, quàm plurimæ varietate ac proceræ arbores, turbine ventorum eradicatæ immanique agilitate procella his littoribus, naufragii instar impelluntur, quibus incolæ

todo lo á ellos necesario. Y dicen que muchas veces oyen hablar spiritus, y llamarse por sus nombres, y parecer á personas vivas, y dezirles quien son, y en ciertas partes de la dicha isla salen unos fuegos muy horribles, y otras muchas maravillas dicen los naturales desta dicha isla que ay en ella.

Nº 10. Los hombres que habitan en esta region son salvajes; carecen de pan y de vino; amansan ciervos y cavalgan en ellos; y pelean con otra gente, que está mas adelante hazia el setentrion, que ellos llaman nocturnos, porque van de noche y hazen sus haciendas como acá de día; y esto porque los dias allá, desde XIII de setiembre hasta x de marzo, son tan pequenos que non ay una hora de claridad. Son muy mala gentes, alteadores; roban á todos los que pasan por ay cerca; navio ninguna no osa estar surto á la costa por miedo destos hombres nocturnos, porque matan y roban á todos quantos pueden aver á las manos. Y un poco adelante destos nocturnos, hazia el sudueste, dicen aver unos monstruos que tienen todo el cuerpo como de persona humana, salvo la cabeza, que tienen como de puerco, y que gruñendo se entienden como puercos.

abunde utuntur. Aiunt præterea per sæpe hic audire spiritus se mutuo alloquentes, propriisque nominibus se invicem appellantes, & vivis hominibus nonnunquam apparentes, quibus se ac sua nomina, quæ sint indicare perhibentur, & quibusdam ejusdem Insulæ locis, ignis, visu horribilis per se excutitur & procul jactatur, rotaturque. Et plura alia cum visu tum auditu mirabilia hujus Insulæ inesse asserunt quæ brevitatis causa omittuntur.

Nº 10. Hujus regionis incolæ ferinis moribus imbuti, solitudinem incolunt sylvestresque omnino sunt, panem & vino penitus carent, cervos cicures ac mites reddentes, horum dorsis invehuntur. Cumque his hominibus magis ad Septentrionem vergentibus bella semper ineunt Nocturnis nomine appellatis, quia suas ipsorum res tam publicas quam privatas noctu, quemadmodum apud nos diu nostrates peragunt, eis quoque hoc evenit, quia è decimo quarto Septembris die, usque ad decimum Martii adeo breviter dies eorum semper evolat, ut vix unius horæ spatium contineat; ea gens pessima est, cassatrixque & omnimodo latrocinii deditissima, adeo ut nullus viator ea loca adeat, quin ab eisdem Nocturnis occidatur spolieturque. Paulo ante ulterius à Nocturnis Aphricum versus monstra quædam inesse aiunt, quæ quidem toto corpore hominibus, capite vero porcis similia sunt, & grunientes porcorum instar se mutuo intelligunt.

TABULA SECUNDA.

Nº 11. Los que habitan en esta Region, algunos adoran el Sol, otros la primera cosa que ven por la manana quando se levantan, otros adoran un pedaço de paño colorado que ponen encima de una lança, y asy cada uno adora lo que se le antoja: estan debaxo del poder del gran Can, Imperador de los Tartaros.

Nº 12. Aquí ay monstruos semejantes á hombres, que tienen las orejas tan grandes que les cubre todo el cuerpo; y mas adelante, hazia oriente, dicen que ay unos hombres que no tienen coyuntura

Nº 11. Eorum qui hac regione degunt, quidam Solem adorant: Alii vero exurgentes læte quicquid primum viderint: Alii item frustum panni rubri hasta affligentes venerantur numinis instar.

Nº 12. Sunt hic monstra hominibus similia, quæ adeo demissas prægrandesque habent aures, ut his totum corpus operiant. Ulteriusque orientem versus quædam homines inesse perhi-

ninguna hazia las Rodillas ny en los pies: Estan debaxo del poder del gran Can. En la provincia de Balor, la qual tiene cinquenta dias de andadura, son hombres silvestres; habitan en los montes y florestas.

Nº 13. Aquí habita aquel poderoso Rey de Aziumba y Auxama, que algunos llaman Preste Joan, al qual sesenta Reyes le dan obediencia; es abundantísimo de toda riqueza, y nunca se halla que fuese vencido en batalla alguna, mas muchas vezes bolvió del medio dia, de los pueblos Throgloditas, gente nuda y negra, con gloriosa victoria; la qual gente llega hasta el cabo de buena esperanza. Entre la qual gente ay una nacion que no hablan, mas sifflando se entienden. Y este no es el Preste Joan, porque el Preste Joan tenia su sennoria en la Yndia oriental y meridional, fasta que Chenchis, primero Rey de los Tartaros, lo venció y superó en una muy cruel batalla, en la qual murió; y el dicho Chenchis le tomó todos sus Reynos y sennorias, y dexó bivar los Christianos en su ley, y les dió Rey Christiano que los regiese y gobernase; el qual Rey se llamava Jorge, y despues aca todos los reyes que suceden se llaman Jorge, como lo dize Marco Polo mas largamente á los xlii y á los xlviii capitulos de su libro.

Nº 14. El Rey desta provincia y Reyno de Bengala es muy poderoso señor y tiene debaxo de su sennoria muchas cibdades, y muy grandes y de mucho tracto. Ay en este provincia y Reyno mucha canela, clavo, gengibre, pimienta, sandalos, lacar y seda en mucha cantidad. Tienen por costumbre en este Reyno y provincia, despues que mueren, de quemar los cuerpos; y quando el marido muere primero que la muger, quemase la muger biva con el marido, diciendo que va á gozar con el en el otro mundo; y es desta manera; que muriendo el marido la muger haze un gran combite y se viste de los mas ricos vestidos que tiene; al qual combite

bentur, quorum genua & pedes junctura carent, deguntque sub ditione magni Canis, in illa provincia, quem Balor eorum nomine dicitur, hæc quinquaginta dierum iter continet. Hi homines sylvestres omnino sunt, montium nemorumque cultores.

Nº 13. Hic potentissimus ille regum degit, Aziumbæ Auxamæque civitatibus Imperans, quem vulgus Preste Joannem appellant, cujus ministerio astrincti sexaginta Reges versantur, quorumvltis potentissimorum Regum felicissimam sortem divitis suis exuperans, quippe qui nunquam bello ut illis pro illis¹ victus recessit, sed sæpe Throgloditis nudo nigroque corpore populis meridei maxima cum victoria triumphans rediit, qui cum promontorio bonæ spei (ut fertur) conterminat, inter quos genus quoddam horum hominum non loquitur, sed sibilis tantum se invicem percipere solent. Hunc itaque haud Preste Joannem illum esse, facile constat, cum is Eois, ac meridionalibus Indis imperaret, donec Chenchis primus Tartarorum rex, crudelis bellico congressu quodam eum superans feliciter prostravit ejusque imperium armata manu usurpavit, Christicolique (quoscumque ibi invenerat) impune religione sua uti clemens concessit, ipsis Regem statuit ejusdem fidei, qui mitissimè eos regeret, ac benignè eos tractans gubernaret, Georgius nomine, cujus deinceps successores idem nomen sibi vendicabant, quemadmodum Marcus Polus libri sui quadragesimi, secundo & tertio capite copiosius refert.

Nº 14. Hujus provinciæ regnique Bengolæ potentissimus rex est, pluribus ingentibus ac insignibus & maximi commercii civitatibus dominatur, estque incredibili propemodum conjunctus necessitudine cum invictissimo Lusitanie Rege, quocum perpetuo federe pacem inivit unde ingens ei copia provenit Cinamomi, Gariophylorum, Zinziberis, Piperis, Sandalorum & Bombicis. Horum moris fuisse aunt cadavera cremare, & si uxoratus aliquis ex vivis decessisset, cum eo vivam ejus conjugem in rogo mariti comburere, credentes illam ad alium orbem migratam

¹ So on the map; but in Chytræus it is "aut ullis præliis."

vienen todos sus parientes y del marido, y despues de aver comido, va ella con toda la gente á un lugar donde está hecho un grandísimo fuego, cantando y baylando fasta llegar al dicho fuego; y despues hechan el cuerpo muerto del marido dentro, y luego ella se despide de sus parientes y amigos, y se lança en el fuego; y aquella que mas liberalmente se hecha en el fuego, aquella da honra á su linage. Mas ya esta costumbre no se usa como solia, despues que los portugueses tractaron con ellos, y le dieron á entender que Dios nuestro sennor no era servido de tal cosa.

Nº 15. El gran Can, Imperador de los Tartaros es muy grandísimo señor y muy poderoso; entitulase Rey de los Reyes y Sennor de los sennores; tiene por costumbre de dar á sus Varones vestidos treze vezes en el anno, en treze grandísimas fiestas que haze en cada un anno, y estas vestiduras son de mayor o menor valor, segun la calidad de las personas á quien se da; y á cada uno dan una cinta, y calzas, sombrero guarnescido de oro y perlas y piedras preciosas, segun la grandeza de las personas; y estas vestiduras que da el dicho gran Can en cada un anno son *CLVI. M*; y esto haze por egrandescer y magnificar sus fiestas. Y quando muere llevanlo á enterrar á un monte que se dize Alcaý, donde se entierran los gran Canes, Imperadores de los Tartaros; y los que lo llevan á enterrar matan á todos los que hallan, diciendoles; id á servir á nuestro sennor en el otro mundo; y assi mismo matan todos sus cavallos, camelo y azemilas que tienen, creyendo que van á servir á su sennor. Quando murió Mongui Can, Imperador de los Tartaros, fueron muertos trezientos mill hombres, que encontraron en el camino aquellos

eo ipso usque frui, cum quo hic vitam egerat. Cujus res hujusmodi erat, conjugē mortuō, uxor ejus convivium vivis solenne parabat, defunctoque parentalia, induebaturque auro & peplo preciosissimo, omnium quæ possidebat, & ad lautas epulas illas omnes confestim tam sui quam mariti affines & amici properantes convivabantur, quibus postquam exempta fames epulis, mensæque remotæ, tunc illa convivis omnibus & funerali pompa stipata ad pyram accedebat, exultansque canebat & tripudiabat, quo ubi pervenerat, mariti cadavera in ignem dejecta, ipsa deinceps in rogum desiliebat, extremum vale omnibus dicens, & quæ hilariori vultu in flammis se projiciebat, majori se suosque omnes honore afficiebat. Enimvero vanus ille ritus & detestanda religio evanuit, ex quo gens Lusitania eorum commercio utitur, quippe quæ diu eos admonens pessimum facinus illud dedocuit, quæ omnia Deo displicere facili nunc persuadentur.

Nº 15. Princeps ille Tartarorum, quem vulgo magnum Can nominant, locupletissimus potentissimusque esse perhibetur, jubetque superbissima nomenclatura se regem regum ac potentium omnium principem appellari. Huic morem esse aiunt, lis viris omnibus, qui in ejus aula suo ministerio astricti versantur, tredecim diebus festis, quos summo honore peculiari ritu quotannis celebrat, recentes preciosasque vestes pro cujusque meritis dare, donatque his omnibus festis etiam singulas zonas singulis singulaque tibialia, caligulas, galeros vel umbellas, auro, margaritis, ac preciosis gemmis circumseptas, ut cujusvis merita sunt. Vestium autem numerus quas singulis annis largitur, sex millium supra centum quinquaginta proditur, quæ omnia & sua festa colendi, ac extollendi, & proprii nominis celebrandi gratia diligentissimi fieri curat. Qui mortuus in montem, cui Alcai nomen inditum, tumulandus effertur. porro efferentes quotquot inter eundum obvios habent pro victimis occidunt. Aiunt siquidem, par esse, eos principem suum comitari, aut alio orbe debita servitutis obsequia sicut præstanda:

que lo llevavan á enterrar, segun dize Marco Polo en su libro, capitulo XLII. Poggio Florentino, Secretario del Papa Eugenio quarto, acerca del fin de su segundo libro, que escrivió de la variacion y mudanza de la fortuna, hace mucho para la confirmacion de lo que el dicho Marco Polo escrivió en su libro.

Nº 16. Diversas opiniones ay qual sea la Trapovana, despues que los Españoles y Portugueses navegaron el mar Indico: de la manera que el Ptolemeo la tiene situada, por grados de longitud y latitud, creo que á todos sea notorio. Algunos de los modernos descubridores tienen que la isla de Ceilan es la Trapovana; otros tienen que es la isla de Camatra. Plinio escribe de la Trapovana en su sexto libro, capitulo xxij, y dize que fue un tiempo que tuvieron opinion que la Trapovana fuese otro mundo, y que se llamava Antichtono; y que Alexandro fue el primero que nos dió noticia aquella ser isla; y que Onesechrito, almirante de su armada [dijo] que en la dicha isla de Trapovana ay mayores elephantes y mas bellicosos que en la India; y que Magasaene pone su longura siete mill estados, y de anchura cinco mill; que no ay en ella ciudad cercada, salvo sete cientos villages; y que en el principio de Claudio vinieron embaxadores de la dicha isla á Roma. Desta manera: el liberto Danio Plocamio, el qual avia mercado de la republica la renta del mar vermejo, y navegando al rededor de Arabia, fue dal viento setentrional transportado de manera, que al quintodecimo dia entró en un puerto de la dicha isla, el qual se dezia Hipno; y que fue del Rey liberalissimamente rescabido y tractado. Y que, despues de aver estado en la dicha isla seis meses, aprendió la lengua, y que un dia, hablando con el Rey, le dixo, que los Romanos y su Imperador eran de inaudita justicia, y que el Rey

mactant etiam equos omnes, camelos ac mulos, quibus vivens utebatur, persuasum habentes, ea omnia suo Principi post mortem servitura. Mortuo Mongui horum Tartarorum Principe, quem magnum Can appellari diximus, trecenta hominum milia in itinere, cum in montem (ut diximus) deferretur ab efferentibus reperta, auctore Marco Pollo libro quarto capite 24. caesa sunt asserit hoc idem Florentinus Pogius, qui à secretis fuit Eugenii Papæ quarti libro secundo de fortunæ mutatione, qui non dubia quæ à Pollo scripta sunt, apertissimè demonstrant.

Nº 16. Tarpovana quænam sit, ac ubi terrarum sita, varie auctores sentiunt, ex quo ab incolis Beticæ regionis, necnon Lusitanie mare Indicum navigari ceptum est. Utque à Ptolemæo secundum latitudinem graduum ac longitudinem ejus describitur, neminem latere censeo. Nonnulli vero neotericorum, qui incognita loca nobis nota tradidere, Ceilam insulam Taprobanam esse uno ore asserunt: Alii eam Camatram esse contendunt. Plinius libro 6. capite 22. hujus meminit, dicens: Taprobana alter orbis esse, sententiâ omnium habebatur, unde Antichton ab eis nuncupabatur. Alexandrum autem tradunt primum extitisse, qui eam insulam esse, non orbem indicaverit, utque Onesechritus classis ejus Architalassus refert. Hæc insula majores pugnationesque habet elephantes omnibus, quos tota India enutrit, cujus insule Magastes longitudinem septem milibus stadiorum, quinque vero milibus latitudinem metitur, nullaque civitas mœnibus vallatur, septingenta tamen villæ ejus provincie annumerantur. At hæc sub ditione Claudii circa primam sui Imperii gubernationem hujus Insulæ oratores Romam petiere hac de causa & ratione, Libertus Damius Plocamius à Romanis vectigalia & proventus maris rubri redemit, dumque Arabiam obnavigat, Septentrionalis ventus eum adeo procul disiecerat, ut quindecim elapsis diebus cuidam hujus Insulæ portui appulerit, cui nomen Hippurus, à cujus rege benigno hospitio susceptus est. Postquam sex menses, cum ejus idi-

mirando la moneda, que el dicho liberto tenia, eran de yqual peso aunque las ymages demonstravan ser de diversos Imperadores, movido desto, embió embaxadores á Roma; el primero fue Rachia, á conciliar amicitia con Claudio. De los quales embaxadores entendió que en la dicha isla avia cccc ciudades, y que estos dichos embaxadores se maravillaron de ver en este nuestro cielo Setentrion y las Vergilias, como cosa nueva y á ellos incognita; y que dezian que en la dicha isla no veían la luna sobre la tierra, si no del octavo dia fasta el quintodecimo; y maximamente se maravillavan que las sombras yvan hazia el nuestro cielo y no hazia el suyo, y que el sol saliese á la diestra y se pusiese á la siniestra; por las quales susodichas razones parece, que en la dicha isla, donde el dicho liberto aportó, no parece la estrella de Norte, la qual parece en la Trapovana isla. Por donde se podria dezir, atento de donde se partió el dicho liberto Danio Proclamio, y al camino que podria hazer con furioso viento setentrional, que la isla, donde el aportó, fue la isla de Sant Lorenzo y no la Trapubana. Y que el Rey de la dicha isla es elegido, por el comun, hombre viejo y clemente y sin hijos; y si despues de elegido engendrarse alguno, luego lo descomponen; y quando lo eligen, le dan treynta consejeros; y que el dicho Rey no pueda condenar á nadie, si la mayor parte de los dichos sus treynta consejeros no sean de consentimiento con el; y que despues, el dicho condenado puede apelar para el pueblo, el qual luego eligen setenta Juezes, los quales miran su causa; y si hallan que fue mal sentenciado, danlo por libre, y aquellos consejeros, que fueron en condenarlo, quedan privados de sus officios y por infames para siempre jamas.

oma satis apprime addicisset, ac longo sermone regem alloqueretur, maximam Romanorum justitiam, summamque eorum Imperatoris rectitudinem enarrabat, cumque Rex diversum monetæ genus Romanorum diu circumspiceret, quod Libertus secum attulerat, varia Imperatorum imaginem¹ impressos nummos, pondus vero æque omnium idem animadvertens, maximè admiratus est, unde confestim ad Romanorum Imperatorem Oratores legavit, qui perpetuo cum eo pacis fœdus inirent; cui cum sociis Rachias oratorum ejus celeberrimus Claudium conciliavit, ex quibus Imperator quintentas huic insulæ civitates inesse facile percepit. Inque sua cœli plaga Septentrionalem arctum & vergillarum ortum minimè videri, quibus conspectis admirabantur, siquidem hæc sidera sua regione incognita esse & nunquam apparere asserabant. Præterea Lunam ab octavo ad quintumdecimum usque diem tantum prospici aiebant. Illud omnium maximè eos admiratione afficiebat, quòd umbræ dextrorsum ad nostrum polum vergerent, cum sua ipsorum regione sinistras ire semper intuerentur, solemque dextra exoriri, leva vero occidi, quibus de causis & rationibus constat, arctum hac insula, cui Libertus appulit, nunquam videri, quodque Libertus insulam sancti Laurentii, non autem Taprobanam adiit. Siquidem ex Liberti cursu & navigatione, enarrationeque oratorum ad Tiberium, ut dictum est, insula, cui ipse Libertus Damius Plocamius appulit, haud Taprobana fuit, sed potius insula divi Laurentii. Huic insulæ moris esse aiunt regem è senioribus eligere comunibus omnium suffragiis, qui clementia, comitate, ac ingenui animi benignitate longe omnes superaret, quique sine liberis ac prole sit. Hic itaque sceptro jam potitus, si interim liberos adeptus fuerit, confestim regia potestate privari solet. Tempore autem quo is eligitur, triginta consiliarii, qui regi assistant decernunt. Hic autem neminem morti adjudicare potestatem habet, ni prius major eorum numerus ipsi suffragetur, ad hæc jure reo permittitur, qui à rege & ejus con-

¹ Should be "imagine."

siliariis mortis adjudicatus est, populum in sui defensionem provocare, hic protinus septuaginta legum peritissimos ac justissimos iudices deligit, qui ejus causam diligenter examinant, hi si reum mortis inique condemnatum communi omnium consensu compererint, eum illic vinculis solvunt, ac pristina libertati restitunt, consiliarios vero qui reum moriturum censuerunt injustissimè regio privant munere, ac perpetua ignominia afficiuntur.

Retulo del auctor con ciertas razones de la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del Norte.

Nº 17. Sebastian Caboto, capitan y piloto mayor de la S. c. c. m. del Imperador don Carlos, quinto deste nombre, y Rey, nuestro sennor, hizo esta figura, extensa en plano, anno del nascimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de MDXLIII annos, tirada por grados de latitud y longitud, con sus vientos, como carta de marear; imitando en parte al Ptolomeo y en parte á los modernos descubridores, asi Espannoles como Portugueses, y parte por su padre y por el descubierto, por donde podras navegar como por carta de marear teniendo respecto á la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del Norte: verbi gratia, tu te quieres partir del cabo de Sant Vincente para ir á tomar el cabo de Finisterra; mandaras gobernar tu navio al Norte por tu aguja de marear y yrás á dar dentro del dicho cabo, mas tu verdadero camino, que tu navio hizo, fue al Norte quarta del Nordeste, porque tu aguja de marear te Nordestea una quarta en el dicho cabo de Sant Vincente, de manera que, mandando gobernar tu navio al Norte por tu aguja de marear, tu camino será al Norte, quarta del Nordeste; y así mismo, partiendote de Salmedina, que es una baxa á la salida de San Lucar de Barra-meda, para yr á la punta de Naga de la isla de Tenerife, mandaras gobernar al Sudueste por tu aguja y yrás á tomar la dicha punta de Naga por lo que está situada en la carta de marear, mas tu camino no será al Sudueste, por quanto

Epilogus, in quo Auctor hujus Chartæ reddit certas rationes, variationis acus buxulæ nauticæ ad stellam Polarem.

Nº 17. Sebastianus Cabotus Dux & archigubernius S. c. c. m. domini Caroli Imperatoris, hujus nominis quinti, & Regis Hispaniæ domini nostri, summam mihi manum imposuit, & ad formam hanc protrahens, plana figura me deliniavit, anno ab orbe redempto, nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1544. qui me juxta graduum longitudinem ac latitudinem, ventorumque situm, cum docte tum fideliter, navigatoriæ Chartæ instar descripsit, Geographi Ptolemæi auctoritatem, peritiorumque omnium neotericorum loca clausa nobis aperientium tam Hispanorum quàm Lusitanorum fidem sequutus, necnon ex usu ac industria longæ navigationis integerrimi viri Joannis Caboti natione Veneti, atque Sebastiani astrorum peritia navigandique arte omnium doctissimi, ejus filii auctorisque mei, qui aliquantam orbis partem diu nostratibus clausam aperuerunt, qua propter me fida doctissimaque magistra, ceu Hydrographica charta utens, quocunque est animus mare metiri poteris, acus nauticæ variationem observans, qua ad Arctum vertitur. Cujus rei argumentum est: Sic ex sacro promontorio nauticum solveris, Celticum promontorium petiturus, navem licet protinus ad Arctum dirigere jubeas, Hydrographica acu, quo cursu recto tramite Finis terræ appuleris promontorio, iter tamen quod vere navis tua peregerat, non recta ad Arctum, sed Arctum versus ad quartam Cæciæ

tu aguja de marear te Nordeste en Salmedina una quarta larga, mas será tu camino al Sudueste, quarta del Sur largo; así que podras dezir que, partiendote del cabo de San Vincente al Norte, tu camino será Norte, quarta de Nordeste, y partiendote de Salmedina al Sudueste, tu camino sera al Sudueste, quarta del Sur; y así por consiguiente haras en toda otra parte deste universo, mirando la variacion que te haze la dicha aguja de marear con la estrella del Norte. Porque la dicha aguja no se buelve ny está en todo lugar al Norte, como el comun vulgo piensa; porque la piedra yman, segun parece, no tiene virtud para hazerla buelver al Norte en todo lugar, mas, segun por experiencia se vee y alcança, tiene solamente virtud de hazerla estar stabíl y fixa en un lugar, por donde a de mostrar forçado por linea recta por qualquier viento que fueres, y no por circular, y aessa causa haze la dicha variacion. Que si la dicha aguja se buelviere al Norte, cada y quando y en todo lugar, no haria variacion ninguna porque yria por linea circular, porque siempre estarias en un paralelo, qual no puede ser yendo por linea recta en un redondo. Y as de notar que quanto mas te apartares del meridiano que la aguja te está derecha-mente al Norte, hazia el Occidente o hazia el Oriente, tanto mas se apartará tu aguja de Norte, es á saber la flor de lis della, la qual está sennalanda por el Norte; por donde parece claramente que la dicha aguja muestra por linea recta y no por circular; y as de saber que el meridiano donde la flor de lis del aguja está derecha-mente al Norte es obra de treynta y cinco leguas de la isla de Flores, la ultima isla de los Açores hazia el occidente, segun la opinion de algunos expertos, por la mucha experiencia que dello tienen, á causa de la quotidiana navegacion que hazen al Occidente á las Indias del mar Oceano. El dicho Sebastian Caboto navegando hazia el occidente se halló en parte donde el Nordeste quarta del Norte le estava derecha-mente al Norte; por las quales susodichas experiencias, parece claramente ser verdad los defectos y varia-

fuit. Navigatoria siquidem acus & si recta linea è Sacro promontorio ad oram Finis terræ cursum demonstret, ad Arctum nihilominus tamen quarta parte ab Arcto ad Cæciam distare certum est, Quapropter cum navem acu nautica ad Arctum regere jusseris, erit navigatio tua per quartam Septentrionis Cæciam versus. Eandem navigationis considerationem observabis, cum è Salmedinâ brevi scopuloque mari, in exitu portus sancti Lucae ad Nagæ oram Teneriffæ Insulæ navigare decreveris, tunc siquidem licet ad Liben seu Aphricum navem regere studeas Hydrographicæ chartæ observatione, rectus tamen itineris cursus nauticæ acus probabiliore fide per Aphricum quarta & eo amplius Austrum versus procul dubio erit, Salmedinæ nempe ad Nagam navigatio quarta longe minus quàm Hydrographica charta indicat, nautica acus demonstrat. Unde pro comperito habebis, cum è Sacro promontorio oram solveris Septentriones petiturus, quod iter tuum erit per quartam Arcti Cæciam versus. Eodem modo si è Salmedina ad Nagan Teneriffæ Insulæ adnavigaveris ad Aphricum, navis tuæ cursus erit per quartam Austri. Eadem ratione sigillatim uti poteris in quavis hujus discretionis parte acus magnetæ fricatæ variationem observans, qua cum Arcti sidere variè operatur, quippè quæ non assidue neque ex omnibus locis Septentrionem expetat (uti plebs indocta censet) cum Magnes lapis ille (ut patet) nullam habet vim dirigendi navigatoriam acum ex omni parte ad Arctum, quin potius (ut experientia constat) calibem volubilem immotum reddere recta linea, non autem circulari ad quemvis ventorum Arcto proximum, & hac de causa acus nautica usque variatur, nam si eadem acus assidue ex omnibus locis verteretur ad Arctum, nulla fieret ejus variatio, utpote quæ per circularem lineam semper viam demonstraret, ex quo sequeretur, eundem æquedistantem seu parallelum frequentare, quod nullo modo continget recta linea circularem formam aduenti. Porro unum

cion que la dicha aguja de marear haze con la estrella del Norte.

hoc adnotabis, candide lector, quo magis ad Solem ortum vel occasum à linea meridionali secedes, ubi acus nauticæ depictum Liliū ad Arctum directè ostendit, eo magis ab Arcto te distare pro comperto habebis, unde satis liquet, acum nauticam rectè linea non autem circulari viam demonstrare. At notandum igitur est, quod linea meridionalis, quam nauticæ acus liliū rectissimè Septentriones ostendit, distat à Florum Insula triginta parasangis, quæ quidem ultima accipitrum Insula est occidentem versus, juxta peritissimorum omnium navium gubernatorum consensum, opinionemque, necnon ex eorum solerti experientia, quam diutina assiduaque navigatione suo jure profitentur, siquidem Atlanticum mare & Indicum indies remetri assuescunt. Ad hæc Sebastianus Cabotus meus auctor, occidentalem Oceanum adnavigans, ad æquor quoddam venit & plagam, ubi quarta parte Septentrionum juxta Cæciam ventus acus navigatoris Liliū illi rectissimè Arctum ostenderet, quibus de causis & rationibus & tutissima navigandi experientia apertissimè constat defectus & variationes acus nauticæ crebro fieri cum Arcti observatione.

*Plinio en el segundo libro, Capitulo lxxix
escribe.*

Nº 18. Que de la ciudad de Gadiz y de las columnas de Hercules, con el circuito de la España y de la Galia, se navegó todo poniente. El Oceano Setentrional se navegó la mayor parte en el tiempo de Augusto, passando todo la Germania hasta el cabo de Cimbrí, y desde ay fasta Scithia. Y de Oriente navegó por el mar Indico hazia Setentrion, fasta tener el mar Caspio al Sur, la armada de Macedonia, en el tiempo que Seleucio y Antiocho reynavan; y mandaron que aquella region se llamase Seleuchida y Antiochida. Y al Septentrion del mar Caspio muchas partes se an navegado; de manera que poco queda que todo el mar Septentrional no le ayan navegado. Y así mismo dize en el mismo capitulo, que Cornelio Nipote escribe que á Quinto Metello Celero, el qual fue con-

sul con Afranio y entonces era Proconsul en la Galia, le fueron imbiados ciertos Indios del Rey de Suevi, los quales eran partidos del mar Indico, con fortuna transportados en Germania.

Nº 19. En estas islas Rocos ay aves de tal grandeza (segun dicen) y fuerça, que toman un boy [buey] y lo traíen volando para comer; y mas dicen, que toman un batel por grande que sea, y lo levantan en grande altura, y despues lo dexan caer y comense los hombres. Y el Petrarcha semejantemente lo dize en su libro de prospera y adversa fortuna.

Nº 20. Ay en la ysla de los de Calenguan leones, tigres, honças, ciervos y otras muchas diversidades de animales; así mismo ay aguilas y papagayos blancos, que hablan tan claro como personas lo que á ellos les es ensennado, y otras muchas aves syn numero de diversas faciones. La gente de la dicha isla son ydolatras; comen carne humana.

Nº 21. Halló esta isla de Mamorare una nao de Cambayo, y dicen aver tanto oro en ella que no cargaron otra cosa, segun dicen los portugueses.

Nº 22. En esta isla de Ceilan ay canela de nascimiento y rubies, y iacintos, y ojos de gato y otros generos de piedras preciosas.

[N. W. Quadrant of Map. 18 of Chytræus.]

Ciapangu es una isla grande situada en alto mar, la qual esta en 1500 millas apartada de la tierra firme del gran Can hazia oriente. Son ydolatras y gente de buena manera y hermosa; tiene rey proprio, libre, que á ninguno es tributario; tiene mucho oro de nascimiento, lo qual nunca se saca fuera de la dicha isla a causa que no aportan navios á

[S. E. Quadrant of map.]

His Rocorum insulis insunt quedam venatoriae aves ac rapinae deditae adeo proceri et ingenti corpore ut humi petentes bovem sursum abstrahentes praedam suis nidis afferant devoraturae; eoque unguibus praepollent ut scapham seu cymbam quantumvis maximam arripientes ac in sublimem tollentes inde rursus deturbare soleant deorsum; gaudent praeterea vesci carne hominum quemadmodum Petrarca refert libro qui de prospera et adversa fortuna inscribitur.

En Romãnce ve á tabla 2ª Nº 19.

Hac insula innumeri leones, tigrides, pantherae, corvi¹ aliorumque diversorum animalium species, armentorum inatar, depascunt: praeterea aquilae, psitaci albi, multaque variarum avium genera turmatim convolant. Haec gens idola colit et carne hominum avide vescit.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 20.

Hanc Hemorare insulam aperuit quedam (ut fertur) Cabierum navis, quam tot aurifodinis abundare perhibet ut navem ipsam solo auro oneraverint.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 21.

[N. E. Quadrant of map.]

Hac Ceilani insula ingens cinnami inde extracta provenit copia. Pluribus lapidibus, lunaribus, piropis, hiacintis, aliisque preciosis lapillis abundat.

En Romance ve á tabla 2ª Nº 22.

¹ Should be "cervi."

ella por estar tan apartada [y] fuera de camino. El rey desta isla tiene un palatio muy grande y muy maravilloso, todo cubierto de oro hecho de pasta, de grosura de dos reales; y las ventanas y columnas deste palatio son todas de oro. Tienen piedras preciosas y perlas en mucha cantidad. El gran Can, oyda la fama de la riqueza desta dicha isla, quisola conquistar y embió á ella una grande armada y nunca la pudo soyuzoar [sojuzgar], segun Marco Polo mas largamente lo cuenta y dize en su libro, capitulo ciento y seis.

[The Latin of this is not on the map.]

[S. W. Quadrant of Map. Not in Chytræus.]

En esta figura estense en plano se contienen todas las tierras, islas, puertos, rios, anglas, baxos, que hasta oy día se han descubierto; y con sus nombres y quien fueron los descubridores dellas, como por las tablas desta dicha figura mas claramente consta; con todo lo demas que antes fue conocido, y todo lo que por Ptholomeo ha zido escripto, como son: provincias, regiones, ciudades, montes, rios, climas y paralelos, por sus grados de longitud y latitud, assí de Europa como de Assia y Aphrica.

Y as de notar que la tierra está situada conforme á la variacion que haze el aguja del marear con la estrella del norte; la razon de lo qual podras ver en la tabla segunda del numero diez y siete.

[The Latin of this is immediately above it on the map.]

[S. E. Quadrant of Map. S. of Africa. Not in Chytræus.]

Del pescado que detiene una nao.

Plinio escribe en el su noveno libro, capitulo veinte y cinco, de un pescado que se dize Nichio, el qual dise ser como redondo y que pegandose á una nao la tiene aunque baya á la vela. Et Petrarca, en el prohemio del segundo libro de prospera y adversa fortuna, dize que el echenis o remora, pez de grandeza de medio pie detiene una nao

In hac protrahens in planum figura continetur totus terræ globus, insulæ, portus, flumina, sinus, syrtis, et brevia quæ hactenus aneotericis adaptata sunt, eorumque nomina et qui ea loca aperuerunt ut eisdem hujus figuræ tabulis liquidius patet; ad hæc omnium quæ a majoribus cognita sunt, necnon quæ à Ptholomeo referuntur; regionum, scilicet provinciarum, urbium, montium, fluviorum, climatum, parallelorumque, tam Europæ quam Asiæ, et Aphricæ exacta descriptio. Annotabis tamen, candide lector, situm hunc orbis terrarum depictum esse juxta variationem qua acus navatica utitur ad arcum septentrionalis, observationis cujus rationem perlegere poteris, tabula secunda decimi septimi numeri.

aunque sea muy grande y que los bien-
tos y ondas y remos y velas le ayden á
yr; el solo fuerça la fuerça de los ele-
mentos y hombres, no con otra obra
ninguna, sino pegandose á las tablas
del navio, ni con otra fuerça alguna, si
no con sola su naturaleza; el qual pece
es como limo¹ o cieno placandolo [y
sacandolo] del agua pierde la fuerça.
Hallase lo suso dicho en mui claras es-
cripturas, las quales aquí no se ponen
por no ser prolixo.

[No Latin on the map.]

¹ limason, a snail?

FIRST TABLE.

Of the Admiral.

Nº 1. The admiral Don Cristoval Colon, a Genoese by birth, offered to their Catholic Majesties of glorious memory to discover the islands and mainland of the Indies,¹ by the west, provided they gave him for this purpose a sufficient *fleet* and favor;² and having it, and having fitted out three caravels in the year 1492, he proceeded to discover them, and from that time on many other persons have continued the said discovery, as is shown by the present description.

Nº 2. In the island Española there is much virgin gold and *very fine lapis-lazuli* [blue copper ore?] and much sugar and cassia fistula, and an infinite number of cattle³ of all kinds.⁴ *The swine of this island they give to the sick, as here in our parts they give mutton.* This said island contains many harbors,⁵ and *very good ones*, and the chief one of them is the city of Santo Domingo, which is a very good city and of much trade, and all the others are places built and settled by the Spaniards; and in the island of Cuba, and of San Juan, and in all the other islands, and on the mainland, virgin gold is found;⁶ and in the city of Santo Domingo his Majesty has his royal chancery, and in all the other towns⁷ and provinces governors *and rulers* who govern *and rule* them⁸ with much justice; and every day are discovered⁹ new lands and provinces, very rich, by means of which our Holy Catholic Faith is, and will be, much increased, and these kingdoms of Castile have become great with much *glorious fame and riches*.

Nº 3. This mainland which the Spaniards named New Spain, the most illustrious gentleman, Don Fernando Cortez, marquis del Valle de Guaxacon, conquered. There are in this land provinces and cities innumerable: the

¹ the western islands and mainland of the Indies.

² if they provided him sufficiently with the things needful to him.

³ and flocks.

⁴ [In the Latin version the last clause of this sentence comes first.]

⁵ and ports.

⁶ all these places are filled with many inhabitants.

⁷ cities and islands.

⁸ rather by the reason and integrity of the laws than by arbitrary will.

⁹ and conquered.

chief of them is the city of Mexico,¹ which contains more than fifty thousand inhabitants; it is in a salt lake which extends over forty leagues. There is in the said city, and in all the other provinces, much gold, virgin silver, and all kinds of precious stones; and there is produced in the said land and provinces much very good silk, and cotton, alum, orchil, dyewood, cochineal, and saffron, and sugar,² of all the aforesaid great quantities, with which many ships come loaded to these kingdoms of Spain.³ The natives of this land are very expert in all that relates to trade; instead of coins, they make use of certain kernels, split in halves, which they call cacao, or cacanghuate, a barbarous expression.⁴ They have much wheat and barley, and many other grains, and vines, and many fruits of different kinds. It is a land of many animals, deer, mountain boars, lions, leopards, tigers, and much other game, both birds and land animals. It is a people⁵ very skilful in moulding any object after nature, and in painting pictures. The women usually adorn themselves with precious stones and valuable pearls. These Indians use a certain kind of paper, on which they draw what they wish to express with figures [pictures] instead of letters. They never had peace among themselves; on the contrary, some persecuted others in continuous fights in which the prisoners on either side were sacrificed by their enemies to their gods, and their dead bodies were given to the army, as public banquets. They were idolaters, and adored whatever took their fancy; they were very fond of eating human flesh, whereas now they have laid aside these fierce and cruel customs, and have clad themselves in Jesus Christ, believing heartily in our holy evangelical faith,⁶ and obeying our most holy mother⁷ church and its most holy precepts.

Nº 4. This strait of All Saints was discovered by Hernando de Magallanes, captain of an expedition which his Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty,⁸ the emperor and king Don Carlos, our lord, ordered to be made to discover the Maluco islands. There are in this strait men of such great stature that they seem giants; it is a very desolate land,⁹ and they dress themselves in the skins of animals.¹⁰

Nº 5. These islands of Maluco¹¹ were discovered by Fernando de Magallanes, commander of¹² an expedition which his¹³ Majesty ordered to be made to discover the¹⁴ said islands, and by Juan Sebastian del Canno;¹⁵ that is to say, the said Fernando de Magallanes discovered the strait of All Saints, which¹⁶ is in 52½ degrees towards the Antarctic pole; and¹⁷ after

¹ is called Mexico by the name of the Indians.

² or juice of the cane.

³ to Seville of Andalusia.

⁴ by the barbarous Indian name.

⁵ very learned and.

⁶ and the religion of the Christians.

⁷ his royal Spanish fleet.

⁸ His Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty the Emperor Charles, fifth of the name.

⁹ these very rich islands of the Indies.

¹⁰ which said expedition set sail from the port of Seville, a famed city of the province of Andalusia.

¹¹ measuring from the Equator to the Antarctic.

¹² seeking the aforesaid islands.

⁷ orthodox Catholic.

⁸ fifth of the name.

⁹ and with few inhabitants.

¹⁰ only.

¹¹ long closed to us.

having passed the said strait, [and not] without very great labor and danger, he continued his journey towards the said islands; after many days he arrived at certain islands of which the southern one is situated in 12 degrees,¹ and because the people were so turbulent, and because they stole from him the boat of one of his ships, they gave it the name of the isle of thieves (*de los Ladrones*); and thence continuing his journey, as has been said, they discovered an island, which they called *la Aguada*, because they took in water there; and from thence on they discovered another, which is called *Bunham*, and *Aceilani*, and another, which is called *Cubu*, in which island died the said Captain *Hernando de Magallanes*, in a skirmish which took place with the natives thereof, and the survivors of the said expedition chose *Juan Sebastian del Canno* as commander of it, who afterwards discovered the island of *Bendanao*, in which there is much virgin gold, and very fine cinnamon; and in the same way he discovered the island of *Poloa*, and that of *Brunay*, and that of *Gilolo*, and the island of *Tridore*, and that of *Terenati*, and *Motil*, and many others in which there is much gold, and cloves, and nutmeg, and other kinds of spices and drugs. The said Sebastian del Canno loaded two ships which² remained to him out of five which they took with them, with cloves in the said island of *Tidori*, for in it, and in the said island of *Terenati*, the said cloves are said to grow, and not in any other, and in the same way he took much cinnamon and nutmeg;³ and coming on through the Indian Ocean,⁴ in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope, one ship was forced to put back and return to the said island of *Tidori*, from which it had set out, on account of the great amount of water which it was making, and the said Captain *Juan Sebastian del Canno* with his ship, called *St. Mary of Victory* (*Sancta Maria de la Victoria*), came to these kingdoms of Castile, to the city of Seville, in the year 1522, by the Cape of Good Hope; so that it clearly appears that the said *Juan Sebastian del Canno* sailed round the whole universe,⁵ because he proceeded only towards the West, *although not on one parallel*, through the East to the place in the West whence he set out.

Nº 6. These provinces were discovered⁶ by the honored and valiant gentleman,⁷ *Francisco Pizarro*, who⁸ was governor of them during his life; in which there is infinite gold and virgin silver and mines of very fine emeralds. The bread which they have they make of⁹ maize, and the wine likewise; they have much wheat and other grain. It is a warlike race; they use in their wars bows and slings and lances; their arms are of gold and silver. There are in the said provinces certain sheep of the form of small camels; they have very fine wool. They are an idolatrous people, and of very subtle mind;¹⁰ and on all the sea-coast, and for more than twenty

¹ north latitude.

² which he had saved from shipwreck.

³ much cinnamon and nutmeg is collected in *Bendanao*, of which likewise he took thence great quantities.

⁴ to Spain, and hastening to double the Cape.

⁵ in a circle.

⁶ and conquered.

⁷ knights *Francisco Pizarro* and *Almagro*.

⁸ that is, *Francisco Pizarro*.

⁹ very large corn, which, in the language of the Indians, is called maize.

¹⁰ [In the Latin version the statement that "They are an idolatrous people, and of very subtle mind," follows immediately after "It is a warlike race."]

miles inland it never rains. *It is a very healthy land.* The Christians have made many settlements in it, and continually keep increasing them.

Nº 7. The Indians call this great river the river Huruai, in Spanish the river of silver (Rio de la Plata). They take this name from the river Huruai, which is a very mighty river ¹ which runs into the great river Parana. Juan Diaz de Solis, pilot-major of their ² Catholic Majesties ³ of glorious memory, discovered it, and he explored it as far as an island, to which the said Juan Diaz gave the name of the island of Martin Garcia, because in it he buried a sailor who was called Martin Garcia, which said island is about thirty leagues above the mouth of this river; and the said discovery cost him very dear, for the Indians of the said land slew him and ate him; and after many years had gone by it was again discovered by Sebastian Cabot, Captain and Pilot-major ⁴ of his Sacred Cesarean Catholic Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos Fifth of the name, and king, our lord, who was commander of an expedition which his Majesty ordered should be made to discover Tarsis and Ophir ⁵ and *Oriental Cathay*; which said Captain Sebastian Cabot came to this river by chance, for the commander's ship, in which he was, was lost, ⁶ and seeing that he could not continue his said voyage, he determined to explore with the people he had with him the said river, by reason of the very great account which the Indians of the land gave him of the very great wealth in gold and silver which there was in the land, and not without very great labor and hunger, and dangers both of his own person and of those who were with him. ⁷ And ⁸ the said ⁹ Captain endeavored to make near the said river certain settlements *of the people whom he brought from Spain*.¹⁰ This river is larger than any that is known up to the present time. Its breadth at the mouth where it enters the sea is thirty-five ¹¹ leagues, and three hundred leagues above the said mouth it is two leagues in breadth. The cause of its being so great and mighty is that there run into it many other and mighty rivers. It is a river infinitely full of fish and of the best there is in the world. The people, on arriving in that land, wished to learn if it were fertile and fit to plough and raise bread; and they planted in the month of September fifty-two grains of wheat, — for there was no more in the ships, — and they gathered soon in the month of December fifty-two thousand grains of wheat; and this same fertility was found in all the other seeds.¹²

¹ into which runs.

² conquering and.

³ Ferdinand and Isabel.

⁴ most skilful in the art of navigation and of astronomy.

⁵ Ciapangu and Eoicatal.

⁶ being buried in the stormy waves.

⁷ [In the Latin version the last clause, beginning "and not without very great labor," precedes the clause beginning "by reason of."]

⁸ Wherefore.

⁹ most energetic.

¹⁰ and to build certain citadels and forts by which the Spanish inhabitants could easily be protected and could thence repel the attacks of their Indian enemies.

¹¹ twenty-five.

¹² This extraordinary statement as to the productiveness of a grain of wheat in the country of the La Plata is repeated in the Latin version of this section. It is probably an inadvertence. Eden, who copied this section from Cabot's map, in a free English version, into his "Decades of the New World," London, 1555, pp. 317-319, corrects the error, but on what authority, except his own knowledge of natural history, we do not know. He makes the text read thus: "Taking,

Those who live in that land say that not far from there, in the country inland, there are certain great mountain-ranges from which they take infinite gold, and further on in the same mountains they take infinite silver. There are in this land certain sheep large as ordinary asses, of the shape of camels, except that the wool they bear is fine as silk, and other animals of different kinds. The people of the country differ very much; for those who live on the slopes of the mountains are white like us, and those who are near the banks of the river are dark. *Some say that in the said mountains* there are men who have faces like dogs, and others are from the knee down like ostriches, and that these are great workers, and that they raise much maize, of which they make bread and wine. Many other things they say of that land, which are not put down here lest they be tedious.¹

Nº 8. This land was discovered by Juan Cabot, a Venetian, and by Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1494, on the 24th of June,² in the morning, to which they gave the name of "first land seen" (*prima tierra vista*); and to a large island which is situated along the said land they gave the name San Juan, because it had been discovered the same day.³ The people of it are dressed in the skins of animals. They use in their wars bows and arrows, lances and darts, and certain clubs of wood, and slings. It is a very sterile land. There are in it many⁴ white bears, and very large stags *like horses*, and many other animals; and likewise there is infinite fish, — sturgeons, salmon, very large soles a yard in length, and many other kinds of fish, — and the greatest quantity of them is called (*baccallaos*) codfish;⁵ and likewise there are in the same land hawks black as crows, eagles, partridges,⁶ *linnets*, and many other kinds of birds of different species.

Nº 9. In this same island of Iceland (*Islanda*) there is a great quantity of fish. They take it in winter, and dry it by means of the very great cold which there is there, because this said island is within the Arctic circle, and in summer men⁷ go there from many parts and barter for this fish, thus dried, in exchange for meal and beer; and this said fish is so dry and hard, that to eat it they beat it with certain hammers of iron on certain stones hard as marble, and then they put it to soak a day or two, and thus they eat it, stewed with butter. And in all this Northern sea there is a very great quantity of fish, and many of them large and of monstrous shape; those who sail in these seas have seen very large lampreys, which resemble great serpents and [have seen them] attack ships, in order to eat the sailors. The natives of the said island most of them build their houses underground, and the walls of fish-bones. They have no wood,

therefore, fifty grains of wheat and committing the same to the earth in the month of September they gathered thereof two thousand and fifty at December next following." Eden then proceeds: "Wherein some being deceived and mistaking the thing, have written in the stead of two thousand and fifty, fifty thousand and two." — *Note by Mr. Deane.*

¹ [In the Latin version the last sentence follows immediately after "infinite silver," and is itself followed by the clause beginning "and that these are great workers."]

² 24 July, at the fifth hour, about daybreak.

³ on the solemn festival of St. John.

⁴ lions.

⁵ by the common people.

⁶ dark.

⁷ Englishmen, Germans, and the inhabitants of various other regions.

except some extremely small trees, and of these very few and in few places; but the Provider of all things provides every year that there comes to them by sea, on the northern parts of the said island, a very great quantity of trees of different kinds and sizes, as driftwood, borne by furious north winds to the coast of the said island, with which the natives provide themselves, and make use of it for all that is needful to them. And they say that often they hear spirits speak and call each other by name, and take the form of living persons, and tell them who they are; and in certain parts of the said island there rise up¹ certain very dreadful fires, and other wonders² the natives of the said island say there are in it.³

Nº 10. The men who dwell in this region are savages,⁴ they are destitute of bread and wine, they tame deer and ride upon them, and they fight with another people which is situated farther to the north, and which they call the Nocturnal people, for they go about in the night and perform their business as here [we do] in the day, and this because the days there from the 14th of September to the 10th of March are so short that there is not an hour of light. They are a very wicked people, quarrelsome, they rob all those who pass [through their country] *so that no ship dares to ride at anchor near the coast for fear of these night people*, because they slay and rob all who fall into their hands; and a little beyond these night people toward the southeast they say there are certain monsters which have bodies like those of human beings except the head, which is like that of a pig, and that they understand one another, grunting like pigs.

Nº 11. Those who inhabit this region, some adore the sun, others the first thing they see in the morning, others adore a piece of colored cloth which they place on a lance, and thus each worships what he prefers: *they are under the sway of the great Khan, emperor of the Tartars.*

Nº 12. Here there are monsters like unto men who have ears so large that they cover the whole body, and they say that farther on towards the East there are certain men who have no joints whatever at the knees nor in the feet: they are under the sway of the grand Khan. In the province of Balor, which is fifty days' journey in extent, there are wild men; they live in the mountains and forests.

Nº 13. Here dwells that mighty king of Aziumba and Auxama whom some call Prester John, to whom sixty kings yield obedience; he is very wealthy in all riches,⁵ and there is no record that he was ever defeated in any battle, but often has he come back with glorious victory from the south from the Throglodyte people, a race naked and black, which people extends as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Among which people there is a race which does not speak but they understand each other by whistling; and this is not Prester John,⁶ because Prester John had his empire in eastern and southern India until Genghis Khan, first king of the Tartars, defeated and overcame him in a very cruel battle, in which he died and the said Genghis took from him all his kingdoms and lordships, and allowed

¹ fire, dreadful to be seen, rises of itself, and is thrown up and whirled away to a distance.

² both to be seen and heard ³ which for the sake of brevity are omitted.

⁴ live in the desert and are entirely wild.

⁵ surpassing by his wealth the most fortunate lot of these most powerful kings.

⁶ It is easy to prove that this one is hardly the real Prester John.

the Christians to live in their own faith, and gave them a Christian king to rule and govern them, which king was called George, and from that time till now all the kings who succeed him are called George, as Marco Polo relates more at large in the 42nd and 48th chapters of his book.¹

Nº 14. The king of this province and kingdom of Bengal is a very mighty lord, and has under his rule many cities, very large and of great trade.² *There is in this kingdom and province much cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, sandalwood, lacquer, and silk in great quantities. They are wont*³ *in this province and kingdom to burn bodies after death, and when the husband dies before the wife, the wife burns herself alive with her husband, saying that she is going to be happy with him in the other world, and it is done in this way, that, the husband dying, the wife gives a great entertainment and dresses herself in the richest garments she has, to which entertainment come all her relatives and those of her husband, and after having eaten, she goes with all the people to a place where a very great fire has been built, singing and dancing until she reaches the said fire, and then they throw in the dead body of the husband, and at once she bids farewell to her relatives and friends and leaps into the fire, and she who most nobly throws herself into the fire brings most honor upon her family; but even now this custom is not observed as it used to be, since the Portuguese have traded with them and given them to understand that our Lord God is not served by such a practice.*

Nº 15. The grand Khan of the Tartars is a very great lord and very mighty, he is called King of Kings and Lord of Lords: he is wont to give to his liegemen garments thirteen times a year, at thirteen very great feasts which he holds each year; and these garments are of greater or less value according to the quality of the person to whom they are given, and to each one is given a⁴ belt and leggings, a hat adorned with gold and pearls and precious stones according to the greatness of the personage, and these garments which the said grand Khan gives each year are 156,000; and this he does to give greatness and magnificence to his feasts, and when he dies they bear him to be buried to a mountain which is called Alcaay, where are buried the grand Khans, Emperors of the Tartars, and those who bear him to burial slay all those they find, saying to them go and serve our master in the other world; and in the same way they slay all his horses, camels, and baggage-mules which they have, thinking that they will go to serve their lord. When *Mongui Khan*, Emperor of the Tartars, died, there were slain three hundred thousand men, whom those who bore him to burial met on the way, as Marco Polo says in his book, chapter 42.⁵ Poggio the Florentine, secretary of Pope Eugenius IV., *towards the end of his second book*, which he wrote on the variation and changes of Fortune, does much to confirm what the said Marco Polo wrote in his book.

Nº 16. There are various opinions as to what is Trapovana,⁶ since the

¹ in the second and third chapters of his fortieth book.

² and he is bound with extremely close bonds with the ever victorious king of Portugal, with whom he has made a perpetual treaty of peace, by means of which he receives immense quantities of.

³ Were wont, they say.

⁴ belts, leggings, shoes, helmets or shade hats [cf. Marco Polo].

⁵ in the twenty-fourth chapter of his fourth book.

⁶ and where it is situated.

Spaniards and Portuguese have navigated the Indian Ocean. How Ptolemy places it in degrees of latitude and longitude I think is well known to all. Some modern explorers hold that the island of Ceylon is Trapovana; others hold that it is the island of Sumatra.¹ Pliny writes of Trapovana in his sixth book, chapter 22, and says there was a time when the opinion was held that Trapovana was another world, and that it was called Antichton, and that Alexander was the first to inform us that it was an island, and that Onesechritus, admiral of his fleet, [says] that in the said island of Trapovana there are larger and more warlike elephants than in India, and that Magasaene gives as its length seven thousand stadia, and as its width five thousand; that there is no walled city in it, but seven hundred villages, and that in Claudius' reign² ambassadors came from the said island to Rome. In this way: the freedman Damius Plocamius, who had bought of the republic³ the taxes of the Red Sea and sailing around Arabia was carried by the north wind in such a way that on the fifteenth day he entered a port of the said island called Hipnus,⁴ and was very generously received and treated by the king, and that after having remained in the said island six months he learned the language, and that one day talking with the king he told him that the Romans and their Emperor were incredibly just, and that the king, seeing that the coins which the said freedman had were of equal weight although the stamp showed that they were of different emperors, moved by this, sent ambassadors to Rome, the chief of whom was Rachia, to make friendship with Claudius, from which ambassadors he heard that in the said island there were five hundred cities, and that the said ambassadors were astonished to see in these heavens of ours the north star and the Pleiades as something new and to them unknown, and that they said that in the said island they only saw the moon above the earth from the eighth day to the fifteenth, and they were especially astonished that shadows turned⁵ towards our sky and not⁶ towards theirs, and that the sun rose on the right and set on the left, from which aforesaid reasons it seems that in the said island where the said freedman made harbor the north star is not seen, which is seen in the island Trapovana, whence it might be said, considering whence the said freedman Damius Procladius started and the course he might have made with a raging north wind,⁷ that the island where he made harbor was the island of San Lorenzo and not Trapubana. And that as king of the said island an old and mild man without children is usually elected, and if after being elected he should beget any, at once they depose him; and when they elect him they give him thirty counsellors; and that the said king can condemn no one if the majority of his said thirty counsellors are not agreed with him, and that afterwards the said condemned man can appeal to the people, which thereupon selects seventy judges, who examine his case, and if they find that he was wrongly sentenced they set him free, and those counsellors who agreed in condemning him are deprived of their offices and are held infamous forever after.

¹ [What follows is not taken from the text of Pliny, but is translated directly from the Spanish.]

² about the beginning of his government.

³ the Romans.

⁴ Hippurus [cf. Pliny].

⁵ to the right towards our pole.

⁶ when in their country they saw them always go the left.

⁷ and the narration of the envoys to Tiberius.

Inscription of the author with certain reasons for the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star.

N^o 17. Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot-major of his Sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty, the Emperor Don Carlos, fifth of the name, and King,¹ *our lord*, made² this figure projected on a plane in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1544, drawn by degrees of latitude and longitude, with its winds,³ as a navigating chart, imitating in part Ptolemy⁴ and in part the modern discoverers both *Spanish and Portuguese*, and⁵ partly discovered by his father and partly by himself, by which you may navigate as by a navigating chart, bearing in mind the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star. For example, you wish to set out from Cape St. Vincent in order to make Cape Finisterre; you will give orders to steer your ship to the north according to the needle of the compass, and you will strike within the said cape, but your real course, which your ship made, was to the north, quarter northeast because your compass-needle northeasts you a quarter at the said Cape of St. Vincent, so that commanding your ship to be steered north by the compass-needle, your course will be north, quarter northeast; and in the same way sailing from Salmedina, which is a shoal as you go out of San Lucar de Barrameda, to go to the point of Naga on the island of Teneriffe you will give orders to steer southwest by the needle and you will make the said point of Naga because it is situated on the navigating chart, but your course will not be to the southwest inasmuch as your compass-needle northeasts you a wide quarter point at Salmedina, but your course will be southwest, a wide quarter south; so that you may say that sailing from St. Vincent to the north your course will be north, quarter northeast, and sailing from Salmedina to the southwest your course will be southwest, quarter south, and so consequently you will do in every other part of this universe, watching the variation which the said needle of the compass makes with the north star, for the said needle does not turn or stay fixed to the north in every place, as the vulgar think, since the magnet-stone, as it appears, has not the power to make it turn to the north in every place, but, as is seen and acquired by experience, it has only the power to make it remain stable and fixed in one place, wherefore it must point necessarily in a straight line whatever wind you may have, and not in a curved line, and this cause brings about the said variation; for if the needle were to turn to the north always and in every place, there would be no variation, for then it would follow a curved line, because you would always be on one parallel, which cannot be when you go in a straight line on a sphere; and you must notice that the further you move from the meridian on which the needle points directly north, towards the west or east, so much the more will your compass move from the north, that is, from the flower-de-luce in it which marks the north: wherefore it

¹ of Spain.

² laid the last touch to me (this map).

³ so wisely, so exactly.

⁴ the Geographer.

⁵ and likewise the experience and labors of the long nautical life of the most honest man John Cabot, a Venetian by birth; and the knowledge of the stars and of the art of navigation of Sebastian his most learned son and my author, who discovered some part of the world which had long been unknown to us.

clearly appears that the said needle points along a straight line and not a curved line; and you must know that the meridian where the flower-de-luce of the needle points directly north is about thirty-five¹ leagues from Flores, the last island of the Azores towards the west, according to the opinion of certain experts, because of the great experience which they have of this, on account of the daily navigation which is made toward the West, to the Indies of the Ocean. The said Sebastian Cabot,² sailing towards the west, found himself in a place³ where northeast quarter north [of the compass] stood directly north, on account of which observations aforesaid it appears clearly that defects and variations which the said needle of the compass makes with the north star really exist.

Pliny in the second book, chapter 79,⁴ writes:—

Nº 18. That from Cadiz and the columns of Hercules, sailing around Spain and Gaul, the whole west was sailed over. The greater part of the northern ocean was sailed over in the time of Augustus, passing by all Germany as far as the Cimbrian Cape, and thence as far as Scythia. And from the East the fleet of Macedonia sailed along the Indian Ocean towards the north until the Caspian Sea was to the south of them, in the time that Seleucus and Antiochus reigned, and they ordered that that region should be called Seleuchida and Antiochida. And to the north of the Caspian many parts have been sailed over, so that the northern sea has been nearly all sailed over: and he likewise says, in the same chapter, that Cornelius Nepos writes that to Quintus Metellus Celer, who had been consul with Afranius, and who was then proconsul in Gaul, there were sent certain Indians by the king of the Suevi, who, starting from the Indian Ocean, had without mischance been carried to Germany.

Nº 19.⁵ In these Rocos islands there are birds of such size (as they say) and strength that they take up an ox and bear it in their flight⁶ in order to eat it, and *still more they say*⁷ that they take a vessel, no matter how great it may be, and raise it to a great height and then let it drop, and they eat the men. Petrarch likewise says so in his book of Prosperous and Adverse Fortune.

Nº 20. There are in the island of the people of Calenguan lions, tigers, panthers, deer, and many other different kinds of animals; likewise there are eagles, and white parrots *who speak as clearly as human beings what is taught them*, and many other countless birds of various kinds. The people of the island are idolaters; they eat human flesh.

¹ thirty.

² my author.

³ came to a sea and shore.

⁴ [Pliny, lib. 2, cap. 67. There is no Latin for this on the map. In Chytræus, where it is numbered 19, the Latin is copied directly from Pliny, l. c., and not translated from the Spanish.]

⁵ [The Latin of Nos. 19, 20, and 21 is in the S. E. quadrant of the map. It ends in each case with a reference in Spanish to the Spanish of the tables.]

⁶ to their nests.

⁷ their talons are so strong.

Nº 21. A ship from Cambaya discovered this island of Mamorare, and it is said there was so much gold in it that they loaded it with nothing else, according to what the Portuguese say.

Nº 22.¹ There are in this island of Ceylon native cinnamon, and rubies and hyacinths and cats' eyes and other kinds of precious stones.

Ciapangu is a large island lying in the high seas, which island is one thousand five hundred miles distant from the mainland of the Grand Khan towards the east. They are idolaters, and a gentle and handsome race. It has an independent king of its own, who is tributary to no one. It contains much virgin gold, which is never taken away from the said island, because ships never touch there, as it is so distant and out of the way. The king of this island has a very great and very wonderful palace, all made of gold in ingots of the thickness of two reals, and the windows and columns of the palace are all of gold. It [the island] contains precious stones and pearls in great quantities. The Grand Khan, having heard the fame of the riches of this said island, desired to conquer it, and sent to it a great fleet, and could never conquer it, as Marco Polo more amply relates and tells in his book, chapter 106.

[S. W. Quadrant of Map.]

In this figure, projected on a plane, are contained all the lands, islands, ports, rivers, waters, bays, which have been discovered to the present day, and their names, and who were the discoverers of them, as is made more manifest by the inscriptions [tables] of this said figure, — with all the rest that was known before, and all that has been written by Ptolemy, such as provinces, regions, cities, mountains, rivers, climates, and parallels, according to their degrees of longitude and latitude, both of Europe and of Asia and Africa.

And you must note that the land is situated according to the variation which the needle of the compass makes with the north star, for the reason of which you may look in the second table of No. 17.

[S. E. Quadrant of Map.]

Of the fish which stops a ship.

Pliny writes in his ninth book, chapter twenty-five, of a fish which is called *Nichio*, which he describes as being round, and that attaching itself to a ship it holds it even though it be under sail. And Petrarch, in the preface to the second book of *Prosperous and Adverse Fortune*, says that the *echenis* or *remora*, a fish of half a foot in length, stops a ship, though it be very large, and winds and waves and oars and sails aid its course; it alone overpowers the power of the elements and of man, with no other agency save attaching itself to the planks of the ship, and with no other force than its own nature; which fish is like mud or mire, and taking it out of the water it loses its power. The aforesaid is found in very distinguished writings, which are not quoted here lest it take too much space.

¹ Latin in N. E. quadrant of map.

Mr. SMITH also communicated a letter which he had recently received from Mr. Winsor, giving an account of the manuscripts relating to America in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. Mr. Winsor writes: "I spent several hours to-day at Lambeth looking at the manuscripts which pertained to America. They are not valuable, and touch for the most part the movements to establish and maintain Episcopacy in the Colonies, the opening of colleges at New York and Philadelphia in the interest of the Establishment, and the doings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." The press marks or volumes indicated by Mr. Winsor as containing American papers are 841.7; 711.17; 688.19; 1123; 954.38; 250; and 1025.3; and he gives a detailed account of many of the papers contained in them. Most of those which he describes have been printed in Perry's "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church" or elsewhere. Mr. Winsor adds: "I also looked at the Lambeth copy of Smith's General History, 1624 ed. It is a perfectly fresh copy, on large paper, with maps on thick paper, bound in calf, with gilt arms of Archbishop Abbott, on both sides. There are no contemporary manuscript notes in it; but there is a long one, July 2, 1879, in pencil, by Henry Stevens, in which he speaks of other large paper copies: Eton College Library; University Library at Cambridge, England; Grenville Library, British Museum. He puts in the same category two copies now in America,—the Aspinwall copy, later the Barlow copy, since sold; the Brinley copy, sold to Brinley by Stevens, and now in the Lenox Library, since 1879."

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks:—

I hold in my hand, Mr. President, a manuscript closely connected with the Historical Society and of a centennial character, which makes it doubly interesting at the present time. It is an old subscription paper, signed by members of the Society and others, agreeing to celebrate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston, on September 17, 1830, by a dinner. The manuscript belongs to Col. William W. Clapp, through whose kindness and courtesy I am enabled to show it at this meeting. The paper was signed by one hundred and eighteen subscribers, of whom

thirty-three, either at that time or afterward, belonged to the Society, which was more than one half of its membership, as then constituted. It contains the names of four gentlemen who have been Presidents of the Society, and of two who have been Vice-Presidents; of four who have been Librarians; of two each, who have been Corresponding Secretaries or Cabinet-keepers, and of one each, who has been Treasurer or Recording Secretary.

With a few exceptions all the signatures are autographs; and they present an array of distinguished names such as could hardly be surpassed at any period in the annals of the city.

The dinner took place at the Exchange Coffee House, where it was largely attended, though the party was much smaller in numbers than at the dinner given by the city in Faneuil Hall, on the same occasion.

Of all these subscribers who met more than sixty years ago to commemorate the event, only one remains, and he is our senior associate member. May his presence here to-day be an omen for the success and prosperity of the Historical Society during the second century of its existence!

The paper reads as follows:—

The Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and other individuals, whose names are subscribed to this paper, hereby associate themselves, for the purpose of commemorating the Settlement of Boston, by a Dinner, on the 17th instant.

September 13th, 1830.

Jn^o Davis
Tho^t L. Winthrop
Jas. Savage
Jas. Bowdoin by J. S.
Jno Pickering
D. Webster, by I. P. D.
I. P. Davis
N. G. Snelling
H. G. Otis
P. O. Thacher
N. Appleton
Sam^l Appleton
P. T. Jackson

Francis J. Oliver
 Rob^t G. Shaw by O.
Geo : Ticknor
 Josiah Quincy Jr
David Sears
A. H. Everett
W^m H. Sumner
W^m Sturgis by Judge Davis
Leverett Saltonstall by I. P.
 Davis
 Thomas B Wales
 Isaac Stevens
 W G Hewes

- Francis Coffin
 W^m P. Mason
 W^m Lawrence
 W^m H Bordman
Charles Sprague
 John Lamson
 Winslow Lewis
Nathan Hale
James C. Merrill
Charles G. Loring
 B T Pickman
 T C Smith by B T P
 J. F. Priest
 Jas B Richardson
 Isaac Danforth
 Thomas Emmons
 Parker H. Pierce
 Geo Lane
 J: Eveleth
 P Perrin
 L. Meriam
 L. Brigham by L. M.
 Will^m T. Andrews
 W^m C Aylwin
 Willard Phillips
 Jos. T. Buckingham
 W^m Hayden Jr
Redford Webster
 H. G Rice
 Benj Pollard
 John Pierpont
 E. Bailey
 Geo. Hayward
John G. Palfrey
 Benj. Russell
 S F McCleary
 Sam. T. Armstrong
 W W Sever
 Josiah Sturgis
John G. King — by J. C. M.
Benjamin Merrill by J. C. M.
 Moses Williams
 Grenville Temple Winthrop
 James Read (by C S.)
- Francis Parkman, by W H.
 H. A. S. Dearborn, by W H.
 Jno: B. Davis
 Tho^r Wetmore
R. C. Winthrop
Edw^d Everett
 Rob^t Trueman
J. C. Gray
 Col. Perkins for himself
 & *Doct Pierce* by I. P D.
 Col. S. Swett
 J. Coolidge jun^r
 Geo: Blake
 Amos Lawrence
Abbott Lawrence
 Benj Winslow
 D Sargent
A. Young Jr. (Rev^d) by O
 William Parker
 John S. Wright
 W. P. Gragg
 Benjamin Rich
 Edwin Buckingham
 Edward Codman
 Rev. M^r Peabody
O. W. B. Peabody
 Chs: Cushing Paine
 William Parker, State St
 John L. Dimmock
 Joseph Russell
 John Gray
 I. P. Davis, for a friend
 Benj^t. Adams — by S. F. M.
 D^r John Homans
 Silas Bullard
 Thomas Motley
 George Howe by I. F. P.
 Richard Cobb
 Nathaniel Amory
 M^r M^cAlister
 Rev: Andrew Bigelow
 M^r Hutchinson, by G. Tick-
 nor
 Dudley L. Pickman

*Joseph Willard**Charles Folsom**Mr [Joseph E. ?] Worcester.**Mr. Blunt**Mr Van Rensaleer**Abbot Lawrence, for a friend.**[Names of the Members of the Society are printed in Italics.]*

Dr. GREEN added a supplement to the Centennial Bibliography presented by him at the last meeting of the Society. It contains a list of titles, for the most part published at an early date, which have appeared in the Collections and been reprinted afterward in various places from original editions, or which have a close connection with the Society's publications. The list is as follows:—

New-Englands Plantation. Or, a short and true Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that countrey. Written in the year 1629, by Mr. Higgeson, . . . Reprinted from the third edition, London, 1630. [Coll. I. 117-124.]

New England's First Fruits. . . [London, 1643.] [Coll. I. 242-250.]

The pamphlet, of which this is the second part, was reprinted as No. VII. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

This also appears in Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay" (Boston, 1846), pp. 242-259; and a reprint of the first edition is found in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1836), Vol. I. No. 12.

An Historical Account of the Settlement of Brookfield, in the county of Worcester, and its distresses during the Indian wars. Extracted from a discourse delivered on the last day of the year 1775, by the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D. Pastor of the third church in that town; and corrected by the author. [Coll. I. 257-271.]

This was taken largely from "A Sermon preached at Brookfield on the Last Day of the Year 1775. Together with some Marginal Notes, &c." (Boston, 1776), pp. 81, v. The sermon was reprinted at West Brookfield in 1860.

A Key into the Language of America: Or an Help to the Language of the Natives, in that part of America, called New England. Together with brief Observations of the Customs, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the aforesaid Natives, in Peace and War, in Life and Death. By Roger Williams of Providence in New England. [London, 1643.] [Coll. III. 203-240; V. 80-106.]

This also appears in the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence, 1827), Vol. I. pp. 17-163, (1), printed from a manuscript copy of the original work in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England. The manuscript was "carefully compared" with the printed volume in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A reprint is found in the "Publications of the Narragansett Club" (Providence, 1866), Vol. I. pp. 77-281.

An Abstract of the Laws of New-England, as they are now established. London, 1641. [Coll. V. 173-187.]

This also appears in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1844), Vol. III. No. 9.

A Relation or Journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England. . . . London, 1622. [Coll. VIII. 203-239.]

This abridgment, with notes by James Freeman, was printed in the Collections for 1802, from that portion of the original edition which appears in "Pvrehas his Pilgrimes" (London, 1625), fourth part, pp. 1842-1853. The portion omitted by Purchas was printed in the Collections, second series, Vol. IX. pp. 26-73, from a manuscript copy, of the edition of 1622 in the City Library of Philadelphia, furnished to the Historical Society by Peter S. Du Ponceau in the year 1819. The "Relation" appears as an abstract in "the sixth booke" of Smith's "General Historie," but it is given entire in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth" (Boston, 1841), pp. 109-249, and also in the several editions with historical notes, by the Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D. An edition was published (Boston, 1865), with copious Notes and an Introduction by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.

Good Newes from New England: A True Relation of Things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England. . . . [London, 1624.] [Coll. VIII. 239-276.]

This followed the same course as the "Relation," and appears in Purchas, fourth part, pp. 1853-1867; also in the Collections, second series, Vol. IX. pp. 74-104, where it was printed from a copy of the original edition in the Harvard College Library. A complete reprint appears in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth" (Boston, 1841), pp. 269-375.

An historical sketch of the progress of Medical Science, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance of a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical Society, June 6, 1810, with alterations and additions to January 1, 1813. By Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M.D. [Coll. 2d series, I. 105-139.]

This is a reprint of a pamphlet entitled "A Dissertation on the Progress of Medical Science, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Read at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, June 6th, 1810," Boston, 1810. A reference is made to it in Dr. Samuel A. Green's "History of Medicine in Massachusetts" (Boston, 1881), p. 117.

A History of New-England, from the English planting in the yeere 1628, untill the Yeere 1652 . . . London, 1654. [Coll. 2d series, II. 49-96; III. 123-161; IV. 1-51; VII. 1-58; VIII. 1-39.]

This appears in the Collections for the years 1814, 1815, 1816, 1818, and 1819, as given above; it was edited by James Savage from a copy procured in England by the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. The History is generally known by the running title "Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour, in New-England"; and it appeared also in 1654 under another title, varying slightly. It was also printed under the title "America Painted to the Life" (London, 1658), wrongly attributed to Ferdinando Gorges. An edition was published (Andover, 1867), with an Introduction and Notes by William Frederick Poole.

A Journal of Occurrences, which happened within the circle of my observation, in the detachment commanded by Col. Benedict Arnold, consisting of two battalions, which were detached from the army at Cambridge, in the year 1775. [Coll. 2d series, II. 227-247.]

This was printed in the Collections for 1814 from a manuscript found among the papers of Rev. Ezra Stiles, signed by Return J. Meigs. The Journal appeared originally in the year 1776 in a pamphlet of eleven pages without place, date, or printer's name, which was essentially the same as that which is found in the Collections. A large part of it is printed in Almon's Remembrancer for 1776, pp. 295-301. It was republished (New York, 1864) with an Introduction and Notes by Charles I. Bushnell, as No. 6 of his "Crumbs for Antiquarians," Vol. I.

New-Englands Jonas cast up at London : or, a Relation of the Proceedings of the Court at Boston in New-England . . . By Major John Child. London, 1647. [Coll. 2d series, IV. 107-120.]

This appears in the Collections for 1816. It was afterward reprinted in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1846), Vol. IV. No. 3; and again (Boston, 1869), with an Introduction and Notes by William T. R. Marvin.

A brief History of the Pequot War : Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637. Written by Major John Mason . . . Boston, 1736. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 120-153.]

This appears also as an "Appendix to the Case of the Governor and Company of Connecticut and Mohegan Indians" (London, 1769), and was reprinted by J. Sabin and Sons (New York, 1869).

The New Life of Virginea : . . . London, 1612. [Coll. 2d series, VIII. 199-227.]

This appears also in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1836), Vol. I. No. 7.

A perfect Description of Virginia : . . . London, 1649. [Coll. 2d series, IX. 105-122.]

This appears also in Force's "Tracts and other Papers" (Washington, 1838), Vol. II. No. 8.

Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where . . . By Captaine Iohn Smith. London, 1631. [Coll. 3d series, III. 1-53.]

This appears in the Collections for 1833, and was reprinted in Boston (1865); and also by Edward Arber, in the Works of John Smith (Birmingham, Eng., 1884), pp. 917-966.

Plain Dealing: or, Nevves from New-England . . . By Thomas Lechford. London, 1642. [Coll. 3d series, III. 55-128.]

In 1644 this was reprinted with a new titlepage as follows : "New-Englands Advice to Old-England, or, Some Observations upon New-Englands Government . . ." It was printed in the Collections for 1833, as given above, and also appeared as No. IV. of the "Library of New-England History," with an Introduction and Notes by J. Hammond Trumbull (Boston, 1867).

An Account of two Voyages to New-England . . . By John Josselyn Gent. . . . The Second Addition. London, 1675. [Coll. 3d series, III. 211-396.]

This appears in the Collections for 1833, as given above, and is a reprint of the second edition, which is like the first, excepting the titlepage. It was also republished (Boston, 1865), by William Veazie, with an Introduction and Notes.

The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England. London, 1647. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 1-23.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and it also forms No. IX. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series. There are good reasons, however, to believe that the pamphlet was not written by Eliot, as generally supposed.

The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England. By Thomas Shepard. London, 1648. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 25-67.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. X. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, a farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Published by Henry Whitfield. London, 1651. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 100-147.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. III. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1865), Quarto Series.

Strength out of Weaknesse ; or a glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. Published by Henry Whitfield. London, 1652. [Coll. 3d series, IV. 149-196.]

This appears in the Collections for 1834, as given above, and also forms No. V. of Sabin's Reprints (New York, 1866), Quarto Series.

A Brief Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the parts of America. . . . Written by the right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges. London, 1658. [Coll. 3d series, VI. 45-93.]

This appears in the Collections for 1837, as given above, and also in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland, 1847), Vol. II. pp. v-65, following page 80.

A Description of New England: or the Observations, and Discoveries, of Captaine Iohn Smith . . . London, 1616. [Coll. 3d series, VI. 95-140.]

This appears in the Collections for 1837, as given above, and was also republished (Boston, 1865), by William Veazie, with an Introduction and Notes.

An Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By William Jenks.] [Coll. 3d series, VII. 5-26.]

This also appeared in "The American Quarterly Register" (Vol. X.) for November, 1837, pp. 166-177.

A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett. London, 1628. [Coll. 3d series, VIII. 159-190.]

This was reprinted in the Collections for 1843, from a transcript procured in England by Jared Sparks. It again appeared in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Portland, 1847), Vol. II. pp. 75-109, following page 80, printed from a copy of the first edition in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth. By Joseph Hunter. [Coll. 4th series, I. 52-85.]

This appears in the Collections for 1852, and is a modification of Mr. Hunter's "Critical and Historical Tracts" (London, 1849), No. II. printed under a similar title. Another edition much enlarged was published in 1854, and in the "Preliminary Notice" to the volume, Mr. Hunter says, "I have been requested by the Massachusetts Historical Society to prepare a kind of New Edition for insertion in their Transactions."

Memoir of Rev. John Robinson. By the Rev. Robert Ashton. [Coll. 4th series, I. 111-164.]

This appears in the Collections for 1852, and is a reprint from "The Works of John Robinson" (Boston, 1851), Vol. I. pp. xi-lxxiv.

Many of Mr. Winthrop's papers and remarks before the Society appear also in his "Addresses and Speeches on various Occasions" (Boston, 1852-1886), Vols. II.-IV., but such are not specified in the foregoing list. His remarks on the death of Mr. Everett (Proc. VIII. 101-106) are found in his "Tributes to the Memory of Edward Everett" (Boston, 1865), which was privately printed.

The paper read before the Society by Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, on Thomas Carlyle (Proc. XVIII. 324-328), at the February Meeting, 1881, was reprinted in "Scribner's Monthly" (XXII. 89-91) for May of that year, in advance of the publication of the Proceedings, at the request of the late Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, one of our Corresponding Members and the editor of that magazine.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's paper on Sir Christopher Gardiner (Proc. XX. 60-88), mentioned on page 221, was printed also in "Harper's New Monthly Magazine" (LXVI. 586-597) for March, 1883, where it appeared in advance of the publication of the Proceedings, but without the notes.

The following title should be inserted on page 236, in its proper place :—

JENKS, WILLIAM. The Jenks Family. Copy of a Letter to Alonzo Lewis, Esq., of Lynn, Mass., intended for use in preparing the second ed. of his history of that town. No titlepage. [1844.] 8vo. pp. 6.

This was communicated at a meeting, September 26, 1844, and later printed in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (IX. 201-206) for July, 1855, from which it is reprinted, though it does not appear to have been used by Mr. Lewis, as implied in the title given above. (See Proceedings, II. 293 *note*.)

In connection with the volume of Belknap Papers laid before the Society at this meeting, Dr. GREEN called the attention of the members to an anecdote, related of Washington by Lieut. Col. Archibald Montgomery Maxwell, in his "A Run through the United States, during the Autumn of 1840" (London, 1841, two vols.). While Dr. Belknap's surname is singularly misspelled by the writer, and the orthography of Mr. Sparks's is not free from criticism, the story illustrates Washington's

extreme exactness in small matters. The reference in the extract, however, is not to the History of New Hampshire, but to the American Biography, of which the second volume was passing through the press at the time of the author's death. The account is as follows:—

"A Mr. Belnass, son of the historian of New Hampshire, was shewing with exultation a kind note he had received, when a boy at school, from the great Washington. Belnass, the father, had died before the publication of his history, and his widow wrote to Washington, stating that the work had been completed before her husband's death, and that she purposed publishing it to the best of her ability, and requesting to know if he was still willing to take the number of copies for which he had originally subscribed. The reply was sent to her son. It was plain, simple, kind, and condoling, and of course expressing his intention to abide by his engagement; but, although now a valuable document, it was in itself a mere unimportant note. The person to whom it was shewn, knowing the extraordinary habits of this extraordinary man, laid a wager that a copy of it would be found amongst Washington's papers.

"Accordingly the party proceeded to Mr. Sparkes, to whom the government had confided the arrangement of them. When the story was told, Mr. Sparkes led them into apartments filled with papers of all kinds—cards of invitation, correspondence with statesmen and kings, washerwomen's bills, diplomatic documents, familiar notes, and legislative treaties. Mr. Sparkes looked at the note, acknowledged it to be the handwriting of Washington, and said, 'Yes, there is a copy of it'; and, suiting the action to the word, immediately produced it; and, what was still more curious, there happened to be an erasure and correction in the original, and the same was exhibited in the copy" (I. 181, 182).

Mr. Benjamin Marston Watson, of Plymouth, was elected a Resident Member; and the Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain, of Quebec, a Corresponding Member.

A serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the December and January meetings and the Centennial Commemoration, was ready for delivery at this meeting. It was announced that the volume of Belknap Papers was ready for delivery on the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society.

MARCH MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. Among the accessions was a copy of Brown's "Genesis of the United States," which was sent to the Library by Mrs. Charles Deane, agreeably to a request of Mr. Deane in his last sickness.

Messrs. William W. Goodwin, Henry W. Haynes, and Solomon Lincoln were appointed a committee to nominate a list of officers to be balloted for at the Annual Meeting; the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall and Mr. Henry G. Denny a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts; and Mr. Stephen Salisbury, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and Mr. William P. Upham a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

We are again called to recognize the loss of one from that group of our associates which from the earliest years of our Society it has always held in the highest regard for their service to our community, not directly in the fields of historical or literary work, but as honored citizens filling eminent places in civic and fiduciary trusts. The late Samuel Crocker Cobb counted his membership here as among the privileges of his blameless, faithful, and distinguished career. Public service in laborious and most responsible offices was rendered by him with eminent fidelity and ability. His funeral rites gathered an assemblage of citizens representing among us those whose award of esteem is given only to elevation and worth of character. The magistrates of the city in their official attendance paid their tribute to him as having as the chief among them won the confidence and approval of his whole constituency. It may be said of him as our Mayor, that his administration was so wise and pure and effective of good, that the citizens might

have wished that the tenure of his office could have been continuous, like that of a judge, instead of by annual election. His business ability, judgment, and acquired experience placed him at the head of our most responsible trust corporations. In private life his friendships were among those whose esteem attaches only to those of full desert. We can but place upon our records our tribute to the personal qualities and virtues which made his presence here so welcome in life, and which will give him a treasured place in our remembrance.

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE being called on said:—

At your request, Mr. President, as well as to indulge my own feelings, I rise to pay a brief tribute of love and respect to the memory of our late lamented associate and friend, although I cannot hope, nor do I expect, to add anything of interest to what has been already said, and so justly said, on various occasions, by others.

I knew Mr. Cobb in his boyhood in Taunton. He was a frank, manly, joyous boy, not averse to mischief and brimming over with fun. Even now I seem to hear his merry, ringing laugh, as in bygone days. He was fitted for college at the Bristol Academy, intending to enter Harvard in the class of 1842; but family circumstances obliged him to abandon a collegiate course,—a step which he never ceased to regret. On coming to Boston at the age of sixteen he entered the counting-room of the Messrs. Cunningham, merchants on Rowe's Wharf, where he remained until his majority. After leaving them, to begin business for himself, he made several voyages to the North of Europe, to the Mediterranean, and to South America. He was never more agreeable and entertaining than when recounting his experiences of the sea, for which he had a strong natural fondness. He was familiar with every part of a ship, from her fore-foot to her rudder-post, from her keel to her main truck. He was a born sailor. I have always thought that the country lost a great naval officer in Mr. Cobb; for he had, as I have said, a genuine love of the sea, was constitutionally brave, possessed rare administrative and executive capacity, and a talent for command. He would have been at home on the quarter-deck.

After a successful and honorable career as a merchant, he was summoned by an almost unanimous vote to the chief magistracy of this city. I need not speak of him here in that high office. Around us are the enduring monuments of his wise and beneficent administration. Suffice it to say that, sustained by the popular verdict for three years, he left a record of enlightened and efficient service unsurpassed in our municipal annals. He was indeed a model mayor, laborious, vigilant, sagacious, far-seeing, fearless, incorruptible.

As actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, he devoted himself with his wonted painstaking care and conscientious fidelity to the discharge of the duties that devolved upon him. During the thirteen years that he filled that responsible position, our intercourse was constant, almost daily; and I can bear abundant testimony to the eminent services he rendered, and their great value to the institution of which he was the executive officer. He possessed the qualities which especially fitted him for the management of such trusts as are held by that company, and he exercised these qualities with the highest sense of responsibility. In the conduct of the business he was conservative, yet wisely progressive, and liberal in his views and aims for meeting the increasing demands of the period. He was ambitious of making his administration as honorable as those of his predecessors; and in this he was successful, as during his term of office the institution enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity and continued growth in the volume of its affairs.

Mr. Cobb was a man of marked individuality, and he impressed himself upon all who came in contact with him. He had strong convictions, and always the courage to defend them. As has been well said of him, "he cared nothing for majorities, and was content to stand alone if he thought he was right." He was a man to rely on in any emergency, for he had inherited the best qualities of his Puritan ancestors. He knew not fear, moral or physical. In his eloquent and admirable address on "The Puritan Spirit," Dr. Storrs says, "Whoever has a true Puritan behind him in any stress of contention and struggle may know that there is one on whose succor and support he can steadfastly depend. A law of Nature is scarcely less mutable. The poise of the planet is hardly more constant." "The Guard may die, but it never surrenders." It seems to

me that Mr. Cobb exemplified in himself this vivid portraiture of the Puritan character. He was moderate in the pursuit of wealth, having no passion for accumulation. He valued money for its uses and because it gives independence. With his first-rate business talents and ample experience he might have made a larger fortune had he been willing to take greater risks, but, as an eminent merchant and capitalist used to say of himself, "he preferred to keep in shallow water, not because it was shoal, but because he knew exactly how deep it was."

Mr. Cobb had a wide grasp for affairs, and knew how to accomplish great results; he understood men, and he was seldom mistaken in his judgment of them. He combined a rigid sense of justice and extreme tenderness of feeling. He was broad and warm in his sympathies, and always ready to aid and encourage every movement to promote the public good. His advice was constantly sought, not only by his friends, but by many who knew him merely by reputation. More than one large subscription for charity has been started at his instance. Its success was never doubtful, because he did not rest until he had aroused the interest of others, and insured its completion. Whatever he did, he did it with his might.

I could speak more at length of his personal traits and of his upright and manly character, — honor, integrity, sincerity, pervaded his whole nature and controlled his life, — but I have said enough to show what manner of man he was, and how much has been taken from us. If human life is measured by virtuous and unselfish deeds, then was his well rounded. He has finished his course. He is enrolled among our honored dead, and he has left his bright example as a legacy to this community.

Mr. SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY then spoke of Mr. Cobb's public life: —

It is my purpose to speak of Mr. Cobb's public career; for it was in that relation that my acquaintance with him began, — an acquaintance which ripened with the passing years and became to me a precious possession, but is now a sacred memory.

By the annexation of Roxbury, in 1867, the city of Boston gained a large area of territory, some additional public buildings, and a desirable population. But among its best acquisitions, better in many respects than its acres and edifices, were some valuable and conspicuous *citizens* whom it had a right thenceforward to call its own. Among these was our lamented friend, who, immediately upon the union of the two municipalities, was unanimously elected upon the Board of Aldermen of Boston, having previously served the city of Roxbury in a similar capacity during the years 1861 and 1862. Unassuming but firm, diligent without pretence, a foe to all shams, and an enemy to political tricksters of all sorts, he managed whatever matters were committed to his charge with the direct and steady purpose of promoting the public welfare. With this single aim he not only retained the affection of his acknowledged friends, but he also won and held the respect of his political opponents.

With the experience of a year's service in the Board of Aldermen, he was elected the chief magistrate of this city in 1873 by a large majority. Bringing to that position the knowledge of men and affairs which he had acquired as an Alderman, he administered the office of Mayor in a most exemplary and honorable manner. He elevated and sustained so admirably the dignity and the prerogatives of his official station, and he created by sheer force of his integrity and uprightness such an atmosphere in the mayoralty, that no mere intriguer or schemer dared encounter his presence.

He brought to the management of affairs at the City Hall his best qualities as a man of business; and with his thorough knowledge of all departments of the government he required them, by the example of his own rectitude and the impress of his strong individuality, to be conducted honestly and economically. He was, indeed, as Mr. Lawrence has aptly said, "a model mayor." He served the city in that capacity for three successive years, after which he declined to be again a candidate. During his term of office he inaugurated and successfully advanced three great enterprises, which have secured to the city of Boston a large measure of health, comfort, and purity. These enterprises involved the expenditure of large sums of money, and they required in their conception and execution that clear vision and unerring sagacity which Mr. Cobb not

only possessed himself, but was able, by persuasion, to impart in some degree to others.

The extensive plan of connected public parks, so wisely projected by the commission instituted and selected by him; the admirable system of improved sewerage, which underruns our thoroughfares and discharges the contents of thirteen miles of sewers into the harbor at Moon Island; and the seizure of the waters of Sudbury River and of Farm Pond as important auxiliaries to our water supply, — were the results of his most thoughtful and energetic efforts, and they will indissolubly connect his name with these great public works. Fortunate, indeed, was it that these enterprises were originated and undertaken by an administration characterized by ability and economy.

Inheriting from his distinguished grandfather a pure and lofty patriotism, he improved every occasion to foster and strengthen its spirit. Accordingly, during his term of office in 1875, he participated cordially and efficiently in the centennial observance of the battle of Bunker Hill, on which occasion our late associate, Judge Devens, delivered his eloquent address.

Through a special message to the City Council, he also recommended the necessary proceedings which urged and led the Congress of the United States to carry out, in 1881, the long-deferred purpose of erecting a column on the field of Yorktown, Virginia, to commemorate the surrender of Cornwallis and the close of the Revolutionary War; and on this occasion our present senior member, Mr. Winthrop, delivered his memorable historic address before the dignitaries of the United States, and the distinguished gentlemen of France and Germany who were specially commissioned to represent our ancient auxiliaries at the observance of these important events.

At his suggestion, also, which he pushed with patriotic pride, there was erected in the area of the City Hall a bronze statue of Josiah Quincy, the second Mayor of Boston, whose character he always admired, and whose executive ability was largely repeated in himself.

In 1869 he was elected director for the public institutions of the city of Boston, — a position which he held for five successive years, where his just interest in the amelioration of the

condition of the insane persons under his charge led Gov. William B. Washburn to appoint him upon the commission which was authorized to select a site in Northeastern Massachusetts for a new State Lunatic Hospital and to erect a suitable building thereon. In pursuance of this appointment the conspicuous site was purchased, and the extensive and commodious building now known as the Danvers Lunatic Asylum was erected on that location.

In 1884 he was appointed by Mayor Martin chairman of a commission to examine all the acts relating to the city of Boston, and to report what amendments were necessary thereto, with a view to a more honest administration of the government, and to a wiser economy in the methods of taxation and in the expenditure of the public funds. This commission presented a voluminous report, recommending various amendments to the city charter, many of which were enacted, and are in operation to-day.

The new Hospital Life Insurance building, at 50 State Street, which was erected in 1885, under his auspices as actuary of the society, is a conspicuous example of his foresight and sagacity; for this grand conception, successfully completed in spite of some timid opposition, was the means of restoring to that financial centre its prestige and value, which had already begun to decline.

Mr. Cobb was personally, in all his dealings and in every capacity, an upright and downright man in the best meaning of those terms. His only incentive of action was a high sense of public duty. With positive convictions of duty which always accorded with truth and justice, and never with expediency simply, he was equally fearless in their expression. He was a generous supporter of every laudable enterprise, and his name upon a petition was at once an endorsement of its merits and an augury of its success. He was very thorough in all his work. It was never disfigured by loose construction or a ragged edge. It was always uniform and compact. Punctuality in the performance of promises and promptness in attendance on all duties were sources of a just pride. Men like Mr. Cobb are the salt of society. It is a pity they are so rarely found in any community. To them the people instinctively turn in every exigency for that leadership and direction which alone can guide them safely, and which they will faith-

fully and confidently support. In the various relations of private life he was ever constant and true, and to such as enjoyed the privilege of a closer friendship he was always sincere, generous, and faithful.

By his death this Society has lost a most worthy member. We shall miss for a long time his manly presence, his dignified bearing, his cordial greeting, and his attractive smile. Let us hope that his influence, which so often affected and guided his fellow-men, will still pervade this community, which he largely benefited and greatly honored.

Mr. McCleary was followed by Mr. WINSLOW WARREN, who said:—

At a recent meeting of another society of which Mr. Cobb had long been a most prominent, active, and beloved member, I undertook to sketch briefly his character and services. So much has since been said in eulogy of him to show the depth of sincere feeling his loss has caused to this community, that I can add but little, and that mainly in reference to his connection with this Society. His friends are in every sphere of life in numerous societies in which he was an honored associate, and it is a great tribute to his high character and influence that wherever he was known the same estimate was placed upon the value of his life work. As a member of this Society he did not profess to be an historical scholar, but he was thoroughly interested in historical work, and appreciative of results secured by those whose habit of mind and previous training enabled them to pursue such researches with judgment and success. To all such efforts he gave hearty and substantial encouragement, while for himself he stood among us simply as an upright, public-spirited citizen, whose time was fully occupied in doing his duty to the community, and thus illustrating by conspicuous public service and honest administration of private affairs the best type of American citizenship. In a learned and scholarly society like this the example of a true, honest, independent man, whose life has been faithfully given to practical business matters, is by no means lost, for it brings to the aid of the student and the historian the very qualities needed to insure the stability and continuance of their efforts to dignify history by the investigation and

annunciation of historic truths. And such a man was our departed friend; public service was with him completely a public trust, administered with scrupulous integrity and utter fearlessness, while in all the private affairs of life he bore himself with an honesty of purpose which won the respect and confidence of all. He never forgot that he came of an ancestry ennobled by faithful devotion to the country in her direst need. *No-blesse oblige* was ever in his mind,—not the nobility of rank or station, but that conferred by brave deeds in war and high civic virtues.

His sympathy with educational efforts was warm and constant, and his interest in philanthropic, religious, and charitable enterprises is best evidenced by the many official positions he held at his death in important and well-known societies and associations. Wherever he was a member he was an active and influential one, and those who have known him here will recall his constant presence at our meetings, and deeply regret that we are henceforth to be deprived of his valuable counsel and advice.

Mr. James M. Bugbee was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Cobb for the Proceedings, and the Rev. O. B. Frothingham a memoir of President James Walker, in place of Prof. Henry W. Torrey, who was obliged to relinquish the duty on account of impaired health.

Rev. Dr. EGBERT C. SMYTH presented a number of original papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of Fort Dummer, and to a conference with the Scatacook Indians held there, and spoke in substance as follows:—

One hundred years ago this month Vermont was admitted into the Union. In recalling the events which led up to this result, a Montpelier newspaper begins the narration with Fort Dummer. It says:—

“The first civilized settlement within the present limits of Vermont was made in 1724 by the erection of Fort Dummer in the township of Brattleboro. The territory had been the frontier ground of warring tribes, and had been permanently occupied neither by Indian nor pale-face. From the date of the establishing of Fort Dummer, surveys began to be made, and civilization began to claim the land.”

This historical significance of Fort Dummer in respect to the permanent settlement of Vermont is recognized by approved authorities; and yet more widely its value to the early colonists in the valley of the Connecticut as an outpost for their protection.

For these reasons I have thought that this Society may be pleased to receive and preserve the originals of some unpublished letters and other papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of this fort, together with a record of a conference held either within it or in its vicinity, perhaps at Northfield, in 1728, between representatives of the Government and of the Scatacook Indians.

With these papers I have associated, as a running comment, extracts from other documents, chiefly manuscript, preserved in the Massachusetts State Archives. For clearness and convenience, I will enumerate here the papers, ten in number, which are now offered:—

1. An Order, signed by John Stoddard, *Pacis Justitiarius*, empowering and requiring Lieut. Timothy Dwight to impress necessary means for building "the Block House above Northfield" [Fort Dummer].
2. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. Timothy Dwight, March 16, 1724.
3. Letter from Col. John Stoddard to Capt. Timothy Dwight, May 22, 1724.
4. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. [Timothy] Dwight, June 24, 1724.
5. Muster Roll of Capt. Timothy Dwight's Company at Fort Dummer, June 1 [1724] to Nov. 30 [1724].
6. Muster Roll of the Same, Dec. 1, 1725, to May 31, 1726. [This roll is endorsed for payment by J. Willard, Secretary.]
7. Muster Roll of the Same, June 1, 1726, to Nov. 30, 1726.
8. Letter from Lieut.-Gov. Dummer to Capt. Timothy Dwight, Dec. 28, 1725.
9. Letter from Col. John Stoddard [to Capt. Timothy Dwight], March 26, 1726.
10. Record of a Conference with the Scatacooks, held by Col. Stoddard, Capt. Dwight, Esq., and Capt. Pomeroy, on the part of the English, June 6-7, 1728.

The dates of these documents show that they fall, with two exceptions, into the time of Dummer's or Lovewell's War, 1722-1726. This was really but a fresh outbreak of hostili-

ties which had never been quelled. Though there was peace between England and France, Canada and the Provinces, the Indians began anew their raids, capturing nine families at Merrymeeting Bay, burning Brunswick, and committing other outrages. In close sympathy with them were the St. Francis Indians, who hovered upon the northwestern frontiers and threatened the plantations and towns in the valley of the Connecticut. The need was great and urgent of a fortification higher up the river which could afford a base for scouting-parties, send timely warnings of an approaching foe, and check its progress.¹ There was also the insatiable craving for new lands and homes.

Dec. 27, 1723, the House of Representatives voted:—

"It will be of great service to all the western frontiers, both in this & the neighbouring government of Connecticut, to build a Block House above Northfield, in the most convenient place on the land call'd the Equivalent Land, & to post in it forty able men, English & western Indians, to be employed in scouting at a good distance up Connecticut River, West River, Otter Creek, & sometimes eastwardly above Great Manadnuck, for the discovery of the enemy coming towards any of the frontier towns; and that so much of the said Equivalent Land as shall be necessary for a Block House be taken up, with the consent of the owners of the said land, together with five or six acres of their intervail land, to be broke up or plowed for the present use of the western Indians (in case any of them shall think fit to bring their families thither)."

The duty of carrying this order into effect was intrusted to Col. John Stoddard, who writes to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, Feb. 3, 1724:—

"I have Committed the oversight of the Work about the Block-house to Lieut^{re} Dwight, & given him Instructions about the building according to the Projection I sent to your Honour."²

Four days earlier he issued the commission which stands first in the series of papers of which I have just given a list, and which reads as follows:—

TO LIEUT TIMOTHY DWIGHT

In His Majesty's Name you are hereby Authorized, employed, & required to Impress Horses, Utensils, & any other thing necessary

¹ Upon the value of the fort, see an interesting and important letter from Colonel Stoddard, Mass. Archives, vol. lii. pp. 87, 88.

² Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. p. 169.

to enable you to prosecute the building of the Block House above Nthfield.

Dated at Nth Hampton this thirty-first day of Jan^y in tenth year of His Majesty's Reign, Annoq^{ue} Domⁱⁿⁱ, 1723.

JOHN STODDARD *Pac^e Just^{us}*

Mr. Dwight was then in his thirtieth year. He was becoming known as a public surveyor, and was an officer in Captain Kellogg's company at Northfield. The next letter refers to a survey he had made of this town in 1720, and expresses the writer's appreciation of Mr. Dwight's fitness for his post.

Boston, 16th March, 1723[-4].

I have your Letter dated the 7th instant. I was well informed of your Capacit^ye for the Service you are in or I should not have placed you there, & I doubt not of your Industry & fidelity. In a Short time you shall have the necessary instructions for your Government therein. As to Liberty for Exchangeing some of your People for more able Effective Soldiers you may do it as occasion requires taking the advice & approbation of Coll^{le} Partridge & Coll^{le} Stoddard In all Such Exchanges. When you have Leisure & it shall be no Impediment to the Service I shall be glad that you will make the Draughts you formerly took of that division of the Equivalent Lands¹ more pfect & send it to me & if you have not a Copy of that plan by you I will send you the original if it be necessary

Yrs

W^m DUMMER.

Cap^t! TIM^o DWIGHT

The extract which I have given from Colonel Stoddard's letter of February 3 seems to imply that the plan of the fort was sent to Boston from Northampton. Colonel Stoddard's military experience and his special acquaintance with the needs of the northwestern frontier and with Indian warfare would qualify him to make the design, and it may well have been drawn by the skilful draughtsman to whom he committed the work of construction. In the same letter he refers to a plan sent by the Lieutenant-Governor, and says:—

"I don't understand it, but am sensible the cost of building according to that will be much greater than in the way I proposed. M^r Dwight will goe this day to the place with four Carpenters, twelve Souldiers with narrow axes, and two Teams. I suppose they will hew all the Timber both for the fort and Housing before they return, I hope the fort and

¹ For explanation of this phrase, see Temple and Sheldon's "History of the Town of Northfield," pp. 154, 155.

Houses will be framed & set up this month. Cap^t Kellogs ten Supernumerary men are turned over to the other Company, and two more added which makes the number Col. Partridge was ordered to raise, and orders are given for the exchange of a few of Kellogs most Ineffective men, for such Inhabitants as are driven from their lands.

" . . . I presume your Honour Intends a Second to M^r Dwight at the Block-House, Cap^t Kellog tells me that Dwight is desirous that Elisha Searl should be with him, he is at present a Serjeant under Cap^t Kellog, was put in at the request of the Assembly, at his return from Canada, where he had long been a Prisoner, he seems to be a discreet, and careful man."

In a postscript he adds : —

"I forgot to take notice of your thought of setting Stockadoes ro[u]nd the fort to keep the Enemy at a distance. I don't well apprehend the benefit of it, for we Intend the fort shall be so built that the Souldiers shall be as safe if the Enemy were in the Parade, as if they were without the fort."¹

Feb. 7, 1724, the Lieutenant-Governor writes to Colonel Stoddard : —

"I have y^m Letters by Stebbins of the 3^d Instant, & am well pleased with the Orders you have given respecting the Block House & the Dispatch that is likely to be made therein, But untill the Frost be out of y^e Ground, how will you lay y^m Foundation ; And I think there ought to be a good one of Stone & that carried some Height above Ground, & also Cellars for the Use & Conveniency of so many People : I now send you Cpt. Dwights Commisⁿ & also a Commis^t for Elisha Searl to be his Lieu^t I am willing to give y^m as much Countenance by y^r Commisⁿ as may be, but they must take the Pay the Assembly shall allow y^m."²

Another letter (Feb. 25, 1724) to Colonel Stoddard, presumably from the acting Governor, though not in his handwriting, and unsigned, says : —

"I am glad the preparations for the Block house goes on so Prosperously the sooner it be Completed the better for it will not be safe to Leave the Timber &c. unguarded least any of the Lurkeing Enemy should sett it on fire."³

Again, March 14, 1724, he writes to Colonel Stoddard : —

"I have Yours of the 5th of March and am Glad to hear . . . that the Block house goes forward so Well."⁴

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. pp. 159, 160.

² Ibid., p. 163.

³ Ibid., p. 161.

⁴ Ibid., vol. li. p. 389.

This correspondence indicates that the Government at Boston left the plan of the fort to be worked out according to Colonel Stoddard's "projection," and his "instructions" to Lieutenant Dwight. The work was prosecuted with great energy and efficiency. A large fort arose, nearly square, each side about 180 feet in length, and from 12 to 14 feet high, with houses continuous against the walls, and fronting on an interior open square, and capable of being quickly barricaded in case an enemy should gain entrance. It was built of logs, "locked together at the angles" in the usual way. Colonel Stoddard says: "The soldiers had a very hard service, lying in the woods, & were obliged to work early & late . . . The horses were worked very hard."¹ By April 12 the garrison numbered thirty-eight officers and men, and on April 21 eleven Indians were added. For June 1, the muster-roll shows thirty-nine names, including ten Indians. The full complement seems to have been reached in April, and probably the Block-house was then so far completed as to be occupied. This implies very rapid progress. A further indication is given in the superscription of the next letter on our list: "To Cap^t Timothy Dwight att Fort Dummer." In the first muster-roll it is described, on the back of one sheet, as "the Block-House above Northfield." Now it has a name. The date of the letter is May 22, 1724. Not far from this date, as appears from the following letter, Captain Dwight asked permission to remove his family to the fort, — a further indication that it had become habitable, though still unfinished.

CAP^t DWIGHT.

I send you by this Bearer another Letter wherein all your demands in behalfe of the Mohawks are fully answerd w^{ch} I hope will engage them to be very faithfull & dilligent in their Duty. This is to lett you know that I very well aprove of your bringing your Family to the Blockhouse & you may depend on my Friendship to you as long as you Serve the Government faithfully as I have not the least doubt but you allways will. And as I wrote you in my other Lett the Garrison bee pfectly finished with all proper accomodations for officers & men both your owne people & the Mohawks & with every thing necessary to enable them to make a good defence before you make out your accounts, Lett me know when you Shall Survey that Division of Land & Lett it

¹ History of Northfield, p. 200.

bee exactly described & measured you have now the best opportunity of doing it accurately, I am

Yr

W^m DUMMERBOSTON 24th June 1724

On a muster-roll of Captain Dwight's company, preserved at the State House,¹ and which covers enrolments from Jan. 22, 1724, to May 29, fifty-six names are entered, though not all were present at any one time. It is interesting to notice the places from which these recruits were gathered. Springfield furnishes eight; Windsor, six, Northfield and Enfield, each four; Northampton, Suffield, Marlborough, and Framingham, two each; Kinderhook, Sudbury, Stow, Westfield, Lebanon, Simsbury, Stratford, Deerfield, Hatfield, Concord, Rhode Island, Hartford, England, Germany, one each. There are twelve Indian names, — two Maqua Sachems, seven Hudson River Indians, one Scatacook, and two others.

So far as I can ascertain, there is but one other roll of this company on file in the State Archives; namely, from June 1 to Nov. 30, 1725.² The first of the three rolls now produced has no year entered; but an examination of it in comparison with the other rolls that have been mentioned, shows that it belongs to the year 1724, and continues the record to November 30. The two other rolls now presented run from Dec. 1, 1725, to Nov. 30, 1726. There is still a deficiency from Dec. 1, 1724, to May 31, 1725.

In the "History of Northfield," a model local history, the earlier roll at the State House is published, so far as names and residences are concerned.³ To facilitate comparison, I insert here the corresponding facts given in the first of the three rolls now submitted, adding the length of service when the whole period, June 1 to November 30, is not covered. I have marked with an asterisk names common to the two rolls.

A Muster-Roll of the Company in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Timothy Dwight Captain, Viz. Of Fort Dummer.

* Timothy Dwight, Cap^t, N Hampt^s

* Elisha Searles, Lieu^t, D^o.

[Blank left here for name of chaplain.]

* John Burks, Serg^t, Hatf^d

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. xci. pp 109-111.

² Ibid., pp. 236, 237.

³ One name, that of "John Machanny, Winsor," should be added to the list as printed in this "History," p. 201; "Thomas Woolst" is in the manuscript

- * Robert Cooper, Serg^t, Northf^d
- * Caleb Chapin, Cler., Springf^d
- * John Mackranny, Corp^l, Spf^d
- * John Thrall, Corp^l, Winsor.
- * Will^m Syms, Serv^t to Thos. French.
- * John Bement, Westf^d
- * Antho. Wiersbury,¹ —
- * James Hayes, Stow
- * Christoph^r Sitton, Enf^d
- * John Ellis, Narrowgans^t.
- * Joseph Allyn,² Suffield.
- * Jonathⁿ James, N. field.
- * Jacob Wheeler, Kend^rhook
- * Mitchel Fokt, Symsbury
- * John Pease, Enf^d
- * Jonathⁿ Pease, Enf^d
- * Joseph Gillit, Enf^d
- * Pellet^h Jones, Springf^d.
- * Robert Carter, D^o.
- * Abrah^m Burnet, D^o.
- * John Frost, D^o.
- * Sam^l Burr, Hartf^d.
- * Nath^l Mattun, Northf^d.
- Dan^l Severance, —
- * John Brooks, — July 7, Deserted.
- * Stephen Winchel, Winsor, To Aug. 31.
- Thomas Moses, D^o. Sep^r 1 to Nov^r 30.
- * Thomas Woolcot, D^o. To June 16.
- * David Clarke, D^o. Disjoynd his arm Ap^l 28 (wrestling)
 & went to Connecticut & never returned to y^e Service.
- John Willcot, Brookf^d, Sept^r 6 to Nov^r 30.
- * Hendrick,³ —, June 1 to Sep^r 3.
- * Ezerus,³ D^o. 1 to Do. 3.
- * Ampaumet,³ D^o. 1 to July 29.

"Thomas Wolcott"; "Sergt. John Mackranney" is "John Mackranny, Corp^l"; "John Crawford," "John Crowfoot"; "Hunnibus," "Hannibus"; "Michael," "Mitchel"; "Wedge," "Wages." Some of these and other changes are doubtless intentional corrections of the spelling. For the purpose of these records, it seems best to reproduce the manuscript spelling.

¹ In a later roll he is entered from Germany, and designated "Drummer." See account of his narrow escape from Indians when scouting, in "History of Northfield," p. 213.

² I have assumed that he and Joseph Allen are the same person.

³ Hendrick and Ezerus were Maqua Sachems. Ampaumet was a Sachem of the Hudson River Indians.

Unkamugg,	D ^o 1 to D ^o 29.
* Poopoonuck	D ^o 1 " Oct. 19.
* Kewahcum	D ^o 1 " July 14.
* Pomangun	D ^o 1 " Aug ^t 10.
* Wannoowoozet	D ^o 1 " July 29
* Tawkaquint,	D ^o 1 " D ^o 29
* Nuhnuhwaunet	D ^o 1 " D ^o 29
Wawwankhawneck,	June 2 " July 29.
Towahass	June 5 " July 29.
Nockshuwot	June 8 " July 29.
Toggorrehoon	" 16 " Sep ^r 3.
Jendonisk	June 23 " Sep ^r 3.
Sotohcowannah	June 23 " Sep ^r 3.
Tawwahtanneah,	June 26 " Sep ^r 3.
Cosaump,	July 31 " Nov ^r . 14.

The large number of Indian names on the early rolls, especially the second, is noteworthy. It appears from correspondence of the time, which has been preserved, that strenuous efforts were put forth to secure recruits from the Mohawks and other Western Indians. The chief reason for this policy is so clearly set forth in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor from Colonel Stoddard, Feb. 3, 1724, that I transcribe what is relevant to this matter.

"There being no prospect of an Opportunity within a Considerable time, Col^l Partridge & myself thought it adviceable to Express to you our letters from Albany. I perceive that Col^l Schuyler is Worried by the Indians and Embarrassed by the Dutch so that he is almost dispirited. he hath al along Insisted on it that some Body should be sent to Albany to act with him in the affairs of this Government, the Indians by degrees grow cool, and are dayly dissuaded by the Dutch from undertaking anything for our advantage, and unles they be often solicited, there is hazard that we may in great measure loose the expence we have been at upon them. I somewhat doubt of the sufficiency of the Care that Col^l Schuyler hath taken to encourage the Indians to Enlist in the Service at the Block House. I did not know but that the Government would send to Albany as Col^l Schyler desires, otherwise I should have sent a man to have engaged the twenty Indians, who should have seen them out of the reach and Influence of the Dutch, we suppose if that number should come over hither, it would be the most likely method, for our safety, and so engage the Nations in the War. for if they should once tast the sweet of our pay, the Gent^{mn} of Albany cannot draw them from us, many of those Nations will visit them at the Block

House, the Enemy will greatly fear them, will conclude that in case they kill any of the Maqua^e the Nations will forthwith revenge it."¹

To this letter the Lieutenant-Governor replied, February 7, as follows : —

"I am sensible it would be no hard Matter to procure a Number of the Mohawks for the Service of the Province were not our Affairs so embarrass'd & the Governm^t so weaken'd by the Divisions of late in y^e Gen^l Court, & the Contests respecting the Emission of Money, that we seem to have no strength left to Serve our Countrey upon any proper Occasion. However, thinking it to be very necessary to the Interest of the Province at this Juncture, I have for once spoke to the Treas^r to send you by Stebbins £50. extraordinary which I propose to be committed to Cpt. Kellog, & that he be sent away with it to Albany, & Advising with Coll Schuyler he sh^d go among the Nations & advance to such as will come away with him 4s/ a Peice for their Encouragem^t. But whereas there is no Law now subsisting that grants a Premium for Soldiers to enlist, If you think it will bear, Kellog may intimate to them, that it is by Way of Adv^{ce} for their Wages that shall become due, Otherwise he must give it to y^m as a Bounty: Coll Schuyler must be desired likewise to do for them what is proper, Agreeable to his Instructions. I leave the Whole of this Matter to you to manage according to your best Discretion, & as you shall judge for the Service of the Province, & w^{ch} I shall always endeavour to promote let the Consequence be as it will."²

More than a month later, March 14, the Governor shows his sense of the importance of Kellogg's mission in these words:

"If Kellog Succeeds in his Negotiations, I think you'll have little to fear on your frontiers."³

Captain Kellogg was one of the most competent negotiators with the Indians of his day, but he seems to have accomplished little by this mission to Albany. Under date of March 27, 1724, Colonel Stoddard writes : —

"Capt. Kellogg is returned, . . . he tells me he expected four or five Scatacook Indians to have been at Deerf^{ld} some days since, which I hear nothing of, and am prone to think that the Dutch have dissuaded them, it seems probable that the Western Indians will not answer our expectation (at present) in assisting at the Block House and inasmuch as our dependance is greatly on the scout to be sent from thence,

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. lxxii. p. 157.

² Ibid., p. 161.

³ Ibid., vol. li. p. 389.

which cannot be well managed without the number of men allowed, it seems necessary that the Compliment be made of English for the Present, and in Case the Indians doe not within a little time Joyn us, undoubtedly it will be best that a number of good dogs be provided." ¹

Greater promise seemed to be held forth in a letter from Colonel Schuyler to Colonel Stoddard, April 10, 1724. He writes from Albany:—

"If Hendrick meets With any River or Scagtecoke Indians In his way he will as he Promised me, take so many Indians with him as he Can." ²

April 21, the names of eleven Indians, including Hendrick's, are entered as beginning to draw pay at the fort.

Yet the scheme was unsuccessful. The second muster-roll, indeed, shows an increase in the number of enlisted Indians, but also their short period of service. Poopoonuck and Co-saump are all that remain after early in September. October 12, Colonel Stoddard writes to the Lieutenant-Governor:—

"There are now no Indians at the Block-house save two Mohekon or River Indians, all the Maquas went to Albany at the last Treaty. Since my coming from thence I hear nothing about their young men." ³

In the "History of Northfield" it is stated (p. 200): "The truth afterwards came out, viz., that early in 1723 Governor Vaudreuil had sent a belt of friendship to the Maquas, which they had accepted."

In the same letter to Colonel Stoddard from which I have just quoted, Colonel Schuyler refers to a projected conference with the Indians at Albany, and asks, conditionally, to have "Hendrick & some old Scagtecoke Indians sent" to participate in it. The next letter on our list refers to this visit, and also introduces another topic which deserves to be followed a little further. The letter reads as follows:—

Nth HAMPTON, May 24, 1724

S^r,—The Lieut^{nt} Gov^{er} writes to me in the words following, Cap^t Dwight must let the Mohawks have as much Victuals as they please, their Bellies must by no means be pinched, and he need not to doubt the allowance of his accompts, the Powder and Ball he writes for and also

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. II. p. 390. April 20, 1724, Colonel Partridge writes: "4 or 5 of the Scattecock Indians are come in at Deerfield and are gone to see the Fort." (Ibid. p. 402.)

² Ibid., vol. II. p. 397.

³ Ibid., vol. III. p. 64.

the shoes, I have ordered the Treasurer to send him, and he must make the Indians easy also as to that matter and every reasonable thing, I have spoken to the Council about a Minister for the Block house, they all think it very reasonable but encline not to advise in it untill the Court meets, when it will I hope be granted, it will be best to let them settle an allowance first.¹

I conclude Hendrick and Ompamet [Ampaumet, a Hudson River Sachem] are gone toward Albany to the Treaty, for we're informed² that Cap^t Wells sent thither on Wednesday night to advise that the French Indians were on the Rhoad to Albany.

I doubt not but you will take all Imaginable care to prevent the Souldiers making the Indians uneasie. it will be a satisfaction to hear now and then where your Scouts make their marches. Maccranny can tell you what we hear of a man being taken at Bantham (?)

Your servant

J^{no} STODDARD.

I will cite a few other allusions to the subject of a chaplaincy at the fort.

In his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, February 3, Colonel Stoddard says:—

"M^r Dwight thinks they shall live a heathenish life unless a Chaplin be allowed, and besides the advantage the English Souldiers may receive from him, it may possibly be an opportunity to Christianize the Indians, which the Assembly (in the Summer past) seemed very desirous of. I suppose a Chaplin may be obtained in this county."

To this Governor Dummer replied:—

"I think as you do, that it would be very convenient for Dwight to have a Chaplain at the Block House & more especially with Respect to the Mohawks, but there is no Allow^{ce} in the Vote for one; However if you have a proper Person in y^r Parts that is willing to try when the Mohawks come down, what Service they can do among them I shall willingly recommend him to the Court for a Consideration thereof, and perhaps an Establishm^t may be obtained for the Future."³

May 30, 1724, the House of Representatives voted,—

"That there be a Suitable Person Provided & Employed as Chaplain to the Garrison above *Northfield*, & more especially that he Instruct the Indian Natives residing thereabouts, in the True Christian Religion, & that there be Allowed & Paid out of the public Treasury to the said

¹ See Colonel Schuyler's letter, May 28, 1724, in Mass. Archives, vol. li. p. 420.

² The letter of the Lieutenant-Governor from which this extract is made, may be found in Mass. Archives, vol. li. pp. 418, 419.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxii. p. 161.

Person the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds* for the Year Ensuing, to begin from his Entrance into said Service; & that the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, Mr. *Wadsworth*, Mr. *Colman* and Mr. *Sewall* be desired to procure such a Person of Gravity, Prudence, & Ability to be Employ'd as aforesaid." ¹

In pursuance of this vote, Rev. Daniel Dwight, a younger brother of the Captain, was appointed Chaplain. His salary was larger than the Captain's.

The next letter brings us near the close of the war, and of Captain Dwight's command at Fort Dummer.

*For his Maj^{ty} especial Service To Cpt. Timothy Dwight
At Fort Dummer*

SIR, — Having Concluded a Peace with the Indian Delegates in behalf of the Western as well as the Eastern Tribes that have been engaged in y^e late War,

You are hereby Order'd forthwith to Reduce the Garrison at Fort Dummer to a Corporal & fifteen Centinels besides yourself (who are to have Sergeants Pay henceforward) You must in Dismissing the Supernumerary Men, You must act without the least Partiality, Having a Regard for the Length of Time they have been in the Service, & their Volunt [?] or press'd (not hired) Men.

Y^r Serv^t

W^m DUMMER

Boston Dec. 28. 1725.

The claim in this letter that the treaty of Dec. 15, 1725, — for such seems to be the reference, — included the Western Indians, is noticeable. The treaty itself is signed, for the Indians, by only four Eastern sagamores. The writers of the "History of Northfield" say, referring to the treaty as first signed, and as ratified at Falmouth, August 5, 1726: "This did not necessarily bind the western Indians. Gray Lock refused to join in it." ² Mr. Winsor, including in his review still later conventions, remarks: "The letters of caution which Belcher was constantly writing (1731-1740) to Captain Larrabee, in command at Fort George, Brunswick, indicate how unstable the peace was." ³ The following letter is in point as respects the *Western* frontier, and shows the same solicitude on the part of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, at

¹ Printed Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives, p. 10.

² Op. cit., p. 214.

³ Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. v. p. 482.

the time of its date. There is no address, but it was doubtless written to Captain Dwight:—

NTH HAMPTON March 26 1726

S^R— His Hon^r directs me to advise you to be well on your guard, you will therefore Employ the few men you have to secure your-Selves, and (if you can) in discrying an Enemy, in Case the French shall be able to continue the Indians to be such, as doubtles they will endeavour, it is not very long to the time of the Convention at Casco-Bay, when we shall be better Satisfied of the disposition of the Indians with respect to Peace. & in the mean time we ought to endeavour that they may not gain any advantage against us in case they should seek it,

I am your Servant

JOHN STODDARD.

The conference at Casco Bay (Falmouth) was held in August, and resulted in a ratification of the treaty signed at Boston the preceding December. A third treaty was made at Casco Bay, July 25, 1727.

The last of the documents in the list which has been given, is not unrelated to the military history I have been following, nor to the anxieties which continued after the close of the war. It is easy to perceive, in Colonel Stoddard's impressive injunctions upon the Indians present of the heinousness of taking life in a time of peace, and indeed in the whole character and tone of the interview, that the immediate subjects of inquiry were regarded as of serious and wide-reaching public importance. This is evident at once as respects one branch of the investigation, — the recent murder by the Indians of an Englishman. The following letter shows that the other subject of inquiry — the persons from whom the Indians had been procuring large quantities of rum — was also closely connected with the ultimate question of peace or war:—

HATF^D June 19 1727

HONOURABLE S^R, — I thought it Meete to inform yo^r Hono^r that Considerable Numb^r of Indians from their Hunting Come in at Deer^d & Northfield Fort the English trade with them & it [is] s^d some of o^r men goe out & carry them Strong Liquo^r & make the Indians Drunk & get their furr for a small matter so that when they get Out of their Drink & see that their Furrs are gone they are mad & care not what Mischiefe they do a Ready way to bring on Outrages & Murders if not the Warr againe . . .

SAM^{LL} PARTRIDGE

In the Records of the Council I have found two entries relevant to the document now submitted. The first is under the date May 19, 1728:—

"His Honor the Lieu^t Governour communicated to the Board several Letters he had received from Coll. John Stoddard referring to the Killing one Wolcott on Connecticut River."¹

Again, Feb. 13, 1728 [1729]:—

"An Accompt presented by J^{no} Stoddard Esq^r of the times & expence of himself & other officers in an Intervvew with the Western Indians to endeavour to engage them to deliver up the Indians that murdered Wolcott above Northfield together with the Presents made the Indians first mentioned amounting in y^e whole to the sum of Forty-three Pounds seventeen shill^o & sixpence."²

The account was allowed, and payment ordered. No report of the conference has been found in the State Archives. The paper herewith submitted is interesting, not only from the point of view already indicated, but as an illustration of Indian traits of mind and character, and from the standing of the English commissioners.

Colonel Stoddard, who conducted the conference, was "one of that great trio which had John Pynchon of Springfield for its first member, and Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield for its second, and which ruled or led Western Massachusetts through an entire century of its history." He was the son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, and grandson of Anthony Stoddard, who was "for twenty years a representative of Boston in the General Council." Colonel Stoddard was one of the Governor's Council.³ President Edwards, his nephew, pays the highest tribute to his intelligence and worth, and says—which is especially relevant to our purpose—that "he had a far greater knowledge than any other person in the land of the several nations of Indians in these northern portions of America, their tempers, manners, and the proper way of treating them; and was more extensively known to them than any other person in the country."

Captain, afterward Colonel, Dwight was more than thirteen

¹ Council Records, 1727-1735, pp. 38, 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118.

³ *History of the Dwight Family*, vol. ii. p. 1034.

years younger than Colonel Stoddard, but, in 1728, had already filled important public positions, civil and military. He was sent for a number of years to the General Court from Northampton, was Judge of Probate and of the County Court for Hampshire, which then included Berkshire, and was widely known and esteemed. Colonel Partridge was his maternal grandfather. On the paternal side his grandparents were Timothy Dwight and Anna Flint, daughter of Rev. Henry Flint and Margery Hoar, sister of President Hoar; and his own grandson, through a son born to him while in command of Fort Dummer and within its walls, was the first President Dwight of Yale College.

The third member of the commission, Captain Pomeroy, is Hon. Ebenezer Pomeroy, of Northampton, a son of Medad Pomeroy of honorable fame, and himself already in such repute as to have been a member of conferences respecting Indian affairs. Mr. W. K. Wright informs me that he "was a man much respected and trusted by his fellow-townsmen, was often employed in the settlement of estates, was chosen Town Treasurer in 1726-7, was appointed Clerk of the Courts in 1729, Sheriff in 1733, and Justice in 1735." Evidently the commission was made up of men of prominence and great influence, — a fact which accords with the suggestion already made that this conference was understood to have bearings quite beyond the importance of its immediate issues.

The "Scahtacooks," or Scatacooks, — I have noticed more than forty different ways of spelling the word, — received their name from the place allotted to them in the seventeenth century, at the junction of what is now called the Hoosic River with the Hudson, twenty-one miles above Albany. The name, I am informed by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL. D., "was applicable to any branching of a stream, or the junction of a branch with the main stream."¹ On Dr. Douglass's Map the present Hoosic River has two branches marked, — one named "Hoosic," the other "Scatacook;" and the latter seems to be printed so as to imply that the Hoosic flowed into it. However this may be, the name in the early authorities clearly applies to the junction with the Hudson, where is now the

¹ See, also, Dr. Trumbull's "Indian Names of Places in Connecticut," p. 66: "Scatacook."

town of Schaghticoke. Here, about 1675 or 1676, as the Scatacooks themselves testified, within the lifetime of the first generation, Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of New York, "planted a Tree of Welfare," — a tree which by 1702 had "grown so thick of leaves & Bows that y sun can scarce shine through it." They were at first refugees from New England.¹ Probably they received accessions from various

¹ Dr. Schoolcraft (*Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, vol. vi. pp. 123, 124, 200) says that these fugitives were Pequots who escaped to the Mohawks with Sassacus, after his crushing defeat by Captain Mason (1637), or who soon followed. They "were assigned the position of Schaghticoke, whence they eventually fled to Misisqui Bay, near the foot of Lake Champlain, in Lower Canada." I presume there is some authority for this statement which has escaped me. I have not, however, ventured in the text beyond the testimonies which I have been able to find and verify, and which connect with the Scatacooks of the Conference of 1728. Sassacus and his companions were at once killed by the Mohawks, with one exception (*Trumbull's History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 92). In the following accounts there is no allusion to any of the "seventy" Pequot braves who broke through Captain Mason's lines in the "great swamp" fight; and the assignment to Scaticook is dated more than a generation later.

Paul Dudley, Esq., learned at Albany, when he was there on Indian affairs in 1721, that the Scatacooks were dependent on the Mohawks, and that "most of them were fugitives from New England in the time of Philip's War" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. xviii. p. 244). In 1714 the "Mahikanders [Mohicans] and Scackkook Indians, commonly called the River Indians," said to Governor Hunter at Albany: "We must acquaint our Father that S^r Edmond Andros . . . planted a tree of welfare at Scachhook" (*Doc. Col. Hist. of New York*, vol. v. pp. 387, 388). In July, 1702, the River Indians testified: "About twenty-six years ago, S^r Edmund Andros, then Governor of this Province, planted a Tree of Welfare at Skachkook" (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 991). July 18, 1701, they give the same number of years — namely, twenty-six — to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 902). And again, August 31, 1700, at a conference with the Earl of Bellomont, they say: "It is now six and twenty years ago since wee were almost dead when wee left New England and were first received into this government; then it was that a Tree was planted at Schackkook," etc. (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 744, 745). The same year, in October, the Earl of Bellomont wrote home: "Our Schackhook or River Indians were of those Eastern Indians, but were driven from that country by the people of New England 26 years ago, in the war call'd King Philip's war. Those Eastern Indians and our river Indians still retain their friendship and intermarry with each other" (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 715). Still earlier, Sept. 29, 1688, the magistrates of Schenectady, referring to "Schackkooke," speak of "Indians there who fled from New England in y^e war-time" (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 565). They cannot well be understood here as referring to the Pequot War.

Another date appears in Colden's "History of the Five Nations," published in 1747; and this is followed by the editor of the "Colonial History of New York," John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., who says: "The Schaghticoke Indians originally belonged to the Eastern tribes, or those of New Hampshire and Maine. They left their country about the year 1672, and settled above Albany, on a branch of Hudson's River." This merely follows or interprets Colden, who is cited, and

tribes.¹ In 1723, with the Six Nations and the Mohegans, they sent delegates to Boston, where they doubtless shared in the sports, shows, and feasts of which Judge Penhallow gives an entertaining account in the "History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians." They professed friendliness to the English; and much effort was expended upon them, as upon the Mohicans and Iroquois, by the governments of Massachusetts and New York, to keep them from connection with the French Indians and to make them serviceable. Their dependent position and perhaps their peculiar history kept them from hostility, though Gray Lock may have allured some of their number to join his bands, and some certainly were drawn away or migrated to Canada. In 1754 Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey writes that, August 28, French Indians "carried off with them the few remaining Indians of Scachtacook, being between fifty & sixty in Number, men, women, & children."² The month before they had said to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Congress at Albany: "We are small in number, but next time we hope we shall be more. Your Honor may see that we are

who is more specific, mentioning the names of the Eastern tribes, namely, the "Owenagungas, Ouragies, and Penacoks." He also introduces the matter with the words, "The people of New England were engaged in a bloody war at this time with the" Indians just named. The date 1672 cannot be trusted as exact, except as it is limited to the time when certain Indians "left their country." The account really confirms, so far as so late a testimony has any weight, the date which we have derived from the earlier testimonies.

¹ In 1699 Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingstone state that the Maquas and other Indians, including the Eastern, will induce their three nations to come and live at Schackkook (Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. iv. p. 597). The Earl of Bellomont, in 1701, states to the London Board of Trade his design to invite the Onagongues or Eastern Indians to Schackhook and ally them to the Five Nations (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 834). Previously he had urged the Scatacooks to "invite their [your] friends the Pennekoke & Eastern Indians to come & settle with them [you] there," that is, at "Schackkook" (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 745). So Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, 1701 (Ibid., vol. iv. p. 902). "Near this date [1663] the River Indians [that is, Connecticut River Indians] appear to have separated into two parties, one of which went to the westward, and the other to the northward. Those that went west were mainly Pacomptocks, and became eventually connected with the Scagkooks" (History of Northfield, p. 56).

The Scatacooks and Mohicans are sometimes called together "River Indians" (Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. v. p. 387); that is, Hudson River Indians. At other times they are distinguished, and the term "River Indians" restricted to the Mohicans, or Mahikanders (Ibid., vol. v. pp. 266, 267; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. xxv. pp. 55-57, 62).

² Doc. Col. Hist. of New York, vol. vi. p. 909.

but young and inexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead."¹

The Wolcott of our document is John Wolcott, of Brookfield, whose name appears in the muster-roll of Captain Dwight's Company at Fort Dummer, Sept. 6, 1724, and in the other rolls of 1725 and 1726. When about twelve or fourteen years of age he was captured by the Indians at Brookfield, "when riding in search of the cows." His horse was killed under him. He lived with the Indians in Canada some six or seven years. "In March, 1728, in a time of peace," — I quote from a discourse preached by the Rev. Dr. Fiske, Dec. 31, 1775, — "he and another man having been hunting, and coming down Connecticut River with a freight of skins and fur, they were hailed by some Indians; but not being willing to go to them, they steered for another shore. The Indians landed at a little distance from them; several shots were exchanged, at length Woolcot was killed."² It becomes me, in concluding these annotations, to express my obligations to Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford; Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield; Mr. W. K. Wright, of Northampton; Rev. E. C. Ingalls, of Brookfield; Rev. C. C. Carpenter, of Andover; and Mr. James J. Tracy, in the Office of the Secretary of State, for helpful answers to my inquiries.

At a Conference wth the Scahtacooks May [June?] 6th 1728.

Coⁿ Stodd^d Cap^t Dwight Esq^r & Cap^t Pomroy on y^e Part of y^e English

Coⁿ Stodd^d Enquired where they Got y^r vast Quantities of Liquor told them y^e Ill Consequences of it y^t it tended to Impoverish 'em & to breed disturbances between y^m and y^e English & also among y^mselves & y^t one of y^r men w^a drunk had murder^d another Lately w^{ch} he was sorry for

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxv. p. 50. In Barber's Conn. Hist. Coll., pp. 471, 472, there is an interesting account of the Scatacooks in Kent, Connecticut. Their leader, Mauwehu, is said to have been a Pequot, and to have come from Dover, New York, to Scatacook, on the Housatonic, in 1728, ten years before the whites. He gathered a large band. In 1742 a Moravian mission was established among them, which for a time had great success. See De Forest's History of the Indians of Connecticut, pp. 407 *sqq.*; Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. ii. pp. 84 *sqq.*

² Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 263, 264. Persons now living in Brookfield remember hearing accounts of this murder. The farm is still spoken of as the "Woolcot Place."

Weenbuck Answ^d yy should All be togeth^r to-morrow and would y^a Answ^r Co^l told them yy need not be altogeth^r for that any young man might Answ^r that Questⁿ

They then s^d we knew y^r was Quantities come from Albany many times, Co^l s^d he did not want to know who Supplied y^m at Albany but who did it here & yy knew well Enough who it was, & yy did not act as friends to themselves, nor us, unless yy told, aft^r a Considerable pause yy Inform'd y^t yy all know yt John Bement brought a great Long wooden bottle of Rhum Cross y^e river to em In a Canoo about Ten days past, about a Gallon of Rhum Bem^t Demand^d 3 beaver Skins for it y^e Ind^a offerd 2: y^e young Indian took y^e Rhum & left but one beav^r yⁿ Bem^t was mad & broke one of y^e Canoos yy furth^r Informd y^t Bement Supplied them divers times last Winter & in the Spring & also last week once

Co^l by Ens Hinsdale enq^d wheth^r Ens Field or his wife or children had Eith^r of em at any time supplied any Quantities of Liq^r yy Answ^d he had sometimes Given 'em a dram but none of 'em had supplied 'em wth Quantites

Co^l by Hinsdale yⁿ Enq^d wheth^r Stev^r Belden or his wife had supplied y^m wth Quantities of Liqu^r at any time One Answ^d he had given 'em some times at trading drams but had not Sold 'em Quantities Wapalaw^t answ^d in y^e Same mann^r

Co^l by Ens Field then Enqu^d wheth^r Hall had not Supplied 'em sometimes wheth^r Bement was the Only man y^t did it when Field & Belden had Hogsheds of Rhum by 'em & y^e Ind^a had been drunk 20 dayes

Furth^rmore y^t men had Gone from Northfield down to y^e Low towns to fetch quantities of Rhum y^t were not Able to keep it by 'em Auwelah's Inform'd y^t Asahel Stebbens 3 dayes past let him have 5 Quarts of Rhum for a great Beaver & A moose skin

Sam Ind^a Inform'd y^t Asahell Stebbens Some time Since Sold him Eight Quarts of Rhum for 4 Martins & one Beaver Then the Co^l told them y^t yy might draw off for y^t night & he Expected yy Should bring Massequant wth 'em to-morrow & proceed further.

June 7th AMⁿ Massequant wth about twenty others viz Wapalawit Cockonshawit & Weenbuck Chiefs Pasix Cohoss & Historian Wampshaws & Oth^r viz Cunkaroorut & Womantaning Present.

Cokonshawit In the Last warr yy & we were one flesh & in token of it yy gave Belden a Belt which he promised to Carry to the Gov^r but he had not done it & y^rfore now they brought it for y^e Sam Ends The Co^l sup[posed] that it would be well accept^d by y^e Gov^r & as Soon as an Opportunity presented he would Send it & y^r Speech wth it The Co^l Began

y^t Some time Since y^r was A war which began first between y^e Nor-

rungrwacks & English & other tribes were Cal'd to: y^r assistance but Since y^t All y^e Ind^{ns} Concern'd had Committed y^e Care of y^e Peace to the Penobscuts who were y^e Cheif nation in that Country & y^r was 2 men sent by y^e Penobscut Indians to Boston to See w^t y^e Gov^{mt} would Say to em & aft^rwards most of the Penobscots then Sign'd & Seald y^e Peace & y^e Ind^{ns} had one Pap^r Containing ye Articles & the English anoth^r & Abo^t A year agone y^e Woweenocks Arrepeguntacooks Came viz some hund^d & heard y^e Articles of Peace read & were well pleas'd wth them & All Confirm'd it¹ Shaawmit was Speak^r at the same time yy Last year Agreed on one New Article which was y^t if any Ind^{ns} . . . were to Joyn [?] ye English as one people to reduce those Ind . . . y^e English . . . it was supposed we were at peace wth all the world & when we tho^t our Selves thus at peace wth Every body About 2 months Since we had 2 men up the river & coming down the river yy met A canoe wth 3: Ind^{ns} one ran away the oth^r two aft^r a Skirmish kill'd one of our men & we heard nothing Since till Cap^t Kellogg return'd & Naspunkat & another Shamblee Inform'd y^t A man was of y^e English kill'd Aft^r w^{ds} on y^e Lake yy See Some Ind^{ns} y^t Came from Massixcoick who told y^e Story as it was told by y^e man Present wth woolcott when kill'd, & Skuyler at Sarratoag told Cap^t Kellogg y^t it was Nelats & Chachanump y^t kill'd woolcot the Co^{ll} yⁿ told [y^m] yy had been About y^e woods & Desir'd yy would tell him w^t yy had heard About the Story of woolcots being kill'd Some of em . . . had heard from Albany no doubt but by those Opportunitites yy had heard Some things. Massequent heard nothing till he came to Penacook he saw many Eastern Ind^{ns} but yy told him nothing of it he heard first by Wisbeek $\frac{1}{2}$ way between Merimacke & Connecticut riv^{rs} Co^{ll} furth^r s^d y^t yy must needs be sensible y^t y^e killing of y^e man was a thing of Ill consequence In A time of Peace when men think themselves Secure all of A sudden to be kill'd is worse y^e warr if Such things are allow'd it will be a dammage to them we Esteem 'em our friends & this is y^r hunting Country but if People from y^t way Come & kill our men it must be so no longer. y^e french will also Suggest y^t it was y^e Scahtacooks y^t did the Mischief & Since it is A matter Concerning both we had need Contrive togeth^r what methods are most likely to prevent such things for the future The Co^{ll} Put it to 'em to Say what yy tho^t most likely to Prevent it for the future The Co^{ll} further Suggest^d that for 2: or: 3: fellows to give disturbance to the whole nation of English & Indians was very Unreasonable; Cockon Shawit Spoke as follows

¹ On the margin is written: "About 3 year Since y^r was 3 men Sent by y^e Gov^{mt} to treat wth y^e Penobscuts & yy Sent 4 men to Boston & yy Made A Peace."

² I have used signs of omission when there are breaks in the manuscript.

(Viz) A Year or two ago yy mad Peace & wip'd away all Tears & yy are Sorry for what has happend & yy desire All blood may be wiped Away & in Token of it yy present two Beaver. They had something then bestowd upon em to Eat & Concluded to Come Again in the Aft'noon & Proceed further Aft'noon yy Came to Treat farther

The Co^{ll} Told them y^t althō as yy Observ'd y^r had been peace Some time Yet y^r was now blood Shed Yet that Should be no Interruption to our Treating with them but yy Should Speak as freely as if y^e man had not been kill'd & then A Blanket was laid down to Them

Then the Co^{ll} Observ'd to 'em y^t it was as had been hinted A great Dammage to them & great Injustice to us & y^t it was worse yⁿ warr when people thōt themselves Safe to be murdered on A Sudden & that Such Murderers should be undoubtedly punishd y^t yy are punish'd wⁿ it is only A private Offence much more reasonable when of A Publick nat^r & Affect^d whole nations & althō we are pretty well Satisfied who one of y^e murderers was yet we know not y^e [Region of country?] yy must Certainly know & furth^r y^t its likely that it was done by Such as did formerly belong to them & y^t y^r was more reason yy Should be concernd wth us to See Justice done, & y^t y^e Gov^r has Orderd the Co^{ll} to Speak to them About it & to urge them to See y^t Justice be done to us & themselves & upon y^e D^d ^[decd] A Belt of Wampum & y^r love & friendship would appear in that to the English

Then The Indiⁿ Answ^d by Cockonshawit that they See y^t we are all broth^rs one flesh & one bone they are Sorry as well as we & yy are weary of Such things & in token of Confirmⁿ present^d Some Beavⁿ they furth^r Say that yy are but few & but Small yy are right at heart but not Able to do muc^h as for bringing Nelats yy were not Able but yy Should hear & yy are A letter [?] themselves & yy would Inform as Soon as yy heard where he was & they laid down some Beav^r yⁿ had done Said All yy had to Say Then yy went to a Dinn^r of y^e Gov^rmts Provideing & return'd aft^r Dinn^r

The Co^{ll} told them y^t he had heard y^r Answ^r to the Gov^r's proposal but did not Suppose y^t it would at all Satisfie him & that it Cant be any Advantage to be Inform'd that y^e murderer is at a Great Dist neith^r is it y^e way wⁿ yy meet wth difficulties among themselves to Say y^t yy are A Small people & content y^mselves wth that & take no remedy & y^t if yy think it best to take it into Consideration again yy may Otherwise y^e Co^{ll} Can do nothing more but Inform y^e Gov^r what yy Say & See w^t measures he will take in y^e Case The Coll told em if y^e Gov^r had thōt it unreasonable he would not have made the proposal to em but Since it was thōt for y^e mutual Good of Each nation twas probable yy would Comply with it

The Ind^m By Cockonshawit Answ^d that they were very willing to have 2 months Time to Consider of it & in the mean time yy would not have us Afraid by that time they Should be better able to Inform us Then y^e Co^l Enq^d where we Should Speak wth em two months hence They Answ^d at Northampton The Co^l Object^d y^t yy would by that time be all dispers'd but now yy were all togeth^r & that they would not have a better Opportunity this [?] year yⁿ now & whether yy would Comply with the Gov^r's proposal or not If not it could be Sufficiently Considrd this night & Answ^d in y^e morning

they Answ^d yy would Consider of it this night & return Early in y^e Morning & make Answ^r —

June 8 They Came & by Cockonshawit They Said y^t Yesterday they Presented themselves before Us & God In Heavⁿ See y^t yy were All of one heart with us & as a manifestation of it yy Appeard Again & Presented some Beav^r:

Then the Co^l desired one of them might Go aside with our Interpret^r & more perticularly Explain what they had Said y^t is whether yy intended y^t yy would Comply with what y^e Gov^r proposed or whether they only meant y^t yy were our friends, They S^d y^t it was A matter of Doubt [wth em Wheth^r] to Comply wth y^e Gov^r's Proposal or not. & for the Present yy Intended nothing but to Express y^r friendsh by w^t yy Said — They furth^r S^d aft^r a pause that yy had all heard w^t y^e Co^l S^d & that yy was as we was & In Any measures y^t we would take in the Case yy would Joyn wth us.¹ Cockonshawit furth^r Said That yy would Send 2 men to Albany & to Canada & See where Nelats is & Send us word & as A Confirmation of what yy have S^d before & now yy laid down Some Beav^r In the Room of Some wampum — The Co^l told em if yy should Enqu^r & know where he was by y^e time we were Inform'd he would be as farr Another way & y^t we Cant See what Advantage yy proposed by it — & yⁿ yy were Inform'd y^t y^e Co^l would Inform the Gov^r what had pas'd between us & y^e most y^t would be noted by the English was y^t yy were ready to Joyn with us In any measures to Punish the Criminal — & then they Gave 3 Shouts & So Ended the Matter wth Giving a dram & y^e danceing of the young men.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks: —

At the March meeting, three years ago, Dr. Everett called the attention of the Society to certain Latin verses, printed in Sewall's Diary, which required some metrical changes, and he suggested that the word *Idolum* was intended for the mean-

¹ "I am Jealous of this," is written in the margin.

ingless *Iddum*.¹ An inspection of the original text shows plainly that he is correct. The letters "o" and "l" were written near together; and the copyist read them as one character, and called it a "d." Dr. Everett's suggestions in regard to the hexameter line² and the couplet³ are borne out by the manuscript. His proposed reading of the epigram on Daniel Rogers, drowned in Black Rock Cove,⁴ is also correct, as *illaqueatus* is the word printed in the News-Letter. These several illustrations are a sufficient tribute to the exactness of his classical scholarship.

Prof. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN presented a photograph of two pages of a copy of a letter of Columbus, about which he made the following statement: —

This fragment is the beginning of a letter of Columbus, written in Italian, in which he announces his discovery of the West Indies to certain officials of the Court of Spain. It agrees in substance, except in a few points, with the well-known letter in Spanish, addressed by Columbus to Luis de Santangel, which was dated "on the caravel," Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript dated March 14. But it appears by the title that it was sent by the Treasurer of the King of Spain to his brother Joane (or Zoane) Sanzio in Florence; and this would seem to identify it with the letter addressed by Columbus to the Treasurer, Gabriel (or Raphael) Sanchez (Sanchis or Sanxis), which was dated at Lisbon, March 14, 1493, and is known to us only in a Latin version made April 29, 1493. But the Italian fragment differs much more from the Latin than from the Spanish copies. Moreover, the Italian is addressed to several persons, who are called "Signori," while the others are written to a single official. The chief point in which the Italian differs from both of the other letters is in calling the second island (which is elsewhere named "Santa Maria de Concepcion") "Santa Maria de la Consolation."

Mr. R. H. Major, in his "Select Letters of Columbus" (2d ed. 1870), p. cxxxvi, speaks of receiving from the Marquis d'Adda a photo-lithograph of a fragment of an Italian version of the first letter of Columbus, of which Senhor de Varnhagen

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 150.

² Ibid., p. 181.

³ Ibid., p. 170.

⁴ Ibid., vol. vii. p. 321.

had found the title in the catalogue of the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Mr. Major gives the readings of his Italian copy under the Spanish text of the letter wherever he notes an important variation; but he does not notice the name "Consolation" above mentioned, and he gives a variation from a line of the Italian which goes beyond the end of the text now before us. Further, this photograph is one of a small number which were taken, in 1883, from an original in the Municipio of Genoa, at the request of our associate, Professor James B. Thayer. It seems probable, therefore, that this is not precisely identical with the Italian fragment in Mr. Major's possession.

Mr. Major compares the different statements made in different versions of the letter as to the length of the north coast of Hispaniola. This is stated in two places, in the second of which (not included in the Italian text) nearly all versions are wrong. But in the first, where the texts of the Latin (that is, the Sanchez) letter generally have the right measure, 564 miles, the Italian version agrees with them, giving 188 leagues; while the only Spanish version which is right is that of the Valencia manuscript, and the title of this represents the letter as addressed, not to Luis de Santangel (like all the other Spanish copies), but to *Gabriel Sanchez*.

No suggestion is made as to the relation of this Italian fragment to the Spanish and the Latin versions.

The Italian text is as follows:—

Copia de una letra scritta dal armiralgio Colon del Signor re de Spagna laqual scrive ala corte regal ad certi¹ . . . del Sign. re mandata dal grandio tresorir del ditto Signor in fiorenza al fratello Zoan Sanzio.

Signori per che faro che avereti pratir de la grande victoria che nostro Signor me ha conceduto vi scrivo questa per la qual sapereti como in zorni 33 son passato in India con larmada che lo re e la regina nostri signori mi detino. Onde io ho trovado molte isole popolate de gente senza numero de le quai isole ho tolto la possession per la lor excellencia con grida et bandiera real distesa. Et non mi fueo contradetto. A la prima isola che ho trovado ho posto nome San Salvatore per commemoration de lalta soa nativitate de dio lo qual miraculosamente ha conceduto tutto questo, e li Indiani la chiammen guanahuní. A la seconda ho posto per nome Santa María de la consolation. A la terza la fernandina. A la quarta la ysabella. A la

¹ Conferen. ? See Rezasco, Diz.^o Storico, etc.

quinta Joanna. Et così achadauna de le altre li ho posto nome novo. Quando io arivay a la isola Zoanna ho voltezado seguendo la soa costiera per ponente et la ho trovada tante granda che pensava fosse terre firme zoe la puintia de lo Catayo e così non trovando ne citade ne castelle in la ditta costiera de lo mare: salvo alcune piccole habitation de populi con li quali non possendo aver lengua ne parlamento per che subito tuti fuginano: io andava avanti perseguedo lo mio cammino pensando de non errar che non dovesse trovar citade o castelle. et in fine de molte leghe de caminy: visto che non era alcuna cosa de novo et la ditta costa mi cazava verso lo septentrione che era lo stessio che lo camin che io pensava e che voleva far. per che gia lo inverno era intrato et io aveva in proposito mio de andar verso lo austro et de zonta anche lo vento me fue strano per tanto io avi determinado de non aspetar piu altro tempo. Et pero voltaimi indriedo tornando per fin ad uno dignissimo porto. de lo qual mandai doy mei homeni in terra molto fra terra per saper e per lintender si era algun re overo citade o castelle dentro. et andandi fra terre tre zornade trovaron molti populi de zente in piccoli logi per ben che molto stessi et zente senza numero. non pero cosa de regimento. e così tornaron ditti homenj mei et ho inteso che certo da lori indiani liquali io teniva presi in navi como questa terra era una isola. e così ho perseguido la costa di quella verso loriente certo per sette leghe. per fin ala fine et ultimo dela ditta isola dal qual capo era una altra ysola verso loriente longe da questa xviii leghe ala qual isola de subito holli posto per nome novo la spagnola et anday dila et ho perseguido verso la parte del septentrion così como ho fatto de la isola Zoanna al oriente cento otanta otto leghe per la dritta linea del oriente così como de la Joanna. Laqual conzosiache tute le altre sono fortissime in desmesurado e grandissimo grado questa e molto in extremo piu assay. In questa sonno molti porti in la costa del mare senza comparison de le altre che io sapia de li logi di cristiani. Et molti boni et grandi fiume che e cosa maravelosa. lo paese suo e alteroso et in quella sono molti monti et grande montagne altissime senza comparison de la isola de santesseo. Et tute queste isole sono formosissime et de molte maynere. et tuto le ho bene circondado et voltezaide. et piene de arbori de molte condition liquali sono tanto longi et alti che par tochano el cielo. Et mi persuado de certo che may non perdeno e non li caschano le folgie secondo che ho possudo comprendere per che li ho veduti tanto belli et verdi como sone de majo li arbori in la spagna et de quelli alcuni eran con fiori et alcuni con i frutti altri in altro modo secondo che era la lor qualita et condition. Cantavan i rosignoli et altri oseletti de mille mainere in mezo de sto mese de novembrio. Et così io anday passezando per quelli logi. Et in questo isola sono palmi e datalari de sette et otto condition che e cosa de maraveglia de quelle a comparison de le nostre

molto piu formose. Et cosi li soy arbori de herbe soe piu de le nostre et ha arbori de piu maravelosi et campagne grandissime et miele et de molte condition uve et frutti molto diverse da le nostri et ha molte miniere de metalli et zenti de numero inextimabile. E la ditta Spagnola e cosa di granda admiration dale montagne alpestre et coste de campagne da rigar et pianure et campagne e li tereni formosi e grassi per piantar e per seminar et per mantegnir et far ogni condition de bestiamie et per far hedifitij de citade et castelle. Et li porti de lo mare molti che li sono non si potria creder se non fossen veduti et de molti fiumi et grandi e de boni ague. Deli quali la major parte se ritrova oro perche portano oro. In li arbori et in le frutte et in le herbe e granda differentia da quelle che sonno in la isola Zoanna. In questa Spagnola sono de molte spetie et grande mine de oro et de molti altri metalli. La jente de questa isola e de tute le altre che ho trovato ho inteso che tuti vanno tuti nudi cosi li homenij

armiralgio COLON.

Professor GOODWIN also laid before the Society a printed copy of the newly discovered manuscript of Aristotle's treatise on the Constitution of Athens, which has just been published by the British Museum, and made some general remarks on its historic importance, as follows:—

This is one of a series of treatises on forms of government written by Aristotle, which is mentioned in an ancient catalogue (perhaps taken from that of the Alexandrian Library), under the title "The Constitutions of one hundred and fifty-eight States, democratic, oligarchical, aristocratic, and tyrannical." Of this collection, only fragments have hitherto been known. The beginning of this is lost, and the last chapters are badly mutilated. The first sentence that remains contains the last words of the story of Cylon's conspiracy, and mentions the denunciation of the curse against the Alcmaeonidae, the sentence of eternal banishment against the living members of the family, and the casting the dead from their graves, with the purification of the city by Epimenides of Crete. These events have generally been placed after the legislation of Draco (620 B. C.), but Aristotle gives them an earlier date. The Constitution of Draco is briefly mentioned. It appears that he established a Senate of four hundred and one members, chosen *by lot* from the ruling aristocracy. Magistrates were chosen by vote until the time of Solon. Draco admitted to the franchise all

who could supply themselves with arms. It is surprising to find a senate, distinct from the Areopagus, in Draco's time, but still more so to find it chosen by lot. Grote always maintained, against all tradition, that it was impossible that the lot could have been introduced for the choice of magistrates before the establishment of the complete democracy after the Persian wars, denying even that it was a part of the constitution of Cleisthenes. It now appears that the lot was established by Solon for the choice of magistrates, even for the Archons; but we now for the first time understand what an innocent institution the lot was, at least in its earlier form. By Solon's law, each of the four Attic tribes chose ten men *by vote*, and these forty selected candidates (πρόκριτοι) drew lots for the nine archonships. It is uncertain (owing to obscurities in the text of Aristotle) whether the number of candidates in the age of Pericles was one hundred or five hundred; but it was probably one hundred, — ten from each of the new tribes. It is now settled that Solon abolished all debts, private and public, as a preliminary step to his constitutional reforms; and the plausible arguments which have persuaded most modern scholars that the only relief given by Solon to the "debtor class" came from a reduction of the coinage and from the abolition of the right of holding the debtor's person as security for his debt, are now finally disposed of. It is now, however, perfectly plain that the reduction of the weight of the coins, by which a hundred new drachmas were made equal to about seventy of the old standard, was a purely commercial measure, introduced at the end of Solon's legislation, and had nothing to do with the cancelling of debts. It appears, further, that the earlier Attic coins and weights were not, as has been supposed, of the Pheidonian or Aeginetan standard, which was in common use in most of the Greek States, but were considerably heavier, so that Athens must have been somewhat isolated as a place of trade. When she adopted the Euboean standard of coins and weights under Solon, she entered into close commercial relations with Corinth, with the towns of Euboea, and probably with other important centres of trade.

Aristotle gives us many interesting details of the constitution of Cleisthenes, especially as to the composition of the ten new tribes, and the care taken to avoid local factions. After the Persian wars, according to Aristotle, Athens was governed

for seventeen years, and "well governed," by the Areopagus, having Aristides as counsellor in politics, and Themistocles in war. But in 462 B. C. Ephialtes made his attack on the venerable Senate, aided by a bold and clever trick of Themistocles; and all the powers of the Areopagus, which made it the "guard of the Constitution," were suddenly swept away. By this it appears that Themistocles was in full influence at Athens, just anticipating his trial for treason, in 462 B. C. A mere glance at the chronology of this period will show how many important dates must be changed to agree with this statement. At the period of the highest prosperity and power of Athens, according to Aristotle's careful computation, more than twenty thousand citizens received support from the public treasury. The work takes comparatively little notice of Pericles as a statesman, and Aristotle evidently thought little of him as a constitutional reformer. The temporary oligarchy of Four Hundred in 411 B. C., and the government of the Thirty Tyrants, with the restoration of the democracy, are described at length.

With the year 403 B. C., the historical part of the work ends. The remainder is occupied with a description of the government of Athens as Aristotle knew it. Many of the most important parts of this have been preserved by quotations made by the Greek grammarians, though the source of the passages quoted has generally not been given. On one important matter, the appointment of the Prytanes and Proëdri, from whom was chosen the president of the Senate and the Assembly, it is a great satisfaction to those who have long upheld the authority of Pollux, Harpocration, and Suidas, against that of unknown scholiasts, to find the fragments which they have quoted from these grammarians now appearing in full, with much that makes them clearer, in the text of Aristotle. This is a point on which nearly all English authorities, including Grote, the older edition of Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, and even the latest edition of Liddell and Scott (except in the errata), have been in error.

It is still perhaps too early to appreciate the full value of this important and unexpected discovery; but enough can be seen by a hasty examination to show that many chapters of Greek history and almost every chapter of the antiquities of Athens must be revised by its help.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., exhibited some memoranda in the handwriting of Judge Sewall, on a loose sheet of foolscap paper, which had been in the possession of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society for a number of years, and which are supposed to be referred to in Sewall's Diary, under date of May 25, 1720.¹ They are as follows:—

Election, May, 25. 1720.

The Hon ^{ble}	1	William Duñer Esqr . . .	70		92
	2	Samuel Sewall . . .	107	11.	27
	3	Penn Townsend . . .	118		119. Voters.
	4	John Apleton . . .	85	24	D; Oliver - 46
	5	Samuel Partridge . . .	104		
	6	Edward Bromfield . . .	67	1	
	7	William Tailer . . .	110		
	8	Nathaniel Norden . . .	96		
	9	Benj. Lynde . . .	106	7	
	10	Addington Davenport . .	115		
		Jn ^o Clark . . .	110	Neg.	
	11	Tho. Hutchinson . . .	117		
	12	Samuel Brown . . .	107		
	13	Tho. Fitch . . .	110		
	14	Jonathan Belcher . . .	64		
	15	Jonathan Dowse . . .	99		
	16	Samuel Thaxter . . .	101		
	17	John Burril . . .	103	at once before eight a-clock.	
<hr/> Paul Dudley Esqr . . .			56		
<hr/> Plimouth . . .			91		
			27		
			118	voters	
Nathan ^l Byfield . . .			103.	Neg.	
Isaac Winslow . . .			114		
John Cushing . . .			112		
John Otis . . .			105		
<hr/> Main . . .			81	} 108. voters 108.	
			27		
John Wheelwright Esqr			102		
Joseph Hammond . . .			84		
Charles Frost . . .			99		
<hr/>					

¹ See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 254.

Zagadahoc 82 }
 27 } 109. voters.

Paul Dudley Esqr 59 [Col. Winthrop 50]

At Large 78 }
 27 } 105 voters.

Edmund Quincey Esqr 95

Nathan^l Pain 53 [46. Winthrop]

Governour Before y^e distribution mr. Noyes & others brôt
 J. Winslow up a Message, the House was surprized to have a
 J. Apleton Message ab^t ye Speaker Whereas yy sent a mes-
 Partridge sage to his Excel House & understood y^e Speaker
 Pain was Accepted
 Cushing May 25.
 Wheelwright 1720.
 Quincey presently after mr. William Clark brôt a Message
 [D]ows with two others, y^t the Representatives were ready
 Thaxter [to] y^e Choice of 18 Councillours.
 Frost Gov^r I will first know who is speaker, and I
 Hammond [e]xpect to be informed of it in the Chair.
 Byfield
 Lynde
 Brown
 Otis

May, 25. 1720. Dudley Speaker

Tutius est infra, quam supra Auctoritatein Iudiciū ferre.

There is matter of great concernment before your excellency, import-
 ing no less than the constitution of the Government: I am humbly of
 opinion it will be most convenient to go forward with the Election;
 expressing your Excellencies determination to take time till Friday or
 Saterdag, or the beginning of the ne[xt] week to consider of the Affair
 of the Speaker

Past 5.

Chandler, Dudley, Coffin message

The House have chosen Elisha Cooke Esqr y^r Speaker

Gov^r He has treated me ill, and I do negative hi[m] according to
 y^r power given me by the Charter, a[nd] I direct the House to pro-
 ceed to y^e Choice of another Speaker.

When they were return'd/

I spake what is above

Mr. Davenport Spake to y^e same purpose

Col. Apleton, your Excellency m[ay] let y^e Election proceed, and
 then dissolve the [Asse]mbly

Mr. Belcher back'd what I said.

Mr. Noyes & 4 more brôt in a Messa[ge th]at yy had chosen Elisha Cooke Esqr y^r Speaker according to y^r undoubted Right by Charter. Would proceed to choose councillours.

Gov^r I have Negatived him, and he is no Speaker.

20 minuts past Six Board sends in a Message y^t would join with y^e House in chusing 18 Councillours. Chose Tellers of y^e votes. Gov^r was now gon. sd he would say nothing one way or other

Feria Quinta, May 26, 1720. a little before Eleven; His Excellency comes into Council, and as soon as he was set in y^e Chair imediatly Adjourned the Council to four a-clock after Noon.

Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick was elected a Resident Member to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter; and Mr. Alexander Brown, author of "The Genesis of the United States," was elected a Corresponding Member.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1891.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at twelve o'clock, M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last stated meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the President announced the reception of another large and valuable gift of historical manuscripts from the senior Vice-President, Mr. Francis Parkman, and read the following letter:—

Boston, 9 April, 1891.

GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to offer for the acceptance of the Society the manuscripts indicated in the list enclosed herewith, and consisting of twenty-one volumes of papers copied from originals in France, England, and Canada, two autograph documents, and one which may or may not be an autograph, but is no doubt contemporary with the author.

The conditions to be the same as those attached to my former contributions of manuscripts to the library of the Society.

Yours very faithfully,

F. PARKMAN.

Manuscripts given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Francis Parkman, 9 April, 1891.

Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg, 1745.

Copies from Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 1629-1686.

" " " " " " " " 1714-1755.

" " Public Record Office, 1693-1711.

" " " " " 1711-1725.

" " " " " 1744-1746.

" " " " " 1746-1749.

" " Correspondance Officielle, 2^{me} Série, vols. IX.-XI.

" " " " 3^{me} " " II.

" " " " " " V.-VII.

" " " " " " VIII.-XII.

Copies from Archives de la Marine, 1660-1671.

" " " " " 1704-1709.

" " " " " 1709-1737.

" " " " " 1737-1759.

" " " Nationales, 1598-1759.

" " " " Compagnie du Castor.

Dupuis, Troubles du Canada, 1728.

Documents relating to Acadia, the Abenakis, etc., 3 vols.

Also the following manuscripts:—

Journal de Jean Cavelier, brother of La Salle.

Journal of Rev. Stephen Williams, beginning at Louisbourg, 18 July, 1745, and ending at ———, Jan. 1749.

Also a contemporary manuscript of one of the most important documents on the beginnings of Louisiana, *The Relation of Penicant*, 1698-1721. Charlevoix used it; and French, in his *Louisiana Historical Collections*, printed a translation of parts of it, from a very imperfect copy.

It was thereupon voted, That the special thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Parkman for this additional gift to the Library.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said:—

Many years ago, the Historical Society reprinted in one of the volumes of its Collections (third series, IV.) a series of tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England. They are seven in number, and were published originally in London, near the middle of the seventeenth century; and most of them appeared under the auspices of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. They give a very good account of the natives at that time, and of their religious instruction, as well as of other matters about them, then attracting public notice in England. With one exception the names of the authors or compilers of these several pamphlets appear on the titlepage. The anonymous tract is entitled: "The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England," and was published in the year 1647. It is the first in the series, and has a short preface, addressed "To the Reader," as follows:—

HEe that pen'd these following Relations, is a Minister of Christ in New England, so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse, is not to be questioned; Were he willing his name should bee mentioned, it would bee an abundant, if not a redundant, Testimonial to all that know him.

NATHAN. WARDE.

In a note to this preface, the Publishing Committee of the Society ascribed the authorship of the pamphlet to the Reverend John Eliot; but there is internal evidence that he did not write it. While no authority is given for their statement, there are several passages in the tract which go to show that it was the production of another person. Without any doubt Eliot is the preacher alluded to in these places, as he was the earliest minister to learn the Indian language as well as the most practised scholar in that tongue. His knowledge of the dialect, however, had its limitations, and some years after this period he himself lamented the want of skill in expressing his thoughts (Dr. Francis's Life of Eliot, p. 44). The following quotations from the volume are specimens of such passages:

These things were spoken by him who had preached to them in their owne language, borrowing now and then some small helpe from the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could oftentimes expresse our minds more distinctly then any of us could; but this wee perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more regarded then many from the *Indian Interpreter* (page 5).

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz. Wee are come to bring you good newes &c.* . . . (page 9).

. . . but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewell: to which we are the more encouraged, in that the next day after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondring at the things they heard preacht amongst them . . . (page 14).

November 26 [1646]. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word the

more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatning death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, &c., . . . (page 17).

. . . for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from that man of God who then preached to them) there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage Indian, . . . (page 18).

. . . for hee that preacheth to them professeth hee never yet used any of their words in his prayers . . . (page 21).

Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gracious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, & do good by (page 21).

Whatever doubt may attend these several other allusions, the reference in the last extract is clearly to Eliot, and it is equally certain that he would not have used this language about himself.

After an examination of the subject, I found that the Reverend Dr. Convers Francis, in his *Life of Eliot*, had reached the same conclusion concerning the authorship; and in the Appendix to the book (page 346), he so states the fact. Two years previously, he had been one of the Publishing Committee, under whose supervision and editorial care the volume of Collections containing these tracts was printed, and perhaps his attention was then called to the matter.

In the Appendix (page 46) to a discourse preached at Natick, on February 17, 1830, by the Reverend Dr. Alexander Young, it is said, on the authority of Christopher C. Baldwin, at that time Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, where the original editions of these pamphlets are found, that the Reverend John Wilson, of Boston, was the author; and the presumption seems to lie wholly in that direction. In the "First Part" of the Brinley Catalogue (page 53), Mr. Trumbull, who prepared the notes to the titles, says that "It was, probably, written by Thos. Shepard"; and in the John Carter Brown Catalogue it is also attributed to the same person. A comparison of the anonymous tract with "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England," by Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, — which follows it in the volume of Collections, and was printed originally in the year 1648, — fails to show any close

resemblance in the literary style of the two productions. Furthermore, certain words are spelled differently in the two: "Waaubon" and "Noonatomen" in the one are written, respectively, "Waubon" and "Noonanetum" in the other; and "Pawwaws" becomes "Powwaws." When the tract was printed, Wilson had published but one or two books, and throughout a long life was the author of only a few works; while during the same period Shepard was a voluminous writer. This fact, of little weight in itself, is entitled to some consideration by the side of Warde's Preface to the pamphlet.

Governor Winthrop, in his "History of New England," under date of March 19, 1646-47, — "19, (1.)," — says: —

The success of Mr. Eliot's labors in preaching to the Indians appears in a small book set forth by Mr. Shepherd and by other observations in the country (ii. 309).

This extract, I think, refers to the above-mentioned pamphlet which bears Shepard's name as the author, although the entry in the Journal was made apparently before that tract was printed, and even before the so-called Eliot's tract was printed. The probable explanation of this anomaly is that the entries were written at a period subsequent to the events which they severally describe. The appearance of Winthrop's original manuscript seems to justify this supposition, as both the color of the ink and the handwriting are consistent with the theory.

The suggestion to reprint the series of Indian tracts evidently came originally from Dr. Young, who makes it in a note (page 46), at the end of his discourse just referred to. He there recommends to the Historical Society, though it was before his membership, that this series be added to the other treasures of the Collections.

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER presented a photographic copy of a page of the church record kept at Fairfield, Connecticut, by the younger Andrew Eliot, and said: —

On the occasion of a recent visit to New York, I stopped over at Fairfield, Connecticut, to pursue some local studies in the history of that ancient town. Through the kindness of a friend at Southport, I obtained access to the old church records, and found, among other interesting matters, the following entry of marriage: —

"The Hon.^{ble} John Hancock Esq^r and Miss Dorothy Quincy both of Boston were married at Fairfield Augth 28th 1775.

"p^r Andrew Eliot V. D. M."

This is written in the bold and beautiful style of the time, and is almost equal to copperplate engraving. An excellent full-size photograph of the whole page has been made for me, and I take pleasure in presenting a copy of it to the Society.

It will be observed that Andrew Eliot, like his predecessor Noah Hobart, uniformly appended to his official signature the old ministerial title V. D. M. (*Verbi Dei Minister*), as was often the case in the last century. Mr. Eliot was the son of Andrew Eliot, D.D., the well-known minister of the New North Church in Boston, and a brother of Dr. John Eliot, one of the founders of this Society. He was ordained in Fairfield, June 22, 1774, and continued in the pastorate there until his death in 1805. During the siege of Boston, Fairfield was a welcome asylum to several Boston people, among whom were Mr. Eliot's mother, three sisters and a brother, and Mrs. Lydia Hancock.

The Hancocks were intimate friends of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., one of the leading citizens of Fairfield, an ardent patriot, and at this time a member of the town committee of war. He was also at various periods Deputy of the General Court, Justice of the Peace, and High Sheriff of the County. His fine colonial mansion was a prominent object in the centre of the village, on the south side of the main road leading to New York. Here he dispensed a sumptuous hospitality, and here Hancock was married, amid surroundings entirely in accord with his own taste and habit of life.

Fairfield suffered an irreparable loss on the 8th of July, 1779, when nearly all its principal buildings, public and private, were reduced to ashes by the British troops under General Tryon. In that memorable fire Thaddeus Burr's house was destroyed with its valuable contents. After the war (in 1793), when Mr. Burr undertook to rebuild, Governor Hancock, with characteristic generosity, made him a present of the necessary lumber and glass.

The date of Hancock's marriage, as given here by the officiating clergyman, exposes a slight error found in an editorial

note in vol. xvi. p. 299, of our Proceedings, where it is given as "4 Sept."

A curious illustration of the "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin" is this record of the Hancock-Quincy nuptials contrasted with that immediately preceding:—

"Jack Negro Servant to David Barlow of Fairfield Mary Negro Servant to Deacon Hill of Greenfield were married July 12th 1775.

"p^r Andrew Eliot V. D. M."

It is interesting to know that several members of this Society, of Plymouth origin, are connected with the Burrs, Hobarts, and other old-time families of Fairfield.

The Hon. HENRY S. NOURSE presented an indented bill of twenty shillings, issued in February, 1690, by order of the General Court, with the signatures of Penn Townsend, Adam Winthrop, and Tim. Thornton, Committee, and said:—

At the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society in February, 1863, the President exhibited a five-shilling note of the first paper money issued in America, dated Dec. 10, 1690, which he suggested might be unique. Dr. Felt, in his "History of Massachusetts Currency," acknowledged that he had never seen a specimen of this issue; and doubtless very few notes escaped the destruction by fire to which, by order of the General Court, they were consigned, after redemption by the Colonial Treasurer.

I bring, for the Society's acceptance, a twenty-shilling note of this early currency of Massachusetts, dated Feb. 3, 1690 [-1]. Between this specimen and that exhibited here in 1863, a fac-simile of which is given at page 428 of the sixth volume of the Proceedings, there are noteworthy differences. The five-shilling note is much larger, is obviously wholly written; and the signatures attached to it were John Phillips, Adam Winthrop, and Penn Townsend. The note now presented appears to be printed, at least in part; and instead of John Phillips, Tim. Thornton is of the committee signing it.

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL said:—

So much interest has been awakened of late in Richard Henry Dana, Jr., and his writings, by the publication and wide

circulation of his *Life*, that I am led to call attention to a letter which has recently come into my possession, written by him in the autumn of 1841 to Moxon, the English publisher, in reference to the book which he was then bringing out in Boston under the title of "*The Seaman's Friend*," and of which Moxon published an edition in London under the title of "*The Seaman's Manual*." There is reference also in the letter to a work by Washington Allston then in press, which I suppose was "*The Romance of Monaldi*," published anonymously, according to Dr. Allibone, in 1841. This is the letter:—

Boston, Oct. 2, 1841.

EDWARD MOXON, Esq.

DEAR SIR, — I send you a copy of my new book, which I have held back from publication until after the sailing of the steamer. It will be published in this city, New York, and Philadelphia on Monday the 4th inst.

Owing to the default or mistake of my printer, the book is printed on a very different paper from what I had intended. The volume should have been one third thicker, at least, and on a whiter page. I sell for one dollar, there being a good deal of close print and five plates.

I have taken care that no copy shall get abroad until after the sailing of the steamer; and told Little & Brown, who wished to send to Murray, that you were getting out an edition with alterations and notes for the English market.

Allow me to assure you that I feel very grateful to you for your very handsome offer, which is the more pleasing being of free grace and not of any claim or merit of my own.

I have informed Mr. Allston of your offer to him. All his friends think it will be an excellent thing, and that you will make the book sell. Little & Brown are printing for him here, paying a percentage on every copy sold. Mr. A., of course, wishes them to have the advantage of an English market if they had taken any steps to secure it. They have not, as they inform me. Therefore I feel at liberty to say, for Mr. A., that you can republish if you choose.

Mr. Little desires me to say to you that he will send you the proof sheets by the steamer of Oct. 15th. If, instead of printing yourself, you would like to sell some of their edition, they will send you 200 copies. The proof sheets will go at all events; the copies, if you request them.

Will you favour me by saying to Captain Jones that I have written to Washington for the document he desired, and am in hourly expectation of receiving it. I shall be most happy to be of any service to him or

yourself in this way. The document in question I can obtain by simply a letter to an official there to whom I have been introduced. If you will at the same time mention to Captain J. that I feel much indebted to him for the interest he has taken in my narrative and for the efforts he has made in my behalf, which I have heard of from various quarters, — the Appletons, Sedgwicks, Sumner, and Pres. Woods, etc., you will much oblige me. I shall expect him (in case the rascally freebooters, as I assure you all sound people here consider them, on our frontier get McLeod into trouble) to extend to me and my house an especial protection; and to leave me and my fig-tree standing an oasis in the desert he and his fleet will be ordered to make of our city and suburbs.

As the steamer sails in an hour and a half, I must conclude more hastily than I intended.

Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

RICH^d H. DANA, JR.

I have also in my possession a letter written by Mr. Dana, April 28, 1876, to our associate, Mr. Clement H. Hill, who, with Mr. William G. Russell, had just made a journey to Washington, to urge upon members of the Senate the confirmation of Mr. Dana as Minister to the Court of St. James, in which it is said: "I wish to assure you how deeply I feel your kindness, and how valuable your services were."

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN said that when at the January meeting he offered for publication a copy of Daniel Leonard's Memorial, he alluded to the fact that John Adams for more than forty years supposed that his old friend Jonathan Sewall, instead of Leonard, was the writer of the "Massachusetts Papers" to which he replied under the signature of "Novanglus"; and at the same time he quoted from a letter of Mr. John Eliot, lately published in the third volume of the Belknap Papers, showing that Leonard's secret, notwithstanding his care to preserve it, was known, or at least suspected. But when he made his remarks he had forgotten that John Trumbull alluded to the controversy in his "M'Fingal" — the first two cantos of which were published in 1775 — in a way which points to Leonard as the author, and makes it quite clear that Sewall was not. During nearly a year, in 1773 and 1774, Trumbull was a student in the law office of John Adams, and had excellent opportunities for knowing the Boston pa-

tricts, as well as what was going on in and about that town; and it was doubtless in part owing to this fact that the descriptive portions of his poem are so lifelike. The passage is as follows:—

“ Did not our Massachusettensis
 For your conviction strain his senses;
 Scrawl every moment he could spare
 From cards and barbers and the fair;
 Show clear as sun in noonday heavens,
 You did not feel a single grievance;
 Demonstrate all your opposition
 Spring from the eggs of foul sedition;
 Swear he had seen the nest she laid in,
 And knew how long she had been sitting;
 Could tell exact what strength of heat is
 Required to hatch her out Committees;
 What shapes they take, and how much longer 's
 The time before they grow t' a Congress?
 He white-wash'd Hutchinson, and varnish'd
 Our Gage, who 'd got a little tarnish'd;
 Made them new masks, in time no doubt,
 For Hutchinson's was quite worn out;
 Yet while he muddled all his head,
 You did not heed a word he said.”

And having thus paid his respects to Leonard under the name of Massachusettensis, he proceeds to ask about Jonathan Sewall,—

“ Did not our grave Judge Sewall hit
 The summit of newspaper wit?”¹

It is noticeable that while Trumbull, in an edition of his poems as late as 1820, in a foot-note states who Judge Sewall was, in a similar note to “Massachusettensis” he is silent as to his name.

Judge Chamberlain also said that there was another matter of no very great importance, but nevertheless of some interest, to which he would allude. Our late associate, Dr. Charles Deane, in preparing an edition of Wood's “New England's Prospect” for publication by the Prince Society, retained the preface to the edition printed in Boston in 1764, and called attention to our Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 334, in which our late associate, William Brigham, shows clearly that the preface of

¹ Trumbull's Poems, vol. i. p. 28.

1764 was written by Nathaniel Rogers, a Boston merchant, who graduated at the University of Glasgow in 1755, received the degree of A.M. at Harvard College in 1762, and died in 1770.

Judge Chamberlain said he had not learned the time or place of Nathaniel Rogers's birth, nor the considerations which led to his honorary degree from Harvard College; but that he was a man of considerable ability and varied reading was evident from the Preface of 1764, which alludes to questions then rife with intelligence and good sense, and in a style, apart from its punctuation, fresh and vigorous. These facts excited a desire for more information in regard to his personal history, and he would call attention to some facts not noticed in so far as he was aware. In the pamphlet collection of letters addressed to Thomas Whately, of London, by several persons in New England in the years 1767-1769, called the "Hutchinson Letters," is one by Nathaniel Rogers, dated Boston, Dec. 12, 1768, from which it appears that when it was understood that Governor Bernard would be recalled, as he was the following year, the programme among the loyalists was that Hutchinson, then Lieutenant-Governor, should succeed Bernard, and Andrew Oliver, then Secretary, should be advanced to the lieutenancy, which was ultimately carried out. This would create a vacancy in the Secretary's office; and this office Nathaniel Rogers desired to fill, and to that end he wrote to Whately. But Rogers's death in 1770 defeated his object; and Thomas Flucker, the father-in-law of General Knox, secured the place. The following extract will afford some information in respect to Rogers's relations to eminent people in England:—

"I will mention to you the gentlemen, who are acquainted with my views, and whose favorable approbation I have had,—Governor Pownall, Mr. John Pownall, and Dr. Franklin. My Lord Hillsborough is not unacquainted with it. I have, since I have been here, wrote Mr. Jackson upon the subject, and have by this vessel wrote Mr. Mauduit. I think my character stands fair. I have not been without application to public affairs, and have acquired some knowledge of our provincial affairs, and notwithstanding our many free conversations in England, I am considered here as on the government side, for which I have been often traduced both publicly and privately, and very lately have two or three slaps."

From the preface, as well as from the second clause of the last sentence, it might be inferred that Rogers at one time was a Whig in Boston politics, but went over to the Tories, and not long before his death received one of those "slaps" to which he refers in the following form:—

"A LIST of the Names of *those* who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the Body of merchants thro'out NORTH AMERICA; by importing British Goods contrary to the Agreement."

Among the names appended is that of "Nathaniel Rogers (opposite Mr. Henderson Inches store Lower End of King Street." This was undoubtedly printed as a Broadside, and was also printed in Edes and Gill's North American Almanack, 1770, which may be seen in *fac-simile* in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History," vol. vi. p. 79. A few lines from Sabine's Loyalists will give the sequel of this business:

"In 1770, while in New York, his effigy was suspended on a gallows and burnt. He ordered his carriage, and secretly left town at two o'clock next morning. He is described as a man about five feet eight inches high, pretty corpulent, round-shouldered, stoops a great deal, and generally appears in green and gold, or purple and gold. Of the affair in New York, Lieutenant-Governor Colden wrote the Earl of Hillsborough, May 16, 1770: 'The party in opposition to the present Administration join with the people in Boston in measures to prevent importation, and for that purpose stole late in the night last week a procession of the mob to expose a Boston importer, who happened to come to this place. The magistrates knew nothing of the design till it was too late, otherwise I believe it would have been prevented.'"¹

Professor WILLIAM W. GOODWIN then presented the annual report of the Council.

Report of the Council.

The end of another year finds our Society entering upon its second century. The celebration of the centennial anniversary on the 24th of January last was a memorable event, well worthy of the Society and of the occasion; and the record of the ceremonies will be included in the next volume of the

¹ Sabine's American Loyalists, vol. ii. pp. 236, 287.

Proceedings. During the year we have lost by death three of our Resident Members, Henry Martyn Dexter, Charles Devens, Samuel Crocker Cobb; one Honorary Member, George Bancroft; and one Corresponding Member, Henry Tuke Parker. Four Resident Members have been elected, William Steele Shurtleff, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Benjamin Marston Watson, Samuel Edward Herrick; and two Corresponding Members, the Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain and Alexander Brown. There are now three vacancies in our list of Resident Members.

It has been frequently suggested that the custom of inviting members to address the Society at a regular meeting on occasion of the death of an associate should be given up or in some way modified. Of course there will be occasions on which the Society will wish to do honor to the memory of distinguished associates without even waiting for the occurrence of a regular meeting. In these extraordinary cases special meetings will always be called. But it is suggested that it shall be the understanding, after the beginning of the new year, without any formal vote, that the death of a member shall be communicated to the Society in the usual manner by the President, that a member shall be appointed by the Council to prepare a memoir to be published by the Society, but that no formal eulogies shall be expected from other members. At the same time it will be understood that this is no binding rule which will prevent any member from addressing the Society in memory of a deceased colleague on any occasion.

During the year the Society has issued the following publications:—

Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. V., 1889–1890.

Also three serial numbers of the Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. VI. (from May, 1890, to January, 1891), including the Centennial Commemoration on January 24. The fourth number (February and March meetings, 1891) is laid on the table to-day (April 9).

Collections, 6th series, Vol. IV., containing Belknap Papers, Part III.

The last, which may fitly be called the Centennial Volume of the Society, closed our publications for the year. That word can be applied to the volume not only from the date of its ap-

pearance, but because its title bears the name of that honored and laborious man, Dr. Belknap, whom we consent to regard as our founder. Our Cabinet contained a sufficient number of his letters and other papers to fill this substantial volume. We are indebted to our associate, Mr. C. C. Smith, for the most careful and instructive service which he has rendered as Editor of the volume.

The following publications have been made by members of the Society :—

Richard Henry Dana. *A Biography.* In two volumes. By Charles Francis Adams.

The Norman Period of the English Church. By Alexander V. G. Allen.

Some Descendants of William Sawyer of Newbury, Mass. By William S. Appleton.

Twenty-first Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston. *Dorchester Births, Marriages, and Deaths to the end of 1825.* By William S. Appleton.

Journal of Lieutenant Isaac Bangs, April 1 to July 29, 1776. Edited by Edward Bangs.

Memorial of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. Edited by James M. Bugbee.

The Begum's Daughter. By Edwin L. Bynner.

The Navigation Laws. By Edward Channing.

Address at the Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Philadelphia, April 15, 1890. By Charles Devens.

Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking. By Charles F. Dunbar.

Boston Unitarianism, 1820-50. *A Study of the life and work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham.* By Octavius B. Frothingham.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb. Rewritten and enlarged. By William W. Goodwin.

The First Census of Massachusetts [1765]. By Samuel A. Green.

Groton Historical Series, No. 1 of Vol. III. By Samuel A. Green.

Necrology of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1890. By Samuel A. Green.

The Northern Boundary of Massachusetts in its relations to New Hampshire: a Part of the Council's Report made to the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, on Oct. 21, 1890. By Samuel A. Green.

James Freeman Clarke. *Autobiography, Diary, and Correspondence.* Edited by Edward Everett Hale.

William and Anne Robinson of Dorchester, Mass.; their Ancestors and their Descendants. By Edward Doubleday Harris.

Epochs of American History. Edited by Albert B. Hart. The Colonies, 1492-1750, by Reuben G. Thwaites.

Introduction to the Study of Federal Government. [Harvard Historical Monographs, No. 2.] By Albert B. Hart.

Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation [of May 29, 1874]. [Old South Leaflets, General Series, No. 18.] By Albert B. Hart.

Land Transfer Reform. By John T. Hassam.

American Sonnets. Selected and edited by Thomas W. Higginson and E. H. Bigelow.

Over the Tea Cups. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Essays on Government. By Abbott Lawrence Lowell.

American Statesmen Series. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr. John Jay, by George Pellew.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Archæological Institute of America, May, 1890. By Charles Eliot Norton.

The Birth, Marriage and Death Register of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1850. By Henry S. Nourse.

King's Chapel Sermons. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Harvard Graduates whom I have known. By Andrew P. Peabody.

A Private Proof printed in order to preserve certain matters connected with the Boston Branch of the Perkins Family. By Augustus T. Perkins.

Principles of Political Economy. By Arthur L. Perry.

Scotch-Irish in New England. Read before the Scotch Society of America, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1890. By Arthur L. Perry.

Address at the Dedication of Mark Hopkins Memorial Hall, Williams College, July 1, 1890. By Horace E. Scudder.

A Short History of the United States of America. By Horace E. Scudder.

Diocese of Massachusetts: The Enrichment of its Historical Collection, 1890. By Edmund F. Slafter.

The Discovery of America by the Northmen, 985-1015. A Discourse delivered before the New Hampshire Historical Society, April 24, 1888. By Edmund F. Slafter.

Land and its Rent. By Francis A. Walker.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati at a meeting held in Boston, Feb. 23, 1891, to take action on the decease of Samuel Crocker Cobb, President of the Society. Tribute by Winslow Warren.

A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston. By Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. Third edition. Edited by William H. Whitmore.

Twenty-second Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston. Census of 1790 and Direct Tax, 1798. By William H. Whitmore.

A Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony, from 1630 to 1686. By William H. Whitmore.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN,
Senior Member at Large of the Council.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, Treasurer, presented his report, and the report of the Auditing Committee, in print:—

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1891.

The special funds held by him are eleven in number, as they were at the date of his last Annual Report, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the

late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, for \$21,000, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank amounting, with the last addition of interest, in October, 1890, to \$788.91. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Meriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,772.23. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. During the year it became desirable to sell the shares of stock received from Mrs. Frothingham, and it was not thought desirable to make a separate investment of the proceeds; but in future the fund will be credited with its proportionate part of the consolidated income as well as with the sums received for copyright.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$8,000.

It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Six commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,534.03.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

The Peabody Fund is invested separately. The other funds, which stand on the Treasurer's books at \$58,509.26, are represented in part by the following securities: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan

Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1921; \$3,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., and \$3,000 in the income bonds of the same corporation; \$1,000 in an eight per cent mortgage bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., payable in 1892; \$1,000 in a five per cent collateral trust bond of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; forty-four shares in the State National Bank of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; thirty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; thirty-four shares in the National Union Bank of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; ten shares in the Columbian National Bank, of Boston, of the par value of \$100 each; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of \$100 each; and five shares in the Cincinnati Electric Light Co., of the par value of \$5 each. The aggregate amount at which these securities stand on the books is \$41,518.32. The balance (\$16,990.94) is an incumbrance on the real estate, and shows a reduction of \$4,611.74 during the year in the amount of our funds which have been temporarily invested in the building.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296; and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1890.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand		\$289.38
1891.			
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—		
	General Account	10,880.99	
	Investments	2,016.12	
	Consolidated Income	1,920.97	
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	152.80	
	Commutation Fee	150.00	
			<u>\$16,880.26</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$185.27

1891.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By payments as follows:—		
	Investments	\$6,948.00	
	Income of Peabody Fund	2,643.63	
	Income of Savage Fund	449.18	
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	245.25	
	Income of Appleton Fund	437.34	
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	2,278.52	
	General Account	3,693.07	
	By balance on hand	185.27	
			<u>\$16,880.26</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1890.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward		\$3,419.40
1891.			
March 31.	To sundry payments:—		
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,550.00	
	Painting stairway, etc.	146.00	
	Centennial Commemoration	94.25	
	Printing, stationery, and postage	256.01	
	Fuel and light	176.78	
	Care of fire, etc.	298.59	
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	171.44	
	Consolidated Income	1,157.82	
	Building Account	4,611.74	
			<u>\$12,882.03</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$1,458.28

1891.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

411

CREDITS.

1891.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building	\$9,000.00
	Interest	24.82
	Income of Dowse Fund	542.76
	Admission Fees	100.00
	Assessments	740.00
	Sales of publications	1,016.17
	By balance to new account	1,458.28
		<u>\$12,882.03</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

1891.		
March 31.	To amount paid on account of binding	\$6.54
	" " " " " indexing Pickering MSS.	430.80
	" balance carried forward	2,298.75
		<u>\$2,736.09</u>

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$2,073.77
1891.		
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income	662.32
		<u>\$2,736.09</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$2,298.75

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.

1891.		
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$245.25
	" balance carried forward	38.58
		<u>\$283.83</u>

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$121.00
1891.		
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income	102.83
		<u>\$283.83</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$88.58

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

1891.		
March 31.	To amount paid on account of 6 Coll. IV.	\$2,278.52
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$587.58

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By amount brought forward	\$1,148.18
1891.		
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income	542.76
	" balance carried forward	587.58
		<u>\$2,278.52</u>

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

CREDITS.

1890.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,022.80
1891.		
March 31.	" dividends received	80.00
	" copyright received	72.80
	" proportion of consolidated income	81.41
		<u>\$1,257.01</u>
March 31.	By amount brought down	\$1,257.01

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1891.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	<u>\$542.76</u>

CREDITS.

1891.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	<u>\$542.76</u>

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1890.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$2,371.50
1891.		
March 31.	" amount paid for editing, printing, binding, etc.	2,555.58
	" " " " repairs of portraits, etc.	88.10
		<u>\$5,015.13</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$3,545.13

CREDITS.

1891.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	\$1,470.00
	" balance carried forward	3,545.13
		<u>\$5,015.13</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.	
1891.	
March 31.	To amount paid for books \$449.18
March 31.	To balance brought down \$3.02
CREDITS.	
1890.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward \$120.51
1891.	
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income 325.65
	„ balance carried forward 3.02
	<u>\$449.18</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.	
Cash	\$185.27
Real Estate	103,280.19
Investments	63,641.32
Income of Peabody Fund	8,545.13
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	587.58
Income of Savage Fund	3.02
General Account	1,458.28
	<u>\$172,700.79</u>

CREDITS.	
Building Account	\$86,453.19
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,772.23
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	8,000.00
Anonymous Fund	1,534.03
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund	2,298.75
Income of William Winthrop Fund	38.58
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	1,257.01
Income of General Fund	1,650.20
Income of William Amory Fund	370.80
	<u>\$172,700.79</u>

Though the Society has published a volume of Proceedings and a volume of Collections since the last Annual Meeting, the

Treasurer has been able to continue uninterruptedly the reinvestment of the funds which have been an incumbrance on the real estate. The sum thus applied during the year was \$4,611.74 against \$4,697.94 in the preceding year. The cost of the volume of Belknap Papers was charged to the Income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund, and somewhat exceeded the amount to the credit of that account. It will be necessary, therefore, to allow the income of that fund to accumulate, after extinguishing this balance, before further charges are made to it. The cost of the volume of Winthrop Papers now in preparation will be defrayed by the Income of the Appleton Fund. The Income of the Peabody Fund is charged with so large a debt that after the publication of the volume of Proceedings now in press, it will probably be desirable to charge the cost of the next volume to the Income of the General Fund. No further payment has been authorized by the Committee having in charge the indexing of the Trumbull Papers; and the sum of \$307 still remains subject to their order, and can be used under their direction for some similar specific work. It is gratifying to add that there was a considerable increase in the amount received from sales of publications, — \$1,016.17 against \$580.15 in the year ending March 31, 1890.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1891.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1891, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, } *Committee.*
HENRY G. DENNY, }

Boston, April 6, 1891.

The LIBRARIAN presented his annual report as follows:—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library:

Books	608
Pamphlets	1,406
Volumes of newspapers	8
Unbound volumes of newspapers	24
Broadsides	68
Maps	4
Volumes of manuscripts	9
Manuscripts	154
In all	2,281

Of the books added, 480 have been given, and 128 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 1,284 have been given, 116 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 128 volumes, 116 pamphlets, and 1 broadside; and 36 volumes have been bound and 1 volume repaired at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 111 volumes have been bound, and 15 repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 22 have been given and 45 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 50 have been given and 30 bought. There are now in this collection 1,856 volumes, 4,540 pamphlets, 784 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 738 volumes, 161 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,017 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 35,200 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 91,145; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,539.

During the year there have been taken out 43 books and 5 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

Boston, April 9, 1891.

The Cabinet-keeper's report was presented by Dr. OLIVER.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

There have been presented to the Cabinet during the past year 8 photographs, 3 engravings, 2 etchings, 3 medals, 1 lithograph, and 5 miscellaneous articles of more or less value. There have also been placed on deposit a portrait of the Hon. Samuel Quincy, at one time Solicitor-General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and of his wife, Mrs. Hannah Quincy, — both painted by Copley.

A list of the donations for the year is appended to this report: —

A small box made of metal and covered with a thin layer of porcelain, bearing the inscription "May the *Blossoms of LIBERTY*, never be BLIGHTED." Given by Samuel Breck Craft.

A copper medal struck and distributed in the municipal parade, Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1879. Given by Fitch Edward Oliver.

A photograph of the Turner Monument in the old cemetery in Scituate, taken by W. F. Bates, of North Scituate. Received by mail.

A medal found on the battle-field of White Plains, a few years ago. It was struck to commemorate the taking of Louisburg, July 26, 1758. Given by Fitch Edward Oliver.

A photograph of the full-length model by John Rogers of a proposed monument to the Apostle Eliot. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

An etching of Alexander Hamilton by Frederick Tudor Stuart, the only proof impression on India paper. Given by Mr. Stuart.

A lithograph of Samuel Crocker by B. W. Thayer & Co., Boston, after a daguerreotype by H. B. King. Given by Samuel C. Cobb.

A 12½ cent certificate of the Corporation of Jersey City, July 31, 1837. Given by Samuel C. Cobb.

A "bearers ring" inscribed "W. Burnet. Mass. Gub. Ob. 7 Sep. 1729. Æ 42." The death's head which once appeared on the ring has been worn off. Given by Miss Sarah Chandler.

A photograph by G. Watmouth Webster of the base of a Roman column, *in situ*, and mediæval sculptured gravestone, discovered in Watergate Street, Chester, England, 1890. Given by William Everett.

A photograph by F. W. Clark, England, of a pair of bellows said to have been owned by Sir Walter Raleigh, bearing the inscriptions "R" and "1596" on one face, and an embossed picture on the other face. Given by Charles J. Hubbard.

A bronze medal by Andrieu of Louis XVIII., struck to commemorate the restoration of the equestrian statue of Henry IV., Oct. 28, 1817. Given by Charles P. Curtis.

Three engravings: Benjamin Franklin, by Edwin; Hon. John C. Phillips, by Savigne, after a painting by H. Williams; and Cotton Mather, by H. B. Hall & Sons, New York. Given by Samuel A. Green.

A half-tone view of the Petersham Memorial Building. Given by Francis H. Lee.

A photograph by Mr. DeLamater of an oil painting of Rev. Richard Mather in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. Given by Mrs. Mary Mather Brownell, of Bristol, Conn.

A photograph of the Old State House, Boston, taken by Wilfred A. French. Given by Mr. French.

An etching of Rev. Stephen Williams by Miss Annie Sophia Pratt. Given by John F. Pratt.

A photograph of the Historical Hall of the Old Colony Historical Society at Taunton. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

An indented bill of twenty shillings, Massachusetts Bay Colony, Feb. 3, 1690. Given by Henry S. Nourse.

A photographic copy of the record of the marriage of John Hancock and Dorothy Quincy, Fairfield, Conn., August 28, 1775. Given by Edward G. Porter.

Respectfully submitted,

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 9, 1891.

Mr. STEPHEN SALISBURY, from the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, presented their report: —

Report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee appointed to examine and report upon the condition of the Library and Cabinet have attended to that duty.

They find in all departments of the Library evidences of care and of a scrupulous attention to the various suggestions which from time to time have been offered, so that it is now difficult to consider any change that will not be met by the reflection of regret at a lack of funds and the inadequacy of accommodations. The books are well classified, and are not more crowded than the restriction of space obliges. In the Dowse Library, the Committee were led to notice that many valuable and beautiful volumes were necessarily consigned to and hidden in the closets under the cases; but they do not feel ready to recommend glass fronts so liable to be broken, or open shelves which expose the priceless bindings to damage,

and are content to await the desired future when the whole of this unique collection will find a proper position and display in the room that shall be provided for its exclusive occupation. Work upon the card catalogue keeps pace with the new acquisitions. Some of the bound newspaper files require new bindings; and when this is done the advantages of the heavy cloth backs, of which we have some specimens, may well be considered.

Among the bound manuscripts, it was observed that many needed rebinding, as any use of them in their present state of dilapidation is a menace to the safety of the contents; also that manuscripts bound and unbound are sometimes so packed away in closets that many separate parcels would require to be displaced and frequently handled in any search that might be instituted for a desired title.

In this connection it is thought best to introduce a suggestion of one of the members of this Committee, — Mr. Upham, — having reference to this department of collections, which is by far the most valuable of our treasures. This gentleman writes thus in regard to securing a fund, the income from which shall be expended in making copies of our choicest manuscripts: "In regard to the idea I suggested of a fund for copying valuable manuscripts, it seems undeniably true that manuscripts ought to claim the first attention among the collections of an historical society in the matter of security for preservation. Rare books if lost can be replaced, but the loss of manuscripts is irretrievable. Manuscripts are becoming more and more understood to be the best materials for history. At the same time they are the most difficult things to preserve from the ravages of worms, dust, mould, and general wear and tear. It is probable that when another couple of centuries shall have passed a very large proportion of the most valuable manuscripts now existing will have become utterly lost or illegible. Would it not be well if an historical society that undertakes the trust of holding for a remote future these records of the past, might have a fund especially devoted to the object of preserving by *copies*, made on one side of the paper, so that they might be bound in volumes of uniform size, of the most important of its manuscript collections? The income of a fund of \$10,000 would keep at least one person constantly at work, and in a few years a most creditable

library of papers, easily read, accessible, indexed, and of practical value and convenience would be developed. These copies, being so much more convenient to read and refer to, would save the originals from much handling, as they would be required only occasionally for verification."

It may be added to this strong plea, that very probably during the careful perusal of the copyist many unknown and exceedingly important buried facts would come to light that would at once inspire and infuse new energy into the deliberations of our Society; and it is hoped that the above recommendation in regard to the duplication of manuscripts will lead to an examination of this department, when the utility of the scheme thus outlined would commend itself.

How much the Society is indebted to the time, thought, and experience of our Librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, and of our Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, came often to the minds of your examining Committee. They also desire to record their satisfaction with the services and courtesy of the Assistant Librarians, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle and Mr. Alfred B. Page.

STEPHEN SALISBURY,
MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, } Committee.
W^m P. UPHAM,

April 9, 1891.

The several reports were accepted, and referred to the Committee for Publishing the Proceedings.

Professor GOODWIN, from the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list, and the gentlemen named were duly elected by ballot.

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER.

Members at Large of the Council.

ROGER WOLCOTT.
EDWARD BANGS.
EDWARD JACKSON LOWELL.
EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER.
HENRY FITCH JENKS.

On motion of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be presented to Messrs. William W. Goodwin and Josiah P. Quincy, retiring members of the Council, for their valuable services.

A serial containing the proceedings at the meetings in February and March — the fourth of the new volume — was placed on the table.

After the adjournment the members lunched with the President at his residence in Marlborough Street.

MAY MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the annual meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library.

THE PRESIDENT, in accordance with the By-Laws, announced the appointment of Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith as the Committee for publishing the Proceedings for the ensuing year.

The President presented from Mrs. P. S. L. Canfield, of Worcester, a pair of silver-mounted pistols, which had been given by Commodore Edward Preble to her uncle, the Hon. Enoch Lincoln, on whose death they came into possession of her father, the Hon. Levi Lincoln; and it was voted that the thanks of the Society for this gift should be communicated to Mrs. Canfield by the Recording Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT then said:—

Death has removed from the roll of our Corresponding Members the Rev. Edmond de Pressensé, distinguished for talent, learning, and public services in literature and statesmanship. His authorship covered many publications in a wide range of acquisitions in scholarship and political science. We have also lost by death, as I have just been told by Dr. Green, another learned and accomplished Corresponding Member, Thomas Beamish Akins, at one time President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, who was added to our roll in the same year as Dr. Pressensé.

Our esteemed associate Augustus Thorndike Perkins, who has been a Resident Member of the Society for nearly a score of years, died on the 21st of the last month. His name, with

his lineage and descent, are suggestive of the historic connection of his family with so much that is distinguished and honorable in our community, in social and mercantile life, and in munificent gifts of benevolence. He was himself a gentleman of fine culture and rich accomplishments, with a generous public spirit. We place upon our records our tribute to his noble character and to his valuable service in our aims and work.

MR. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, MR. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, MR. GEORGE B. CHASE, and DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN spoke briefly of the character and work of Mr. Perkins; after which Mr. Whitmore was appointed to write a memoir of him for publication in the Proceedings.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, MR. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said:—

I desire to communicate from the Winthrop Papers two letters of the early Colonial period, one of which possesses a certain sentimental interest, and the other some historical importance. They were both written to Gov. John Winthrop, of Massachusetts; one by the widow of the Rev. Francis Higginson, the other by the Rev. Thomas Hooker. Not long after the last monthly meeting I read with interest a short Life of Francis Higginson, recently prepared by our associate, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, for a series of volumes entitled the "Makers of America"; and the perusal reminded me that some time ago I had identified and deciphered the above-mentioned letter from Francis Higginson's widow. It occurred to me to send a copy of it to Colonel Higginson, and to inquire of him how many of her letters were in existence. He replied that he had never seen one, that he believed them to be excessively rare, and he advised me to communicate this one to the Society. An additional reason for doing so lies in the curious fact that no less than ten of our living Resident Members are descended from this lady. Her husband, as may be remembered, died in the prime of life, in August, 1630, leaving his wife and children in very straitened circumstances. The letter is without date; but the text shows it to have been written in the following spring, — the spring of 1631, — and the purport of it is to

consult the Governor as to her means of livelihood, and, in particular, to inquire upon what terms she was to be permitted to retain two cows which had been temporarily placed at her disposal.¹ Cows were undoubtedly scarce at Salem in 1631; and the Governor indorsed the letter, in his well-known hand, "Mr^s Higginson, about her cow-rents." She was evidently a woman of extreme conscientiousness, as she mentions that some neat's tongues — smoked tongues, I presume — had been found in a barrel of malt sent her, and apprehensive lest they should have been so packed without the knowledge of the donor, she offers to return them, if desired. As she had previously mentioned that her provisions were running low, and as she then had eight children to feed, I cannot but think she would have been amply justified in assuming that these tongues were intended for her use as well as the malt. Indeed, I doubt whether there is a single one of our ten living members descended from her who, under similar circumstances, would not have proceeded to consume them without saying anything about it.

The second letter I have to communicate is also without date; but the contents clearly establish that it was written by Hooker soon after his return to Hartford, in the autumn of 1637, after his attendance on the memorable Synod held in Cambridge to condemn the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, of which he was one of the moderators. The question may naturally be asked, why this letter was not included with several others from Hooker found among the Winthrop Papers, and printed by this Society nearly thirty years ago. The answer is, that it is so torn and defaced that it was long considered impossible to decipher enough of it to make it worth publishing. Since the last meeting, however, I was applied to by the Rev. G. L. Walker, D.D., of Hartford, who is engaged on a Life of Hooker for the series of "Makers of America," above mentioned, and who wished me to examine the original of one of Hooker's letters already printed, in order to clear up a discrepancy between the indorsement and the date. I found that a former publishing-committee of ours had been caught napping, although the blame is chiefly Thomas Hook-

¹ Felt, in the appendix to the first edition of his "Annals of Salem," mentions her writing to Governor Winthrop, in January of the same year, to thank him for the use of these cows.

er's, who carelessly made a "3" look like a "2."¹ This led me again to attack the illegible letter, and by gradually wetting parts of it and patiently applying a powerful magnifying-glass, I eventually succeeded in deciphering all but about nine words, which are so scattered that their absence does not obscure the sense of any passage. The letter proves to be both of interest and importance, containing a striking sentence in which Hooker declares his determination, in cases of difficulty, to be guided by no evidence which would not satisfy an impartial judge. In these days, when so many historical writers seem more and more bent upon making their facts fit in to preconceived opinions, it is, I think, refreshing to come across a historical personage of two centuries and a half ago who at the moment of a bitter controversy seems to have been animated by a love of truth.

ANNE HIGGINSON TO JOHN WINTHROP.

WORTHY S^r—My love and service to yoⁿ remembred, wishing yo^r health and pperity in the Lord. The cause of my writtinge at this time is to give yoⁿ notice how it is wth me. I have 10 ackers of ground to inclose, and it lieth soe among others ground that I must inclose it or forgoe it. Now I am destitute of helth and meēies to doe it, having noe man. Therefore I doe desire yo^r advise in it. Allsoe the time cofieth on to sett corne, & if soe be yoⁿ wth the rest will allow me a man, as my husband's condition was, I should be glad to understand your pleasure in it. And further, as for the howse I now live in, I doe daly expect when they will call for mony for it. Now my desire is to knowe whether yoⁿ will build me one or pay for y^t I am in. I shall be content wth what you thinke fitt; only my desire is to know w^{ch} you will doe, and I doe earnestly entreat yo^r Wor^{sh}, wth y^e rest of the gentlemen, to know what yoⁿ intend to doe for the time to come. My pvisions grows skant, though I husband them the best I cañe. Allsoe concerning the kine, my desire is to know how longe I shall have them and whether I shall have half the increase, as was before agreed upon by the marchants. Soe S^r once more I pray you to send mee word what you intend to doe. In my barrell of mault I found some neatts tongs; if you please, I will send you y^m wth the first messenger I can. Soe I beseech the Lord to bless yoⁿ and rest

Yo^r ffrend to her power,

ANNE HIGGINSON.

¹ See 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. (Winthrop Papers, part i.) p. 390, where both the subject of the letter and Governor Winthrop's clearly legible indorsement show that it must have been written in 1643.

THOMAS HOOKER TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the right worship John Wyntropp, Esquier, Governour in Matheshusetts, dd.

RIGHT WORSHIP: & MUCH HONORED IN OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR,

By returne of our speciall freinds I could not but returne a thankfull acknowledgment of all your former kyndnesses & your last loving entertaynement, & also to give you an account of such businesses wch were in part comended to our care touching the ripening of such passages of the Synod wch were of wayt & worthy record & consideration. You may be pleased therfore to understand y^t M^r Higginson,¹ who was the scribe in Assembly, hath imployd his tyme, since his coming, to transcribe such things wch were of use; but because the things were many & his tyme short, our freinds returning so speedily, he could not accomplish much, but hath taken his papers wth him downe to the mouth of y^e river, whither his occasions call him for the p^{se}nt & from whence he will send you such p^{ar}ticulars as he shall shortly write out, & y^t by the soonest conveyance. The good Lord prosper these begynings for the setting of peace & truth wth you in all his Churches. I daily regret many stratagems of Satan to be plotted & practised. All y^t I would crave leave to p^{re}sent to your judicious apprehension is this in short. I have ever judged it, in cases of difficulty wch must come to scanning, most safe to attend nothing for ground of determination, but y^t wch will cary an undeniable evidence to an impartiall judge. He y^t desires multitude of arguments to cary a cause, & therfore [*four or five words torn*] the weaknes of some [*three words torn*] y^e wayt of y^e rest. For execution, let it be so secret & suddayne y^t it cannot be p^{re}vented, so resolute & [*one word illegible*] y^t it may take off hope frō the adversary y^t it can be resp^yted; & this damps opposition & p^{re}vents hazard. Men will not attempt resistance when ther is no opportunity to attayne what they do attempt; whereas opennes & fayntnes of resolution provokes men to oppose & to adventure upon hazard in opposition. You will not be offended y^t I shot my bolts; your loving acceptance adds encouragement in this kynd. The Lord steare your course for you & give a blessing to all your indeavors & godly proceedings. So he wisheth who rests in all thankfulness

Yrs in all due respect,

T. HOOKER.

The Rev. Dr. EGBERT C. SMYTH presented an additional letter from Col. John Stoddard, supplementing the papers relating to the building of Fort Dummer which were communicated by him at the March meeting. The letter is without superscription, but was evidently written to Capt. Timothy Dwight.

¹ Rev. John Higginson, then of Saybrook.

NTH HAMPTON Feb^y 14 1723.

S^r — I receiv^d yours last night. the Mounts (if thought to small) may be enlarged, but my Inclination remains for Shingling with Spruce as to the manner of laying them I am not so Curious.

I was thoughtful that when the Carpenters returned they would encline to spend a week at Home, which I am not averse to, for I think we shall be forward enough in our work, however you may doe as you think fit, when the fort is set up I believe it must not be wholly left, the Lieut^{nt} Gov^r is concerned how we can in the frost lay a foundation of Stone, and build Cellar Walls, but I suppose that Objection may be obviated. if you think fit to take a breathing spell as I propose above, you may take that Opportunity to come hither and receive your Commission, together with Searl^s Commission, as also what money I have receiv^d for Provisions, which is two-Hundred Pounds, that the Treasurer hath already sent.

your Humble Servant JOHN STODDARD.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks :—

At the last May meeting I communicated some papers relating to Capt. Thomas Lawrence's company, raised in Groton for the campaign of 1758 during the French and Indian War, which were published in the Proceedings. As supplementary to those papers, I wish now to present "A Return of Men Inlisted for his Majesty's Service for the Totall Reduction of Canada 1760." The men were enlisted by Capt. Thomas Farrington, who raised a company in Groton and neighborhood, which served during the campaign of 1760. His command is referred to in Sergeant David Holden's Journal, printed in the Proceedings for June, 1889. In the copy herewith given I have omitted some of the headings; such as "When Inlisted," "By whome," and "What Riment." With the exception of James Frye and Philip Barker, both of Andover, who joined a company in Colonel Osgood's command, they were all enlisted in the regiment of Col. William Lawrence, of Groton. The date of enlistment extended over a period from February 14 to April 9, 1760. "Barzzealer" [Barzillai] Lew, son of Primus, was a negro, and belonged to a well-known colored family of that day, somewhat noted for their musical attainments. In early times the sturdy yeomanry of Massachusetts often stood in the ranks shoulder to shoulder with the black soldier; and it was never thought that this juxtaposition lowered their dignity, nor did

it create a ripple in the mind of any man. It will be noticed that, in the case of minors, the names of parents or guardians are also given. The surnames Kemp and Kendall are written "Kimp" and "Kindall," showing how the words were then generally pronounced.

The "Return" is found on two separate sheets, and the indorsement on each sheet by the mustering-officers is also given.

*A Return of Men Inlisted for his Majesty's Service for the Totall
Reduction of Cannada 1760.*

Men's Names	Where born	Where Resided	Age	Names of Fathers of son under age and Masters of Servants
Silous Kimp	Groton	Groton	18	Hezekiah Kimp
Sampson Blood	D ^o	D ^o	27	
Abijah Parker	D ^o	D ^o	17	the Scelectmen
Lemuel Ames	D ^o	D ^o	17	William Lawrance
Zachreah Parker	D ^o	D ^o	21	
John Gragg	D ^o	D ^o	19	Jacob Gragg
Aaron Blood	D ^o	D ^o	21	
Joseph Page	D ^o	D ^o	20	Joseph Page
John Boyden	D ^o	D ^o	25	
Stephen Pirce	D ^o	D ^o	21	
James Fisk	D ^o	D ^o	22	
Joseph Gillson	D ^o	D ^o	21	
William Parker	D ^o	D ^o	19	William Parker
Nathaniel Green	D ^o	D ^o	18	William Green
Hezekiah Kimp	D ^o	D ^o	22	
Robert Blood	Pepperall	Pepperall	25	
John Trowbridge	Groton	Groton	21	
John Erwin Ju ^r	D ^o	D ^o	21	
John Erwin	D ^o	D ^o	42	
Andrew McFarland	D ^o	D ^o	18	Margrat McFarland
Abel Kimp	D ^o	D ^o	17	Hezekiah Kimp
Oliver Hartwill	D ^o	D ^o	20	Scelectmen
Jon ^s Boyden	D ^o	D ^o	17	Josiah Boyden
Josiah Blood	D ^o	Pepperall	18	John Shattuck
Abijah Warren	Weston	Groton	22	
William Hubart	D ^o	Pepperall	18	Sheb ^l Hubart
Ebenezer Nutting	Groton	Groton	17	Tho. Farrington
James Frye	Andover	Andover	20	Co ^l James Frye
Philip Barker	Dover	D ^o	19	Isaac Blunt
Isaac Nutting	Groton	Groton	21	
William Lasley	D ^o	D ^o	18	Robert Parker
Jonathan Holden	D ^o	D ^o	24	
Ruben Woods	D ^o	D ^o	18	Ruben Woods

MIDDLESEX s^r. March 6th 1760 I Certifye that Twenty one of the first within Named on the other Side of this with Roll was Mustred by me this Day and that they ware Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of there Names and that ware Duley attested before me

W^m WILLIAM LAWRENCE { *Col^l & Commissary of Musters*
and Justice of the Peace

MIDDLESEX s^r. March 10th 1760 I Certifye that Oliver Hartwill Jonathan Boyden Josiah Blood Named on the other Side of the within Roll was Mustred by me this Tenth Day of March and Abijah Warren within Named was Mustred on March the Ninth and they ware all Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of thiere Names and was attested by James Prescott Esq^r.

Jⁿ JOHN BULKLEY L^t. *Col^l & Commissary of Musters*

MIDDLESEX s^r. April 9th 1760 I Certifye that William Hubart Named on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustred by me on the fifth Day of April and Ebenezer Nutting Named on this Roll was Mustred by me on April the Ninth and they ware Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of their Name on the with Roll and that they ware Duley attested before me

W^m WILLIAM LAWRENCE { *Col^l & Commissary of Musters*
and Justice of the Peace

ESSEX s^r. Andover March 3rd 1760 I Certifye that James Frye and Philip Barker Named on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustred by me this Day and that they ware Inlisted at the Time Set agianst Each of thire Names and was Duley attested be John Osgood Esq^r and Sam^l Philips Esq^r.

Jⁿ JOHN OSGOOD *Col^l and Commiseroy of Musters*

MIDDLESEX s^r. March 25th 1760 I Certifye that Isaac Nutting William Lasley Jonathan Holden and Ruben Woods Named on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustered by me this Day and that they ware Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of there Names and that they all Duley attested before James Prescott Esq^r.

Jⁿ JOHN BULKLEY L^t. *Col^l & Commissary of Musters*

*A Return of Men Inlisted for his Majesty's Service for the Total
Reduction of Canada 1760*

Men's Names	Where born	Where Resedant	Age	Names of Fathers of son under age and Mastrs of Servants
William Brown	Ireland	Stow	31	
Obidiah Perry	Weston	Groton	35	
Josiah Stevens	Townshend	D ^o	18	Martha Stevens
David Sartill	Groton	D ^o	33	
Moses Keazer	Haverall	Groton	45	
John Archerbill	Groton	D ^o	18	John Archerble
William Pirce	D ^o	D ^o	17	Elijah Rockwood
Joseph Parker	D ^o	D ^o	16	Ephream Ware
Jonas Nutting	D ^o	D ^o	16	Scelectmen
Joshua Pirce	Weston	D ^o	18	Jonas Stone
Ben ^{ts} Willson	Groton	Townshend	19	Ben ^{ts} Wilson
Nathan Harrington	Lexenton	Shirley	19	Richard Harrington
John Farnsworth	N ^o 4	Groton	18	David Farnsworth
William Farwill	Groton	D ^o	17	Olevar Farwill
Richard Sartill	D ^o	D ^o	22	
William Stevens	Stow	Stow	29	
Jabez Kindall	Groton	Pepperall	18	Jabez Kindel
Ephream Klmp	D ^o	Groton	18	Sam ^l Kimp
Ebn ^l Woods	D ^o	Pepprall	31	
Josiah Fish	D ^o	D ^o	26	
Oliver Shead	D ^o	D ^o	21	
William Shead	D ^o	D ^o	22	
William Farnsworth	D ^o	D ^o	22	
Jonathan Williams	Peprall	D ^o	22	
Lemuel Patt	Townshend	D ^o	18	John Patt
John Avery	D ^o	D ^o	17	Edmand Bancroft
Barzzealer Lew	Groton	D ^o	18	Primous Lew
Oliver Elliott	D ^o	D ^o	24	
Henery Willord	Lancaster	D ^o	30	
Solomon Parker	Suresbury	Groton	17	Simon Parker
Peter Gillson	Groton	D ^o	27	
Abner Turner	Lancaster	D ^o	16	Eliab Turner
James Lasley	Groton	Pepperall	25	
Ben ^{ts} Rolf	D ^o	D ^o	18	Ben ^{ts} Rolf
Stephen Gates	Canterbuary	Littleton	17	Stephen Gates

MIDDLESX s^d March 10th 1760 I Certifye that the Sixteen first Born on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustered by me this Day and that they were Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of there Names and that they were Duley attested before James Prescott Esq^r

¶ JOHN BULKLEY Lt Col & Commissary of Musters

MIDDLESEX s^r. March 15th 1760 I Certifye that William Stevens Jabez Kindel and Ephream Kimp Named on the other Side of this Roll was Mustered by me this Day and that they ware Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of Names, and that they ware Duley attested before James Prescott Esq^r

¶ JOHN BULKLEY L^t Co^t and Commissary of Musters

MIDDLESEX s^r. March 10th 1760 I Certifye that Eben^r Woods Josiah Fish Oliver Shead William Shead William Farnsworth Jonathan Williams Lemuel Patt John Avery Barzzela Lew Named on the other Side of this Roll was Mustred by me this Tenth Day of March and Oliver Eliott was Mustred on the Eigteenth Day of Said March and Henery Willord was Mustred on March 29th they all are Born on the other Side of this Roll and was Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of there Names and that ware attested by James Prescott Esq^r

¶ JOHN BULKLEY L^t Co^t and Commissary of Musters

MIDDLESEX s^r. April 10th [1760] I Certifye that Solomon Parker Named on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustred on April the Ninth and Peter Gillson and Abner Turner was Mustred on the Tenth Instant they are all borne on the other Side of this within Roll and was Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of there Names in Said Roll as have been Duley attested

¶ WILLIAM LAWRENCE { Co^t & Commiseray of Musters
and Justice of Peace

MIDDESSEX ss March 6th 1760 I Certifye that Benj^t Rolf and James Lasley Named on the other Side of this within Roll was Mustered by Me this Day and that they ware Inlisted at the Time Set against Each of their Names on the Roll afore Said and has been Duley attested

WILLIAM LAWRENCE Co^t & Commissary of Muster
and Justice of the Peace

I wish also to present a "List" of men that were ordered out in July, 1748, under the command of Capt. Samuel Tarbell, to scout for Indians in the neighborhood of Groton. At that time there was an alarm among the inhabitants of the town, caused by the appearance of the Indians at Lunenburg, and another Groton company also went out for the same purpose under Capt. Thomas Tarbell, a brother of Samuel; but they did not find the enemy. For a list of Thomas's company, see "Groton during the Indian Wars" (pages 154, 155).

A List of The Names of the men that ware ordered oute on a Scoute after the Enemy with me the Subscriber, by Major Lawrence — on y^e. 28th Day of July last Round Part of Townshend and Luenburg — &c

Jonathan Bancroft	3 days	Jonathan Crese	2 days
Jonathan Farewell	3 days	Eleazer Tarbell	3 days
Nathan fish	3 days	Nathanil Smith	3 days
Ebenezer Sprague	3 days	Hezekiah Patterson	3 days
Caleb Holdin	3 days	Benjamin Davis	2 days
Amos Holdin	3 days	Samuel Nickols	2 days
Jacob Ames	2 days	Jonathan Sawtell	3 days
Jonathan Nutting	3 days	Oliver Farnsworth	3 days
Jonathan Page Ju ^r	3 days	Moses Wentworth	3 days
Jonathan Bennet	3 days	John Sawtell	3 days
Aaron Farnsworth	3 days	Scripture frost	2 days
Thomas Laughton	2 days	Jonathan Smith	3 days
Elisha Rockwood	2 days	Simeon Green	3 days
Joshua Tod	2 days	Zechariah Longley	3 days

38 38

SAM^{LL} TARBELL Capt 3

@ 2/ 7 day 7 : 18.0 79 days

11 w : 2 d

MIDD^s ss December 19th 1748

then the aboue named Cap^t Samuel Tarbell appeared and made oth that the aboue is a Just and true List of the men and time as aboue mentioned before me

WILLIAM LAWRENCE Justice of Peace

76 @ 2/6 9 : 10 0
Cap^t Tarbell 3 days 9 6

9 19 6 9.19.6

Eleazer Tarbell & James Shattuck omitted in a } 1.15 0
former Roll Each 17/6

£ 11 : 14 : 6

Ex[aminid]

Alow'd by the Comd^r J OSBORNE J J CHANDLER

this may Certifie whome it may Consarn that whareas the Inden Enemy in July Last Came to Lunenburg in the County of Worcester and the People there and in the neighbouring towns being there by Putt in to

Grate Destress they haueing haueing [*sic*] but a fue soulders and maney of the Inhabitance Dayly Drawing of & as Co^{ll} Willard had Left this affair of my town with me I ordered the Capt within mentioned and men to Purform a scout as within mentioned

WILLIAM LAWRENCE

GROTON December 19th 1748:

[Indorsed "Cap^t Tarbell Scout July 1748

Warr^t advis'd Jan^y 3. 1748"]

During this alarm the Indians made an attack on the house of John Fitch, then situated in that part of Lunenburg afterward called Fitchburg, but by a later act of incorporation included within the limits of Ashby, when they burned his dwelling, and carried him and his family into captivity, where they remained one year. Mr. Fitch was a resident of Fitchburg when it was incorporated, and the new town took its name from him. In Torrey's History of Fitchburg (page 46), the date of the assault is given wrong, as is shown by the following extract from "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," July 14, 1748:—

Last Tuesday was sev'night [July 5] about 30 or 40 of the Enemy, came upon a garrison'd House at the Out-skirts of Lunenburgh, and two Soldiers posted there were both kill'd near the Garrison, one being knock'd on the Head, the other shot thro' the Body, as he was endeavouring to escape. The Master of the House, Mr. John Fitch, 'tis tho't was siez'd by them in the Field, as he was spreading Hay, and his Wife as she was bringing Water from a Spring, about 20 Rods Distance, a Pail and her Bonnet being found near the Path: The House they set on Fire and burnt it to the Ground, and the Body of of [*sic*] one of the slain Soldiers lay so near thereto, that the Head was burnt from the Shoulders. The neighbouring Towns being soon alarm'd, above 40 Men muster'd and got upon the Spot before Sundown, but the Enemy had withdrawn; however they kept a strict Watch and Guard all Night, and just about the Dawn of the next Day they heard a Noise among the Bushes, which they suppos'd to be some of the Enemy that were left as Spies, who perceiving the Number that came 'against them, skulk'd away without being discover'd: Mr. Fitch, his Wife and 5 Children being missing, 'tis concluded they were taken Prisoners by the Enemy. The Bodies of the two Soldiers were found and buried.

Last Thursday a Man at Lunenbourg, was way-laid and shot at by some Indians, as was also another at Township No. 2 [Westminster]. but both happily escap'd.

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN said that within a few years there had come to light much interesting and some historically important information respecting a group of young men who followed the British flag to Boston in the summer of 1774, in the attempt by the mother country to reduce the colonies to imperial subjection.

The first was a series of letters written from Boston or New York, in 1774-1776, by Capt. W. Glanville Evelyn, a copy of which is in the library. Captain Evelyn, of the same family as the author of "Sylva," was in the famous Fourth Regiment, "The King's Own," and participated in the affairs at Lexington and Bunker Hill. He was mortally wounded in the skirmish at Throg's Neck, Oct. 18, 1776, and died November 6. Captain Cochrane was one of the executors of his will.

Of similar interest was a collection of original letters of Lord Percy written about the same time, and now in the Boston Public Library.

But the most valuable was a memorial of his military career prepared by Capt. Charles Cochrane, who was with the main army from its arrival at Boston, in 1774, or with Clinton or Cornwallis in their Southern campaigns, till his death at Yorktown, Oct. 17, 1781.

Captain Cochrane was of the Scottish family of that name, in which was the Earldom of Dundonald, whose personal histories filled some space in the public eye in the fifty years included in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was the next younger brother of Archibald, the ninth Earl of Dundonald, who after some service in the army and navy succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, in 1778, and thereafter gave his attention to scientific pursuits, in which he made some discoveries more profitable to his country than to himself, and died in poverty, July 1, 1831.

Captain Cochrane's youngest brother, Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis, K. C. B., Admiral of the Blue in 1819, gained great distinction with Rodney in the West Indies, and with Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Allen in Egypt in 1801. He was unpleasantly known in America as commander of the British fleet about Chesapeake Bay in the War of 1812, and he assisted the land forces in the attack on New Orleans in 1815.

Other members of the family became known in various fields

of activity, but none more so than Captain Cochrane's nephew, Thomas, Lord Cochrane, the tenth Earl of Dundonald, whose long and varied career in Europe and in South America needs no recital here.

Hon. Charles Cochrane, whose memorial will be presently laid before the Society, was born Jan. 23, 1749. He was an ensign in the Twenty-fifth Regiment for six years; and for the same time, from 1768, a lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment of Foot. On April 17, 1774, he embarked for Boston as the youngest captain in "The King's Own," — Captain Evelyn, above mentioned, being the next older. It was a detachment of this regiment that, on the request of the loyalists of Plymouth County, was sent to Marshfield, Jan. 23, 1775, to protect the members of the "Loyal Association," in the formation of which Timothy Ruggles took a prominent part. The detachment was recalled to Boston soon after the hostilities at Lexington. Captain Cochrane's services between 1774 and his death in October, 1781, are fully set forth in the account which he gives of them in the following memorial.

Captain Cochrane's memorial, which is without date, address, signature, or heading, appears to be an office copy of the original made for the head of the department to which the subject of it belonged, and in this case presumably, Lord George Germaine.

In the beginning of 1774 Capt. Cochrane purchased a company, and went abroad to America as Captain in the 4th Regiment.

He was employed by Lord Percy as one of the officers he sent privately the evening before the affair of Lexington upon a very trying service, and during the following day Captain Cochrane had much to do in assisting his father in law Major Pitcairn, who was after killed in the action of Bunker's Hill.

Captain Cochrane was then appointed to the Grenadier Company upon Capt. West being wounded and going to England.¹

On the 29th Aug^r 1776, having the oldest company of Grenadiers in the army and consequently being on the right of that corps, he was so situated as to endeavour to take an active part. His company went particularly close to the rebel lines, and were with difficulty restrained from being in them.²

¹ He was wounded at Bunker Hill, June 17.

² Captain Evelyn's account of this affair is as follows: "The next day, a few companies of Light Infantry were prompted to attack a party of the rebels, and

Until the 28th Sep^r, the affair of White Plains, he continued to serve in the Grenadiers. Capt. West returning about that time from England, and Capt. Evelyn of the Light Infantry being killed, he resigned the Grenadiers to their former captain, and took the command of the vacant Light Company, which he had the honor to command from that time until the embarkation of the 4th Regiment for the West Indies in 1778.

His company was present on every service, and the active part they ever took in the moment of action is known to his superior officers and coetemporaries.

After many losses during the winter's duty at Brunswick in 1778 his company in the action at Brandywine lost an officer and 11 men in forcing that part of the rebel line where their five field pieces were.

In the action of Germantown he lost an officer and 5 men; during this day being joined by the 42^d Light Company and half of the 17th, he had the fortune to meet the 9th Virginia Regiment which had penetrated through the British line, and were pillaging the wigwams of the 4th & 42^d Light Companies when they were attacked and totally destroyed by the above two companies and a half.¹

This campaign his company had 2 officers & 22 men killed or wounded.

At Philadelphia in 1778, having been six years an ensign, six a lieutenant, and near five a captain,

He memorialled Sir William Howe to be permitted to purchase (if no senior captain in the regiment would) the majority of the 4th Regiment, expected soon to be vacant by the intended promotion of Major Balfour to the Lieut. Colonelcy of the 23^d Regim^t

Captain Cochrane had not the happiness to be permitted, and Sir James Murray rather, — an older captain, but not near so long in the service, — was put over his head as Major into the 4th Regiment.

Hurt by his want of success or interest to effectuate his preferment, and desirous to obtain it in any way, he soon after consented to exchange his company for a lieutenantcy in the 1st Guards, an exchange which has been attended with much expence to him, and was permitted to serve in America as Major of the British Legion which Sir Henry Clinton had about that time honoured him with.

In this corps he has continued to serve ever since, particularly inspecting the infantry of it.

with more ardour than discretion, pushed them to their very lines, where they were supported by their cannon." — *Letters*, p. 85.

¹ "The Americans attacked this post on the morning of the 4th October, and drove in the piquets of the right wing. The Fourth were moved forward to support the light infantry, and the assault was sustained with such determined bravery, that the enemy could make no impression at this point of attack." — *Historical Record of the Fourth Regiment*, p. 70.

He was the first who introduced into the army the species of service of mounted light infantry, a kind of corps theretofore unknown, though the subsequent advantages have been found from much experience to answer the fullest expectations.

The cavalry and infantry of the Legion has ever moved together, and have gone with confidence any distance from the main army when mutually supporting one another.

Zealous for the honor of the corps and to promote the service, the infantry have cheerfully often rode eighty miles in twenty four hours without either bridle or saddle, and only a blanket and piece of rope substituted as bridle, assisting their cavalry to surprize and beat the enemy.

With confidence Capt. Cochrane may say that no cavalry can or has acted in America until the co-operation of mounted infantry was introduced with them, and that upon every occasion the infantry of the Legion have bore an ample share of either fatigue or honor in all actions since the formation of the corps, which the following extracts from public orders and instances of their conduct will testify.

CHARLES TOWN, 12th May, 1780.

Copy of Sir Henry Clinton's thanks to the army, and particularly to Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton and the corps of cavalry.

And to the infantry of the Legion for their soldierlike conduct and gallantry which gives them such brilliant advantage over the enemy.

CAMPDEN, June 1st

Orders. Lord Cornwallis desires that Lieut^t Colonel Tarleton, Major Cochrane, and the officers and soldiers of the Legion and detachment serving with them, will accept of his warmest acknowledgments for the splendid services they have rendered their country by the gallant action of the 29th of May.

The rapidity of their march and the vigour of their attack will ever reflect the highest honour on them, the brilliant success will be a memorable proof of the undaunted courage of the soldiers, and the distinguished abilities of the officers by whom they were commanded.¹

In February, 1779, the infantry had the pleasure to execute Sir William Erskine's orders with success in protecting some government vessells at Sagg Harbour when attacked by a formidable rebel fleet, and even took from them a new continental brig of sixteen six pounders, which is now a sloop of war in his Majesty's service.

¹ Captain Cochrane's statement is confirmed by General Greene in a letter to General Steuben, Feb. 15, 1781: "Cornwallis's movements are so rapid, that few or no militia join us. He marches from 20 to 30 miles in a day; and is organized to move with the same facility as a light infantry corps. Should he continue to push us, we must be finally ruined without reinforcements."—GORDON, vol. iv. p. 46.

In the surprize of the rebel Dragoons at Monk's Corner this campaign, by dismounting the infantry when in the village, we were enabled to attack the rebels when they defended their houses at night, and pursue those who attempted to escape.

Major Vernier of the rebel Legion and many others suffered from this sort of service.

During the blockade of Charlestown a number of sloops and schooners having been taken on the Wardoo River by the Legion infantry, with the approbation of the Commander in Chief, they fitted these vessels up with 18 pounders and manned them, and were the means of completing the difficulties thrown in the way of the rebels escaping by Cooper or Wardoo Rivers.

In the action of Lenew's Ferry the 6th of May, where Lieut. Colonel Tarleton (as he has ever done) gained much honorable advantage over the rebels, the mounted infantry were up, and pursued the rebel Dragoons into the swamp, destroying many of them in it, and the Santee River.

After the surrender of Charlestown a large body of rebels were endeavouring to retire by the back parts of the Province, and being far ahead of Lord Cornwallis's corps, his Lordship the 27th of May detached Lieut. Colonel Tarleton & Major Cochrane with the cavalry and infantry of the Legion with directions to harrass and impede their retreat as much as possible.

The infantry, though not half mounted, then got all to Campden in two days, which is 60 miles, and it being necessary to push the rebels without loss of time, Colonel Beaufort having got three days march a head, the whole corps moved at 2 o'clock the following morning, though two companies were not then compleated with horses, they were however mounted before they marched 20 miles, and except the guard left with their 3 pounders the infantry of the Legion were fortunately up at the moment of attacking the rebels at Waxaw.

Their conduct on this occasion, and the part they contributed towards the success of the day was as much as men could do.

The advantages resulting from having infantry up will appear from the opinions and conduct of the rebel officers at the commencement of this action.

While Capt. Cochrane was dismounting and forming the infantry opposite the rebel centre, he heard a rebel officer upon the right call to his men, —

"Be cool and take care what they were about, that it was only a few light horse, and they would give a good account of them."

He was answered by another officer upon the left: —

"He was mistaken, he was mistaken; do you see here, there is infantry."

On this occasion the infantry never fired a shot, but used their bayonets, and had two valuable officers killed.

By Capt. Ross, Lord Cornwallis's aid de camp, he is informed, on every occasion since Capt. Cochrane quitted them they have behaved with equal spirit.

The very considerable loss they have sustained this campaign in officers will testify the particular share they have had in every enterprize, having from the 29th of May had 1 capt. 3 lieut^s killed & 2 lieut^s wounded, making near half the loss of the whole army employed there.

After the action at Waxaw the campaign not being expected to commence again before the month of October or November, as Capt. Cochrane had not been in England for near seven years and having a family there to attend to, he thought the then respite a favorable opportunity to visit them, intending to return to America as soon as he could settle his private affairs, which it became necessary for him to attend to, having his father in law Major Pitcairn killed in America, and his father Lord Dundonald dead at home since his serving in that country.

He therefore made application to Lord Cornwallis at Campden for his permission to go to England, and was honored with the annexed testimony of his Lordships approbation.

CAMPDEN, June 10th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I cannot let you go from hence without expressing the very sincere regret I feel at your leaving my corps, and assuring you that on any future occasion I shall be happy in serving with so able and spirited an officer. I heartily wish you a prosperous voyage, and a happy meeting with your family, and am with great regard,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

CORNWALLIS.

HONBLE MAJOR COCHRANE.

Capt. Cochrane repaired to New York, where he was further favored with the Commander in Chief's permission and confidence, and was entrusted with his Excellency's dispatches for Government with which he was endeavouring to get to England in a small schooner of his own, when attacked at sea the 16th of August by three rebel privateers; he only then saved himself by securing the men sent to board his schooner and sinking their boats, after delivering the prisoners he had taken at New York; in proceeding up the Sound he was again attacked by two rebel privateers from New England shore, and after a resistance of near 3 hours within sight of a British man of war and not more than a league from her, was obliged to abandon his schooner and swim a shore to save his dispatches, leaving every other thing.

Capt. Cochrane has been now upwards of eighteen years in the army, has hardly ever been absent from his regiment or service during that time.

He has purchased every commission, and what he at present holds has been attended with particular expense to him.

Almost every cotemporary has acquired the rank of lieutenant colonel before him, the only rank which gives an officer a chance of command and an opportunity of exerting himself when fit for service.

He humbly hopes your Lordship will be pleased to take his services and case into consideration and grant him the honor of your Lordship's countenance in obtaining advancement in his profession.

Proposals by the Honorable Captain Cochrane for raising a new Corps in America.

Captain Cochrane has been in the army upwards of eighteen years, during which time he has hardly ever been absent from his duty or service, and has acted for some years past as Major of the British Legion in America.

Before his departure from New York, Sir Henry Clinton was pleased to express a desire of serving Captain Cochrane. He therefore solicited his Excellency's countenance to his raising a new corps or second battalion to the British Legion.

Sir Henry Clinton was pleased to signify his approbation, and to say, that if it hereafter takes place he wishes to annex to whatever corps Captain Cochrane raises a body of men to the number of 300^d who shall be ready to man the flat boats for transporting the army, the armed vessels for covering their landing or guarding the inland navigation and carry intelligence from one Province to another.

His Excellency was pleased to refer Captain Cochrane to General Dalrymple, who would digest such a proposal for the good of the service.

The following advantages might be expected to attend such an establishment.

It will bring into our service a number of maritime and other people who have heretofore been averse to take the ostensible part of fighting with us, yet will be ready to contribute their service in this less conspicuous line.

If attention is given to withdraw from the enemy their artificers of every denomination and provide for them in this corps, it will act in a double proportion in our favor by getting what we deprive them of.

Many good consequences may be expected from such encouragement, and by arranging them according to their abilities or zeal they will render essential service to Government on very reasonable terms. If employed when not on other duties in building boats and armed vessels for the use of the service, and manning those vessels with the dependants of the corps whose inclinations and turn lead them to

commence actively for us, we may induce many who as yet have kept back from acting for us, to begin by degrees and adopt more active sentiments, and latterly afford the fullest exertions in their power.

Such an establishment will point out a rendezvous to all unemployed adherents who do not contribute their services in the field; numbers must come to it for employment, and the produce of their labour (which will not cost Government the third of the present expence) will soon raise a powerful fleet of cruizers which will benefit those employed in them, distress our enemies, and protect our own trade.

Such 300 men to be enlisted and disciplined upon the same footing as the other part of the corps are, with this difference that when employed in working they shall receive double subsistence.

The knowledge Captain Cochrane has of the people and country, the attention he has paid to study those who compose the army and turn them to the best advantage for the service, and his own attachment for the possession induce him to hope, if intrusted with the conducting this new appointment, either according to the above idea or on any similar one which it may please Government to adopt.

That if honored with the command and rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army he will execute it to the advantage of Government and his own credit.

THE following Proposals are made of increasing the strength of the British Legion now in America with very little expence to Government. If the corps is put on the British Establishment, and the officers in it admitted to reap the same honor and advantage from their profession as the new levies at home have.

The present establishment of the Legion is 1 Lieut Colonel and 2 Majors, with 5 Troops of Cavalry, and 6 Companys of Infantry.

It is proposed to form now 6 Troops of Cavalry, and 8 Companys of Infantry, with 1 Lieut Colonel and 1 Major to the Cavalry and 1 Lieut Colonel and 1 Major to the Infantry. — To be under the command of Lieut Colonel Tarleton or Senior Officer.

Strength of the Legion to be

	Lieut Col.	Major	Captain	Lieutenant	Cornet or Ensign	Surgeon	Major	Adjutant	Qr. Master	Serjeants	Corporals	Drum or Trump.	Private Rank and File
Cavalry	1	1	6	6	6	1	1	1	1	18	18	12	438
Infantry	1	1	8	8	8	1	1	1	1	24	24	16	562
	2	2	14	14	14	2	2	2	2	42	42	28	1000

If Government are pleased to adopt this establishment for the Corps, The friends of Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton and Major Cochrane will immediately raise a body of men for the purpose of recruiting and strengthening the British Legion in America.

They shall be ready to join the Corps as soon as the new appointments preparing for them can be got ready to send out to America.

They [the] high estimation the services of the Legion have placed them in, with the exertions of Lieut-Colonel Tarleton's and Major Cochrane's friends within the circle of their influence, induce them to offer to raise a body of 300¹ men who shall immediately join the Legion in America.

If they are permitted to get the rank of Lieut-Colonel in the Army—and to the Legion may be annexed that body of men for manning the boats, vessels, &c., as proposed by Major Cochrane, who will undertake the conduction of it.

The Memorial is without date, but must have been written later than August 16, 1780; but whether written in England or in America, or who his Lordship was to whom it was addressed, does not appear. Captain Cochrane had obtained leave of absence to visit England; and it is quite probable that he did so in 1780–81, and that on his return he brought his wife with him to New York.

In October, 1781, Captain Cochrane was sent with despatches from Sir Henry Clinton, then in New York, to Lord Cornwallis, then besieged at Yorktown. He went in a vessel to the Capes, where he got into an open boat, in which he passed undiscovered through the middle of the French fleet, and arrived at Yorktown 10th October. Lord Cornwallis, in testimony of his approbation of that intrepid conduct, appointed Major Cochrane to act as one of his aides-de-camp, October 16; but the next day his head was taken off by a cannon-ball, the day before the surrender, Oct. 18, 1781, in the thirty-third year of his age.

A different account says:—

“Another marked casualty of the siege was the death of Major Cochrane, who arrived at Yorktown on the 10th of October, with despatches from Clinton to Cornwallis. Two days after, in company with the British General, he went to the lines, and fired one of the guns himself; but as he looked over the parapet to see its effect in *ricochet*, a ball from the American works carried away his head, narrowly missing Cornwallis, who was standing by his side.”¹

¹ Johnston's The Yorktown Campaign, 1781, p. 138.

An extract from a letter of Captain Mure to Andrew Stuart, dated Yorktown, Oct. 21, 1781, says:—

"I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that your nephew, Major Cochrane, suffered among those killed. He had his head carried off by a cannon-shot when standing close to my Lord Cornwallis. He came two [seven] days before, in a most spirited manner, with despatches from the Commander-in-Chief, in a small boat, and got through the French fleet; he is much lamented as a most gallant officer. I pity poor Mrs. Cochrane, who, I hear, is at New York."¹

Major Cochrane was the only field officer of the British army who was killed at Yorktown.

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT called attention to the debates in the House of Commons after the overthrow of the Coalition Ministry, in 1783, as showing the practice at that time with regard to the custody of public documents, about which there had been some discussion at a previous meeting of the Society, and referred particularly to the department of the Paymaster of the Forces. The accounts were considered as belonging to the officer who made them, and were retained by his executors.

Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE spoke of an engraved portrait of Increase Mather by Joseph Emmes, published in 1701, which had recently come into his possession, and which shows a different state of the plate from the copy in the Prince Library. His remarks elicited brief observations by Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL and Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr.

Mr. W. S. APPLETON called attention to the sale among the Leffingwell autographs of a paper-money bill of the same issue as the bill presented by Mr. Nourse at the April meeting. So rare is this bill, and so great was the competition for it, that it is said to have brought \$136 at the auction sale.

Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., was elected a Resident Member, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Devens.

The Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM presented the memoir of President James Walker which he had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

¹ Mahon's History of England, vol. vii. appendix xxxviii.

MEMOIR
OF
REV. JAMES WALKER, D.D., LL.D.

BY OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM.

JAMES WALKER was born, August 16, 1794, in Burlington, Massachusetts, — a high, breezy village, with delightful surroundings. It was then a part of Woburn, which originally belonged to Charlestown.

His father was John Walker, who was commissioned as a major-general in 1798 by President John Adams, and commanded our forces at Oxford, when hostilities were apprehended from the French. The mother was Lucy Johnson, a descendant from Capt. Edward Johnson, who was a surveyor, military leader, chronicler, and poet laureate of the colony, and the author of the "Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England." The family was distinguished. Judge Walker, of Ohio, and Sears Cook Walker, the mathematician and astronomer, belonged to it. An uncle, Timothy Walker, was a prominent member of the "Second Church" in Charlestown. There was another Timothy Walker, who was minister of the new settlement in the wilderness at Penacook, now Concord, New Hampshire, and whose daughter was the first wife of Count Rumford. His ancestors came early from old England, in the first company of settlers. They were of the substantial and sturdy yeoman stock. There were two sons, the only children of John Walker. One of them, an elder brother John, was unfortunate, and died leaving no mark. James was a studious boy, very fond of his books, and exceedingly reluctant to be taken from them to perform any domestic service. By great efforts on his part and on the part of his father, he was sent to Groton, a pleasant town in Middlesex

County, Massachusetts, about thirteen miles from Lowell. The academy there, afterward known as the Lawrence Academy, in commemoration of William and Amos Lawrence, its most munificent patrons, was incorporated in 1793, a year before James Walker was born. He remained there, with occasional absences, from the autumn of 1807 to that of 1810. Nothing is known of his school life; but in 1810 he entered Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1814, along with William H. Prescott, Pliny Merrick, Elijah Paine, Alvan Lamson, Andrew Bigelow, and F. W. P. Greenwood.

He did not distinguish himself early in college, partly owing, perhaps, to a defective preparation, but more, I am inclined to think, to his scholarship and his devotion to severe studies. He never sought distinction or fame, and was never fond of display; but substantial learning was his passion. That he was a hard-working student is evident from a paper on "Occultation," which exists in manuscript in the library of Harvard College, and is dated Oct. 19, 1813, — an honor which was given to six only of the other members of his class; namely, Andrew Bigelow, Gamaliel Bradford, S. D. Bradford, B. A. Gould, Alvan Lamson, and Francis Dallas Quash. At the close of his senior year the second English oration was assigned to him. After leaving Cambridge, he spent a year as an assistant teacher at Phillips Academy in Exeter, and then returned to enter the Divinity School.

This institution was not fully organized when he was graduated in 1817; but in 1811 a beginning was made by the bequest of the Hon. Samuel Dexter, of Mendon, Massachusetts, a gentleman who had retired early from public life and devoted himself to his favorite pursuit, the study of theology; "resting," as his biographer says, "his own hope of future existence on the divine origin of the Christian religion, and believing that many of the difficulties which lead to deism and infidelity would vanish were the passages objected to critically explained, he established his lectureship for that most useful branch of learning, a critical knowledge of the Holy Scripture." Henry Ware, who had been elected to the Hollis professorship in the College in 1805, then began a course of exercises with the resident students in divinity, in which he was aided by President Kirkland, who lectured on Dogmatic Theology. Professor Willard taught Hebrew. Mr. Andrews Norton, as Dexter

Lecturer in 1813, lectured on Sacred Literature. Professor Frisbie, appointed Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in 1817, lectured on Ethics. Most of these men had duties in the College, and voluntarily undertook to direct the studies of the theological students. Between 1811 and 1818 many who were afterward distinguished in the various walks of life, like Joseph Allen, Edward Everett, Samuel A. Eliot, Samuel Gilman, Henry Ware, Jr., Alvan Lamson, James Walker, Convers Francis, Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, and John Pierpont, appeared. The first to lecture on this foundation was Joseph S. Buckminster, who was succeeded by William Ellery Channing in 1812. Mr. Norton came after him in 1813. When the Association of the Alumni of the Divinity School was formed, in 1839, James Walker became its first president. The organization of the Divinity School as a distinctive part of Harvard College was made in 1817, at the urgent instance of President Kirkland; and the first annual visitation at which dissertations are said to have been delivered was on December 17 of that year, and one of these dissertations is said to have been read by James Walker. At a meeting of the Boston Association held at the house of Dr. Channing, on May 5, 1817, young Walker was licensed to preach. It is a curious circumstance that Mr. Thomas Prentiss—the first minister of the Charlestown society, and the immediate predecessor of Mr. Walker—joined the association at the same time. Early in 1818 Mr. Walker, having declined a call to Lexington, received one to Charlestown. There he remained as minister nearly twenty-two years, until Feb. 18, 1839, when he resigned, being called to Cambridge, as Alford Professor of Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, in Harvard College. He entered on the duties of his professorship in the autumn of 1839, and left them in February, 1853, being made President of the College. He resigned the latter office in January, 1860, when he was sixty-six years old, in spite of the imploring appeals of the friends of the College, who offered to help him with the harder duties if he would stay. After that he devoted his time to philosophy and literature, writing and lecturing and preaching. His eightieth birthday was celebrated by such of his old parishioners as were living, and by many friends. There were speeches, poems, and a handsome gift of silver. The proceedings were commemorated

in a pamphlet, privately printed and distributed among those who took part in the gift.

We must consider Dr. Walker, therefore, under three aspects, — as Minister, as Professor, and as President. Previous to 1815 there had been amity among the Congregational churches of New England. There was earnest investigation, great difference of opinion, rather vehement debate; but ministers who were directly opposed to one another in theology were good friends, and lived together as brethren. Their discussions usually closed with prayer, and often an exchange of pulpits for the following Sunday was agreed upon without any regard to divergence in speculative views. But about 1815 a departure from the old rule began. The discussion grew into dispute, and the debate ripened into controversy.

The "friends of religion" were publicly called upon to "come out," and refuse ecclesiastical intercourse with professors of the liberal faith. Thus there was opened a wide breach between the Trinitarians and the Unitarians, which was deepened and widened by words on both sides. The First Church in Charlestown was then under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Morse, one of the foremost leaders and most aggressive disputants in the Orthodox ranks. Dr. Morse did all he could, by writing and speaking, to cast discredit on the leaders of the liberal movement, and threw out abusive words against men perfectly honest in their methods and irreproachable in their lives. In his own parish the Unitarians were, of course, in number the smaller party; but in weight of character they were the larger, for the best elements of respectability, culture, and moral influence were with them. The Second Church grew out of this dispute, and was a secession from the First Church. The separation, however, was peaceful. Not a step was taken by the dissentients which was not in entire consistency with respect and friendship toward the First Church. The good temper on the part of those who withdrew was in a large measure the cause of this; but another reason may have been powerful, as James Walker said in his parting sermon: —

"The peace with England, which took place about the same time (1815), had something to do with the gathering of this church. That event, it will be recollected, had the effect of producing a general amnesty in regard to political differences; so that nothing was left of the

estrangement, which originated in political causes, to hinder those who thought and felt alike on the subject of religion from coming together and acting in concert."

Fortunately at this juncture a church edifice, then belonging to the Baptists, afterward occupied by the Methodists, was offered for sale by the administrator of the estate of the late Mr. Harrison, into whose hands it had fallen. The liberal Congregationalists took advantage of this condition, bought the church, repaired it, and opened it for worship on the 9th of May, 1816. In this church Dr. Walker was ordained, as also his predecessor, who lay here in his coffin. These were the days of Ecclesiastical Councils. Dr. (then Mr.) Channing moved that the candidate be desired to give some account of his faith; whereupon Mr. Walker presented the following creed:—

"I believe in God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible. I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Messiah of the Hebrew prophets, and the only appointed Saviour of mankind. I believe in the Sacred Scriptures, that they were dictated by inspiration, and form the only standard of faith and practice. I believe in the divine institution of the visible Church, in the resurrection of the dead, man's future accountability, and life everlasting."

Then the council declared itself satisfied, and the procession moved toward the church. After the exercises there was a dinner at which eighty-four people drank nine decanters of brandy, nineteen bottles of costly Madeira wine, twenty-one bottles of common Madeira wine, and smoked twelve dozen cigars.

In less than a year after his settlement, Mr. Walker dedicated the present meeting-house of the society. At this dedication was Dr. John Pierce, who recalls his impressions in the following language:—

"Mr. Walker preached fifty-two minutes, from 2 Corinthians x. 7, in defense of himself and liberal Christians in general against the aspersions cast on them by their opponents. It was written and delivered in a very energetick manner. The temper and spirit of the discourse appeared somewhat similar to the late Dr. Mayhew's. I should judge that the sermon was adapted rather to enrage than to conciliate opponents."

That this consequence happened appears from the fact that some who were present declared that they would never enter

again the walls of the meeting-house, because of the character of the pastor's sermon on that day. Later, Dr. Walker himself acknowledged the justice of this description. Thomas Prentiss, whom he succeeded, was born Jan. 11, 1793; and died on Oct. 5, 1817, of fever, after a short illness. It is interesting to read that he had a "sound mind and careful judgement, and an entire freedom from that precipitancy, either in judging or acting, which is sometimes ruinous to the best intentions. Perhaps the quality of Christian prudence was his one particular perfection, which made him to be one in whom you could altogether confide, and who would never disappoint you by doing anything wrong or ill-judged." He is said to have been "studious of avoiding offence as to his subjects and manner of treating them." He is said, again, to have been "remarkably cool and deliberate in forming his opinions, and never was suspected of taking them upon trust. Sometimes, indeed, he has been thought to carry his caution to excess." Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., speaks of his "practical good sense, which is so important to the success of the Christian minister, and of which he possessed a more than common share." If this had been a description of Mr. Walker, it could not have been better, for that was his chief characteristic. As a preacher Mr. Walker was unique. Channing was more ethereal, Gilman was more sentimental, Greenwood was more poetical; but for massive power of ethical statement Walker was superior to Sparks or Burnap or Palfrey. He was settled at a time of violent controversy, — a period which was short but severe, — and in his early ministry he was a vehement polemic and champion of the liberal faith, called, by some who admired him most, "The Warrior," though he was never vituperative or unfair. But all this wore away. In his later preaching the controversialist did not in the least appear; it was merely grave and serious, the impetuosity having given way to a deep-seated earnestness. In fact, two things have surprised me as I reviewed his life: one was that he ever was a young man, — for as I knew him he was old, sober, ponderous, shuffling in gait, with shaggy eyebrows and rather a stern expression; the other, that he ever was impulsive, — for as I knew and heard him, the fire was so latent in him that it seldom or never came to the surface.

His fame as a "vigorous, eloquent, and convincing preacher"

spread abroad so that he was invited to settle in Washington and in Baltimore, — posts which after mature consideration he declined, feeling that his influence was as great and less uncertain in Charlestown. In 1825 he helped to organize the American Unitarian Association, and was on the first Board of Directors and also on its Executive Committee. That same year he was chosen an Overseer of Harvard College, and in 1834 was made a Fellow of the Corporation, — an office he held until he became President of the University in 1853. In 1837 his church was called the Harvard Church, in memory of John Harvard, who left to the College not only his books and half of his fortune, but his name and fame. His style of preaching was clear, simple, concise, logical, and exceedingly impressive. An air of supreme conviction animated his whole person. His gestures were few, but they were emphatic, and in his early days the pulpit cushion showed the effects of his demonstration. Some of his sermons remain to this day in the memory of those who heard them forty years ago. As a pastor he was most devoted and laborious. His interest as a citizen was broad and influential. He had a great concern for public schools. He edited the "Christian Examiner" from 1835 to 1839, partly with Mr. Greenwood and partly alone. The "Christian Examiner" Society was organized Jan. 27, 1829; and the first publishing committee consisted of Mr. Walker, Mr. Greenwood, and Dr. Ware. Mr. Walker was one of the original members of the society who conducted the first series.

While in Charlestown, in 1829, he was married to Miss Catherine Bartlett, the daughter of Mr. George Bartlett, then chairman of the Parish Committee; but he was childless, and lived entirely in his work. Under his ministry the parish in Charlestown rose from ninety-five families to about two hundred and twenty-five; and this in spite of the fact that many had left the place, though the town itself had gradually grown. His consecration to the Christian ministry was entire, as he says himself in his parting sermon, preached July 14, 1839:

"I have been content to labor in my proper sphere, as a Christian minister, making it a paramount object not to jeopardize my influence in that capacity by officiousness in other matters. I am not one of those who cannot bear to be told that they have an 'appropriate sphere.' I have not supposed myself to be placed here to do all sorts of good to all sorts of persons in all sorts of ways, as it might happen; but to ful-

fill a particular vocation. This vocation was, as I conceived, to do all the good I could in my capacity as a Christian minister, first to my own people, and then to the community at large, and whatever other good was not inconsistent with this, or did not interfere with it. Accordingly I have wholly forborne to mingle in politics, even to the extent of waiving my right of suffrage. I have seldom taken any part in local and exciting questions of a secular nature; neither have I been anxious to put myself forward among the leaders in all contested cases of reform. To this, I own, some will object that a person does not cease to be a man and citizen simply because he is a minister. True; but then I suppose a person does not cease to be a man and citizen merely because for good reasons he waives assertion, or at least the exercise, of certain of his rights. 'Aye; he may waive his rights, but not his duties, and it is the duty of every citizen to vote.' And this, also, is true; provided only that it does not come into collision with a still higher duty, in which event the former ceases to be a duty. Now, it seems to me that the duty which a minister owes to his influence as a minister is a higher one than that which he owes to his influence as a common man in society. Will it be said, as it sometimes has been, as if to show the untenableness of this position, that a minister is more of a citizen than he is of a minister, and more of a man than he is of a citizen? True, again; but what follows? A man, to carry out the same sort of reasoning, is more of a thing than he is of a man; but does it follow that he ought to set a higher value on his relations as a thing than on his relations as a man? The argument, if it proves anything, proves too much. Add to this that a minister who has a mind for such things, if personally he keeps aloof from the party movements of the day, will find himself in a condition on that very account to act with more power on the prevailing ideas by which those movements are ultimately swayed and determined. But will this reasoning apply to contested cases of social and moral reform? Here many will say it is a minister's place to take the lead on one side or the other. And they are right as regards questions which fall naturally within his province; but not so when the main question or the involved question is one which his habits of life or condition in society are not such as to qualify him to decide. . . . As a general rule I have forborne to bring into the pulpit topics on which I was not pretty sure of being able to make myself understood. It is a common remark among those who love to use strong and unqualified expressions, that the truth never does any harm; and in this I am disposed to concur generally, if by truth is meant truth *well understood*. But truth may be misunderstood, and truth misunderstood is error, which certainly may do harm, and this form of error more perhaps than any other. At the same time I do not belong to the number of those who think that the topics of preaching must be

taken from the surface of things. I do not believe in superficial preaching. I do not believe that there are any truths deeply interesting to humanity, which are so profound that they cannot, if treated in an earnest and plain manner, be made sufficiently intelligible to common minds, provided only that those minds are not in a morbid state of excitement in regard to the question under discussion."

His duties as a preacher were arduous as his fame as a preacher extended. He told me once, that he made a point of writing twenty-five sermons a year. He thought that that was as much as anybody ought to write. The only wonder was, to me, that he could write so many, demanding as much thought as they must have done. After his death a mural tablet was placed in the church; and when he left the society there was great lamentation, both among young and old, — to the former of whom he had endeared himself, while to the latter he always remained the most convincing preacher they ever listened to. His old people in Charlestown wanted him to come to them again, after leaving the presidency of Harvard College, and offered him a colleague if he wanted one; but he conscientiously declined.

James Walker received his full share of literary and academic honors. Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of D.D. in 1835; that of LL.D. in 1860; and Yale College made him LL.D. in 1853.

Though conservative in method, he was progressive in spirit. He declared: —

"The glory of Unitarianism will have departed if the time should ever come when its advocates and friends are unfaithful to the noble maxim laid down at the revival of the doctrine by the Polish reformers: *We are not ashamed to improve.* Let us forever cherish it as an honorable distinction that there is nothing in our principles which makes improvement an inconsistency; that we do not take the ground of those sects which assume that they have attained to all truth already, or to infallible truth, so that any defection from the existing faith or worship, even by themselves, must be mortal sin. It is the first boast of liberal Christianity, which is doing more and more to recommend it in a critical age like the present, that it does not make safety to depend on having found out all truth, but on being guided by 'the spirit of truth.' Hence it is to be regarded rather as a living and gradual development of Christianity, than as a petrification of one of its existing forms."

Again : —

"Every sect, I suppose, may be said to represent some one of the leading ideas of Christianity, inasmuch as it does more than others to bring out the idea, and give it currency and effect in the world. Thus, the Catholic Church may be said to represent the idea of reverence; Calvinism, the idea of self-abasement; Methodism the idea of divine love; Quakerism, the idea of inward light; and in the same way Unitarianism, or Liberal Christianity, may be said to represent the idea of harmony and peace. Its doctrine is: 'And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.' . . . We also bear in mind that other people have consciences as well as we."

The man who could say this more than fifty years ago, certainly deserves to be ranked with advanced minds.

James Walker was always an ardent student of philosophy, but his mind was rather English than German or French. "Good sense," he said, "*must* be; other things *may* be, but good sense *must* be." Though he was well acquainted, of course, with Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, he did not thoroughly enter into their spirit. His genius was of another order; as is evident from his edition of Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers" (1849), and Dr. Thomas Reid's "Essays on the Intellectual Powers, with Notes and Illustrations from Sir William Hamilton and Others," published in 1850, as an abridgment for the college boys; also from his lectures before the Lowell Institute on "Natural Religion" and "The Philosophy of Religion," — four courses of lectures in Boston which were never published, but a selection from which may be issued by Professor Lovering, his literary executor. He was well acquainted with the reasonings of the Transcendentalists, whose books he was fond of reading, though he smiled at some of their expressions.

George Ripley names him as among the earliest Transcendentalists, and there are expressions of his that serve to justify this judgment; for example, the following words from "The Philosophy of Man's Spiritual Nature in regard to the Foundations of Faith," wherein he seemed to take the Transcendentalist ground : —

"That the existence of those spiritual faculties and capacities which are assumed as the foundation of religion in the soul of man is attested beyond controversy by the revelations of conscience; that religion in

the soul, consisting as it does of a manifestation and development of these spiritual faculties and capacities, is as much a reality in itself, and enters as essentially into our idea of a perfect man, as the corresponding manifestation and development of the reasoning faculties, a sense of justice, or the affections of sympathy and benevolence; and that from the acknowledged existence and reality of spiritual impressions or perceptions we may and do assume the existence and reality of the spiritual world, just as from the acknowledged existence and reality of sensible impressions or perceptions we may and do assume the existence and reality of the sensible world. . . . Let us hope that a better philosophy than the degrading sensualism out of which most forms of infidelity have grown will prevail, and that the minds of the rising generation will be thoroughly imbued with it. Let it be a philosophy which recognizes the higher nature of man, and aims, in a chastened and reverential spirit, to unveil the mysteries of his higher life. Let it be a philosophy which comprehends the soul,—a soul susceptible of religion, of the sublime principles of faith, and the faith which ‘entereth into that within the veil.’ Let it be a philosophy which continually reminds us of our intimate relations to the spiritual world; which opens to us new sources of consolation in trouble, and new sources of life in death,—nay, which teaches us that what we call death is but the dying of all that is mortal, that nothing but life may remain.”

But on close scrutiny of these passages I am persuaded that they are simply used to legitimate the religious affections.

In a discourse before the Alumni of the Cambridge Divinity School, he praised such men as Schleiermacher and De Wette; welcomed Jacobi, Cousin, Jouffroy, and Degerando, and then said: “Men may put down Transcendentalism if they can, but they must first deign to comprehend its principles.”

But, after all, James Walker was only a moderate Transcendentalist. In the *Journal of Theodore Parker* (Feb. 8, 1838) there is mentioned a discussion touching Dr. Walker's lectures on Philosophy, in the course of which Dr. Channing expressed the idea that the lecturer approached very near materialism himself, and objected that he spoke of thought as putting the brain in action, as the digestive force moves the stomach, and the hepatic the liver. Dr. Hedge told me, in a letter, that Dr. Walker was once present at a meeting in Cambridge of the Transcendentalists, but ever after held his peace.

The truth seems to be that his genius was rather practical than speculative. He liked a philosophy of common-sense,

plain, homely, intelligible to the common mind ; a philosophy that one can build upon in every-day life.

Every great thinker must believe in universals, as he did ; but *his* universal was not an intellectual doctrine so much as a moral principle. Conscience, in his estimation, needed educating, but it was essentially an authority in all men.

One of his friends said that his great strength lay in making statements ; and another said that he never made a statement in his life. Both are probably correct ; for in formal logic he was very strong, leaving out all considerations that might be considered incidental, and confining himself to the most simple elements of his subject.

As a professor, his work was particularly interesting to young men, for he led their minds upward, and gave them views of intellectual truth that were at the same time instructive and inspiring. He was a professor while I was in college, and showed the utmost graciousness in answering all the questions of his pupils. He was anything but a materialist, and though avoiding extreme conclusions in every direction, he never wavered in his extreme protest against every form of philosophy that seemed to endanger the moral sentiments. He was a great believer in the Supreme Law of Duty.

When James Walker was nominated as President of Harvard College, in 1853, by the Board of Overseers, he was unanimously confirmed in spite of his supposed doctrinal position, although there were gentlemen on the board who were not of his own opinions ; and this is probably the only case of the kind on record. He brought to the office a thorough acquaintance with all the affairs of the College, both as regards its history in the past and its position in the present ; an intense interest in the cause of education, both in its lowest and its highest forms ; a singular attraction toward young men, and a strong personal concern for their moral advance. He was no *doctrinaire*, but took things as they were, — as far removed from the disposition that was prone to quarrel because the University was not equal to English universities, as from the inclination to find fault because the young men were not quite perfect in all the virtues. He was the nineteenth president, and the immediate successor of Jared Sparks, who in turn succeeded Edward Everett. No great reforms in administration were instituted by him, but his reports on the

condition of the College were full of suggestions. One of them, made in 1869, and signed by James Freeman Clarke and James Walker, with five others, was especially remarkable for its recommendations. Thus, though his administration was not distinguished by any specific results, he accomplished a great deal in the way of elevating the tone of the University. His predecessors, Mr. Everett and Mr. Sparks, frequently availed themselves of his practical sagacity, and there was no branch of his own administration that did not show the fruits of his wisdom. He resigned the post in 1860, not because he was tired of the duties, which he performed conscientiously, laboriously, and with the utmost regard to detail, but principally on account of physical infirmity. His later years were spent in industry of a rather exacting nature, in philosophical and literary employments, reading and writing; and though on account of his lameness he led a secluded life, his days were spent in a manner that never reminded one of any loss of mental power.

Time would fail me to speak of his humility and unfeigned modesty, which forbade him to make any display of himself. His distinguishing trait was prudence, the careful avoidance of any public expression of strong personal opinion, the moral aspect of wise foresight. As has been well said:—

“No one was more curious or keen than he in watching the tentative stages of the development of the Rationalistic school. He read and tried to digest all its contributions to the press. He was interested in the position and attitude of all our professional men—scholars, thinkers, and writers—in this ferment of opinions and notions; with the spirit of progress, in all truth and wisdom, he was in perfect sympathy. With some of the methods pursued, and some of the anticipatory boastings, claimed as reached, he did not accord. Two very significant movements having special import to one of his profession and position, went forward in the circle of which he was at the centre at the period of his most vigorous life,—the transcendental movement in the field of speculation, and the antislavery and related reforms on the political field. . . . He was cautious and reticent about them. Publicly he did not betray himself or set himself on either side; and many on either side would have been glad to have claimed and followed him as leader and champion. Wagers were often proposed as to how his vote or ballot would be cast; but no money was lost in the hazard, as in such critical cases as prompted it he did not vote at all.”

But this excessive caution could not be ascribed to cowardice, for he never was a coward; nor to cunning, for he was not wary in the sense of wishing to avoid disagreeable consequences; but rather to a wish to be perfectly just to all sides, and to a desire not to commit himself to premature conclusions. He may have been a sceptic; but if he was, he was a sceptic in the best sense of the word, — not a disbeliever so much as one who wished to consider, to ponder, to look at a subject on all sides. Perhaps he saw quicksands where others thought it was all solid ground; and he was unwilling to break the bruised reed or to quench the smoking flax, or to depress the smallest hope of a better life which might possibly spring up in the human breast. Of one thing he never doubted, — the absolute importance of goodness, the absolute authority of reason. In a sermon preached at King's Chapel in 1861, at the outbreak of the war, on "The Spirit Proper to the Times," the theme of discourse is the sacrifice of property, labor, and life. In this sermon I find the following language, — he is denouncing the Southern confederacy: —

"By striking at the principles of all constitutional and free government, and this, too, avowedly for the purpose of founding society on the servitude of an inferior race, on whose toil the more favored races are to live, they put themselves in opposition to the settled convictions and moral sentiments of good men all over the world."

He speaks of them as "made to believe a lie"; he imputes to them "efforts to sophisticate conscience," to make "wrong come out right," to "alter the nature of things," and to overturn the "laws of Nature." He called them a "doomed people," and predicted their discomfiture, on the ground of his faith in the moral sentiments of mankind and the justice of Heaven. In the address delivered before the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the annual election, in 1863, the most depressing period of the war, he says: —

"I believe the community has been slowly improving; growing more moral, more religious, more humane. . . . I am filled with mingled sorrow, disgust, and dismay when I see the false views and intense hate entertained there [at the South] against the Free States. . . . I believe in human progress, otherwise I should not believe in anything. . . . Not a tear, not a drop of blood, is shed in vain."

He recommends "a true, hearty, and unconditional loyalty to the government." He discerns but two demoralizing ten-

dencies, — one speculative, and of intellectual men, in regard to the principles of good government; the other practical, the substituting of loyalty to party for loyalty to the State. There is not a word of discouragement in the whole discourse. True, he complained of lack in civic virtue, but in this alone. His confidence in the *democratic* principle is absolute; and the only thing he finds fault with is the abstinence of good men from their duty as citizens. He is not complimentary to the advocates of the Higher Law, but simply because he objects to any identification of the private conscience with the supreme equity. He calls conscience a *sensibility*, not a *judgment*. True, at critical times he did not vote himself; but this was because he did not choose to take sides with any party, or commit himself to any form of policy; but he never failed, either in public or in private, to throw his whole personal influence in favor of law, order, and peace.

He was an exceedingly modest man, always listening for others' opinions, and never failing to give reasons for his own. Herein he was a rationalist, pure and simple; not a believer in despotism of any kind, but putting his own mind on a level with that of others, and rendering the contest one of argument, not of personality.

His wisdom was celebrated; his knowledge of human nature, his appreciation of human motives. An able and brilliant lawyer used to say that there was no day of his life when he did not recall some saying of Dr. Walker; and another lawyer, now living, assured me that some years ago when he was intimate with Walker, he could have said the same thing.

His influence on the character of young men was something extraordinary. He formed their lives, and in many instances rescued them from moral dangers, to which they were liable. He had the "loving spirit of wisdom," which always cultivated the seeds of good, in full faith that they would overcome the growth of evil.

He had, too, a very pleasant and incisive wit, of which I will give but one example. An eminent vegetarian was expatiating with him on his own theory of food, and in praise of his system was celebrating its influence in making men innocent and gentle. "To eat flesh," he said, "is to make yourself carnal. They who eat beasts become beastly." "On the same principle," said Walker, "I suppose that one who

lives on vegetables becomes a vegetable, and one who eats nothing but potatoes becomes a potato; but how if the potatoes are *small*?" His cheerfulness was invariable; his hopefulness of events. He always took a happy view of every accident or incident. His companionship was delightful. The variety of his expression was very great. He was never subject to moods of depression. He had no sad recollections, except such as are inseparable from private loss.

His personal piety was beyond question, and deepened with years. "With all his thinkings and reasonings," says a good judge, "he had studied himself into, and not out of, that strong and cheerful religious faith which is the best blessing of life as it passes, and the only welcome and sufficient solace at its close." Another friend bears witness to Dr. Walker's "deep sense of nearness and love of the Father, his confidence in His wisdom, trust in His mercy, fidelity to duty, patience under trial, steadfast adherence to the cause of truth, kindness of thought and speech, and his unflinching fortitude and faith." His virtue was not that which comes of subduing passion, for he seemed to have no violent passions to subdue; his cleanness was apparently native and original.

The incidents of his life were few. He never travelled abroad, for the reason that he had no passion for romance; and his journeyings here were neither long nor frequent. Of æsthetic tastes he had absolutely none, — no love for music, or painting, or sculpture, or art of any kind. He was a good deal like the man who knew two tunes: one was *Old Hundred*, and the other was *n't*. But he was fond of flowers, was moved by all the aspects of Nature, and especially impressed by the magnificence and apparent infinity of the sea. His acquaintance with general literature was limited. He knew important works, — Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Butler, and the like, — but in lighter literature he did not pretend to be at home.

His published writings were numerous. Besides the edition of Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, which we have already mentioned, there were a good many printed sermons (some of which in the early Unitarian controversy were printed as tracts); many contributions to the "*Christian Examiner*"; four or five articles in the "*Liberal Preacher*," a periodical from 1828 to 1837; three publications in the "*Monthly Religious Magazine*," a periodical published in Boston from 1844

to 1874, when its title was changed to "The Unitarian Review"; and several contributions to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, including a memoir of Daniel Appleton White, in September, 1862; a memoir of Josiah Quincy, in March, 1866; and remarks in memory of William H. Prescott, February, 1859; D. A. White, April, 1861; Cornelius Conway Felton, March, 1862; Alvan Lamson, August, 1864; Edward Everett, January, 1865; N. L. Frothingham, April, 1870. Papers in the "Christian Disciple," which began in 1813 and lived until 1824, and then changed its title and became the "Christian Examiner," were from his pen. Besides this there was a "Service Book for Sunday Schools," with a collection of hymns, compiled for the use of the Boylston Chapel in Charlestown in 1839.

A volume of Dr. Walker's sermons, preached chiefly in the Chapel of Harvard College, was published in Boston in 1861. His address at his inauguration as President was also published; and another which he gave, in 1856, before the American Institute of Instruction. A posthumous volume of sermons, entitled "Reason, Faith, and Duty," was issued in 1877. A "Memorial" of Dr. Walker was published in Cambridge in 1875, and also the services that were held at the dedication of the mural monument in 1884. His library he left to Harvard College, to which also he bequeathed the fifteen thousand dollars that were raised for him by friends when he left the presidency.

At the dedication of a mural monument to James Walker, in the Harvard Church, on Jan. 14, 1883, besides the discourse by William O. White, and the addresses of Charles W. Eliot, Joseph Lovering, Pitt Dillingham, and letters from George E. Ellis, Thomas Hill, William H. Furness, Alexander McKenzie, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Devens, Frederic A. Farley, Amos A. Lawrence, and Abbott Lawrence, there were letters of regret from Oliver Wendell Holmes, Andrew P. Peabody, Theodore Lyman, John D. Long, Samuel A. Green, Marshall P. Wilder, Samuel K. Lothrop, Robert C. Waterston, John C. Ropes, Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles E. Grinnell, Francis G. Peabody, and others. The monument was the gift of Miss Hunt, the daughter of Reuben Hunt, one of the founders of the society.

Dr. Walker was chosen a member of the Massachusetts

Historical Society, May 14, 1859, and, though never a prominent or eminent member, was an exceedingly useful one. His memoir of Daniel Appleton White, in 1862, and of Josiah Quincy, in 1866, involved a great deal of labor. They were most carefully and discerningly done. They were unusually long; Mr. White's being sixty-eight pages, and that of Josiah Quincy seventy-three pages. His remarks on the death of W. H. Prescott, C. C. Felton, Alvan Lamson, Edward Everett, N. L. Frothingham, and others, were concise, correct, and altogether to the point. As Mr. Winthrop said, "he certainly had the faculty of saying as much in a few sentences as any one I ever listened to."

But it was as a preacher that James Walker was distinguished. He was always a preacher, not only in Charlestown, but as a Professor at Cambridge, as President of the College, and later, as long as his strength permitted. It was understood that while professor he was to preach in the College Chapel one quarter of the time. His two volumes of sermons — the first selected by himself, in 1861; the second a volume the contents of which were with difficulty snatched from the flames by a friend, and issued after his death in 1877 — contained all his important thoughts on religion. There was no preacher at all like him. He had what is called a *presence*. His voice was not musical or melodious, but firm and impressive. His manner was solemn; his prayer tender and touching; his reading of the Scripture most effective and telling. As President Eliot remarked: —

"When he said 'There is no hiding-place,' all sinners believed him. When he said 'Thou shalt say no,' young men turned their backs on the tempter, who otherwise might have dabbled with sin. When he prayed, the least devout lifted up their hearts. When he preached salvation by hope, all people saw that the Gospel was indeed good tidings."

To quote the words of Professor Lovering: —

"The pulpit was his throne, and from it he held sovereign sway over the minds and hearts of his hearers. He had always something to preach, and he knew how to preach it. He was simple without being common-place; he was profound without being obscure. He presented the most difficult propositions with a lucidity of thought and a felicity of expression which could easily persuade his hearers that they had always known it. He might begin his sermon by address-

ing the intellect, but he never ended it until he had reached the heart."

In dedicating the church building at Charlestown, in 1819, Dr. Walker began the service by uttering in a most solemn manner, "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven." Addressing the young, on one occasion, Dr. Walker said: "Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall." Then it seemed as if the trump of the archangel had sounded; but he continued: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint;" and then it seemed as if a clarion of triumph were sounding. He seemed to load the words with meaning. In his sermon on the Mediator, he said:—

"Through his sole mediation, that is to say, by his teaching and sufferings, by his life and death, he has broken down forever the legal and ritual impediments which were thought to separate man from his Maker, and thus opened a way of access to the Father, once for all. By a new and far more sublime revelation of grace and truth and spiritual freedom, he has opened to the whole world a door of access to the Mercy Seat, and *left it open*; and blessed be God, it is a door which no man nor body of men can shut."

The words seem easy, almost common-place; and yet as he spoke them, the effect was like that of thunder, and no thoughtful mind could doubt that perfect spiritual liberty was gained.

The causes of his popularity with young men should be specified. They were: (1) Honesty and fairness. Dr. Walker was always perfectly frank with his hearers. There is an impression that the clergy withhold from the congregation their secret thoughts. No such charge could ever be brought against James Walker. As far as he saw he made his vision apparent to all. There was no disguise and no misrepresentation. Even his opponents could not complain that he did them any intentional injustice; and his friends were often amazed at his candor. Now, if there is one thing that charms a young man, it is this absolute freedom from pretence. (2) His doctrine seemed perfectly reasonable. There was no assumed opinion, no attempt to dictate or browbeat, no

extreme conclusion; and every position taken was fortified by argument, not by assertion. (3) The moderation of his statement always commended it to young minds. He was never the champion of any particular theory, never the advocate of a special cause. (4) His sympathy with young men's trials could be counted on with entire confidence. He loved young men, took them to his heart, tried earnestly to understand their thoughts and ways and feelings, and won them, not by setting himself above them, but by putting himself on their level and claiming nothing on the ground of personal authority. Thus he drew them to him, and made them feel at home in his presence. (5) Then we must ascribe a great deal to the logical method, which he always used, and which was particularly gratifying to young minds that wanted to see the process by which results were reached. (6) His hopefulness must not be forgotten. Here is an instance of it. In a sermon on "The Dangers of College Life," he says:—

"I am unwilling to conclude the subject without repeating what I have said before: it is a pleasure and satisfaction to know that to many these dangers and difficulties exist only to be overcome, and so to be turned into occasions of triumph. To persons of good and strong purposes the promise of the Gospel is fulfilled: 'Behold I give unto you power to tread on scorpions and serpents, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall by any means hurt you.'"

Undoubtedly his personal character had a great deal to do with his power. There was a man always behind his word. Character is something more than mere excellence; that may be assumed, in a man like James Walker, who led a perfectly irreproachable life, and upon whose virtue there never was a stain; but more than this, he possessed an immense power of conviction, and threw the weight of a great personality into everything that he spoke, whether in public or in private.

His religious beliefs were, in a great measure, those of his age. These were the palmy days of Unitarianism, in which it expected, apparently, immediate triumph. It seemed so simple and reasonable that its swift progress was anticipated by all its adherents. When it was once shown that neither Scripture nor reason countenanced the Calvinistic faith, there was to all appearances no ground for supposing that all men

would not welcome the new doctrine. There was implicit faith in the virtue of education in its highest forms to develop the reason and conscience of men. Dr. Walker says:—

“I would not give much for a young man’s chance of eminence whose pillow is never wet with tears at the thought of difficulties to be overcome.”

And this to college students! Dr. Walker again says:—

“The moment we are in serious doubt as to what ought to be done, the conviction is forced upon us that no decree of mere consciousness will supply the place of study and experience, to a sound mind. Hence it often happens that we entertain a sincere respect for a man’s *sense* of right, but no sort of respect for his *opinion* of right.”

All the evangelical feeling was preserved. In several sermons, such as those on Prayer, Character, Spiritual Discernment, Spiritual Death, Dr. Walker expressed a deep religious experience. He says in one place:—

“Our accountability as thinking beings, our interests as moral beings, our destiny as immortal beings,—mere talking about it, mere thinking about it, mere dreaming about it *will not do*.”

Again:—

“I cannot help thinking that many a solemn-sounding Litany has been chanted by priestly lips in consecrated places to waste itself on the air, while the whole ear of Heaven was intent on some poor sailor’s ‘God help me!’ as it went up amidst the howling of the tempest from the parting wreck.”

Again:—

“If at any time your way is dark or hedged up, and you are ready to say, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ lean not, I beseech you, on an arm of flesh: trust me, my brother, it will prove but a broken reed.”

Once more:—

“I might go further still; I might say that it is only in so far as, in the language of the Scriptures, we become *partakers* of the Divine nature that we can enter into or even approximate the full significance of the divinity of God. . . . Prayer is addressed to an invisible being. It takes for granted two facts: first, that of a being, or perhaps many beings, of a higher order than ourselves; and, secondly, that he or they can be moved by our supplications. . . . We must not expect from God many things that we might expect from the *folly* and *weak-*

ness of a friend and father; but certainly we may expect from God what we should expect from the *wisdom* and *goodness* of a friend and father. . . . The ground and life of prayer depend on our believing not merely that there *was* a God once, the Creator of the world; but that there is one *now* and *here*, a living and personal God, witnessing everything which we do, and hearing everything which we say. . . . We should not only look upon our Heavenly Father as always near, but accustom ourselves to make known our requests to Him, asking that we may receive, and thus cultivating habitual intercourse with Him. . . . To ask whether a man can be religious without prayer is like asking whether a man can be sociable without the use of speech. . . . Whatever power or dignity the pulpit has, is owing mainly, not to its learning or eloquence, but to a generally acknowledged fact that it does not speak in its own name, but in the name which is above every name, and before which every knee should bow. . . . God is everywhere present, and everywhere active in nature. We cannot help being surrounded at all times by the universally diffused light and energy. Man can open his soul by holy exercises, by humility, by prayer, and by love, or he can keep it shut. . . . Providence opens the way by which every individual soul can be brought into instant and immediate communion with the living God. We no longer feel ourselves to be standing amidst the play of a vast and complicated machinery which is doing it knows not what. Every motion, every breath around us proclaims the instant presence and instant action of the Divinity. . . . Now, in the case of the mechanism of the universe, where is the moving force to be found, but in the universally diffused, all-directing, ever-acting energy of God? . . . Accordingly I hold that in the natural world the nature of God is everywhere, in everything; holding the sun in its place and also the mote in the sun's beam. The volcano and the bursting flower equally announce His presence. . . . What need is there of an elaborate argument to prove an immediate and universal providence, without which not a sparrow falls to the ground? Nature itself is Providence, and nothing but Providence. . . . If what I have now said is true, God is really present and active throughout nature and in all good men, in a sense and to a degree much beyond what the common opinion or the common speech seems to recognize. . . . One of the principal reasons which make the idea of a Mediator so grateful to the human heart is that, with our frail and imperfect natures, we can feel no proper sympathy with the mysterious and awful Power or Infinite One we wish to propitiate. Hence the deep and inextinguishable longing of humble and devoted minds for some one of a like nature between whom and us there can be something like a fellow-feeling; on whom to place our religious affections, and who will intercede for us before the throne of that incomprehen-

ble Being, to us unapproachable even in thought. . . . Even if it were possible to resolve every phenomenon of Nature into what are called the laws of Nature, it would not be to take a single step toward dispensing with the necessity of an all-sustaining Energy and an all-controlling Mind."

It is not necessary to say anything about his sense of the importance of a revelation, about the character and office of Jesus, the significance of the Scriptures, and the reality of miracles; but a word must be said in regard to the view of human nature which he entertained:—

"Man—the soul—is free; free to do or not to do, to obey or disobey, to yield to or resist even divine influences and suggestions. . . . What we call death takes place, and 'mortality is swallowed up in life.' The dead, then, are *not* dead. Our friends who are absent from the body are present with the Lord. They are not *here*, but they are *there*; they *live*,—fully to carry out, under more favorable circumstances, every purpose for which they were created. . . . No limit is fixed or can be fixed to any man's progress, so long as his faculties retain their natural vigor, except by his own consent. . . . While, therefore, we give up human perfection, we stand fast for *human perfectibility*. There are no arbitrary or determined bounds set to any man's progress in this life, whatever may be his condition and circumstances. . . . The way is open to every one; or if not entirely open, there is nothing in the nature of the obstructions which makes them absolutely insuperable. . . . On the contrary, every new acquisition of truth only serves to enlarge the mind for the comprehension of more truths, so that the more a man knows, the more he is in a condition to learn; and the same is likewise true of his progress in virtue. . . . However unlikely and impossible it is that we shall ever meet with a perfect man on this earth, still if we were to meet with one, we should see that instead of being a monster, he would be of all men the most entirely natural, the most truly human. . . . If human nature were developed naturally, that is to say, according to its just and intended order and proportion, there would be no misers or voluptuaries. The misers and the voluptuaries,—they are the monsters. . . . A man's moral nature is his innate capacity of moral discrimination; is part and parcel of our common human nature, and for anything known to the contrary is the same in all men. But this moral nature, this innate capacity of moral discrimination, may be wholly *latent*; as in the case of infants, who cannot be said to have any conscience, though they have a moral nature, and it is more or less so in adults. . . . Our moral nature is what God has made it to be; so that when conscience is a legitimate development of this nature, it may be regarded as a

divine utterance, — the voice of God speaking in and through our moral nature. Disobedience, therefore, becomes not merely an offence against conscience; it is also an offence against God, bringing us under the judgment of God."

His doctrine in regard to the relation of individual conscience and public opinion has been greatly misapprehended. He says: —

"Public opinion resting on a direct appeal to common-sense and the moral sentiment is generally right. At any rate, it is more likely to be so, than the private opinion of interested prejudice. Look back on the history of human progress; almost every important step has been taken, not because the *few* advised it, but because the *many* demanded it. The history of reform in most centuries is little else than the history of a series of concessions to public opinion. . . . With ordinary men, and in the ordinary course of things, what we call the individual conscience is little else than a reflection of the public conscience, that is to say, of the public opinion of right; in such cases, therefore, the appeal to the public opinion of right is not necessarily an appeal from conscience to some other standard, — to that of expediency, for example: it may be, and often is, an appeal from the uninstructed conscience of the individual to what is believed to be the better instructed conscience of the community, or public sense of right. . . . Imperfect as public opinion is, there is not one man in ten thousand whom the fear of offending it does not make more circumspect, in many respects, than he otherwise would be; more anxious, not merely to appear, but also to be worthy of public confidence. . . . No sane man ever did, or ever will, live in society and yet be wholly indifferent to the opinion of society. For however much he may be at issue with society on some point, he is never at issue with it in such a sense as to have cast off all regard to appearances. . . . So profound is my reverence for the will of the people, or of even a majority of the people, that could I be sure it has been expressed freely and understandingly, I should hardly hesitate in any respect to obey; but I must have better evidence that the people will it than the reiterated and passionate assertions of zealots or demagogues, assuming to speak in their name. . . . Narrow-minded men may suspect and charge one at least of the parties to any contest with acting against what they see to be right; but it is much more reasonable as well as much more fair and magnanimous to suppose that neither party is in a condition to see what is right in the particular question. . . . Take away what early education has done, and what mere authority has done, and what sympathy and imitation have done, and what party spirit and party drill have done, and what addresses to the feelings and especially to men's fears

and jealousies have done, — and what is there left? . . . Happily in almost every community making the smallest pretences to intelligence and freedom, there is a powerful reserve of moderate and silent men, who seldom cause themselves to be heard or felt in public matters, and yet are known to exist, and by creating a fear of reaction operate as a check on violent and headlong counsels. . . . I hold, therefore, that in making up our minds as to what public opinion enjoins or forbids, we are not to look to the writers and talkers alone, but are to take into account that powerful reserve of moderate and for the most part silent men, on whom, as I believe, in great and trying emergencies God has made the order and stability of society in no small measure to depend. Truth and justice, as it seems to me, demand this at our hands. Besides, were we always disposed to take this course, I need not say how much it would do to save both Church and State from these panics and violent disorders and convulsions which have done so much, and are likely to do so much more, to trouble and retard the progress of humanity and civilization."

Of these "moderate and silent men," James Walker deserves to be considered one. Still, he was a reformer in his way. Though he preached against "ultraism," and said, "I make one rule, not to preach about anything until they have done talking about it in the omnibus," he did speak strong words on the subject of temperance; he did demand of students that they should exclude the profligate from good society; he did condemn the theatres of his day; and in his address delivered at Cambridge in 1863 on "The Duties of Educated Men to the Country," he uttered as warm words about patriotism as any man could use.

He was always a philosopher in the sense of one who loves the highest wisdom. In his lectures on "The Philosophy of Religion," he says: —

"One word on the principles and spirit of these lectures. By undertaking the defence of religion, do you expect, I may be asked, to convert a single unbeliever? It would be enough to say, in reply to this question, that I have nothing to do with unbelievers, I address myself to *you*. . . . Absurd and paradoxical as it may appear, it is yet, I suspect, a common thing for a man to live and die a sceptic merely because he is afraid to look into the subject lest it make him one. . . . A destructive criticism like Hume's is not a philosophy; it is not even to lay the foundations of a philosophy; it is a manifesto against all philosophy; not by showing how things are to be explained, but by showing, or trying to show, that, logically speaking, nothing really exists to

be explained. Now, it is one thing to *explain*, and another to *explain away*. There was a time when the public persecuted innovators : but times have changed ; now innovators persecute the public."

One who knew him long says : —

"I never knew a minister who out of the pulpit so well sustained the impression he made when in the pulpit."

He applied his philosophy to his own personal condition. He had two infirmities, — deafness and lameness. Referring to the former, he once said : —

"I suppose I lose more or less of the wisdom there is going, but I get rid of a vast deal of nonsense. A friend who thinks he has anything very good to say to me is generally willing to raise his voice."

To another friend who advised a new method of treatment for his lameness he playfully replied : —

"I dare say that it might be of service, but you know I am a little superstitious on this point. I am afraid that were I to get rid of this lameness I might have something worse. I have thought the whole thing over, and as long as a man at my time of life may expect some ailment or other, I have concluded that I would not change mine for any other that I can think of. I am used to this."

His last days were cheerful, quiet, and free from pain. He had no disease, and was confined to his bed for only one day. He was simply worn out, and died from weakness. His wife died, on June 13, 1868, at the age of seventy ; and, as has been said, he had no children. He died Dec. 23, 1874 ; and among his last words were these : "I die in the faith in which I have lived. . . . How much better it is to pray than to philosophize about it !" The last hours immediately before he died were spent in an attitude of devotion, with uplifted eyes and folded hands. His feeling toward men was as simple and childlike as his feeling toward God. "I believe," he used to say, "that I do not leave an enemy in the world."

JUNE MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last preceding meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library since the May meeting.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON then read the following paper:—

The Loyal Petitions of 1666.

Minorities, in religion, in politics, in science, have seldom gained much credit; and as a rule, have with difficulty obtained justice from their opponents at the time, and from historians afterward, unless events have clearly shown them to be right. There is one minority, in which I feel a strong personal interest, and whose case I have long wished to restate. It is that of 1666 in Massachusetts. It consisted of 171 persons, of whom I claim eight as ancestors; and the principal figure in it was John Appleton, a relative but not an ancestor.

In the summer of 1666 the authorities of Massachusetts received a letter from King Charles II. by Secretary Morrice, dated April 10. In it the king acknowledged the receipt of the Report of his Commissioners and the account sent to England by the Governor, and wrote that "it is very evident to his Majesty . . . that those who govern the collony of the Masachusetts doe . . . beleive that his Majesty hath noe jurisdiction over them," and that therefore there was no right of appeal to his Majesty; he further recalled his Commissioners, and ordered the Governor and Council to send five or four persons to England, of whom Bellingham and Hathorn to be two; he ordered all persons imprisoned for petitioning the Commissioners to be set free, and the question of bounds to be reserved for his Majesty's determination.

The General Court met to consider this on September 11, and by way of preparation devoted the whole of the next fore-

noon to prayer. The Court then approved a letter to Secretary Morrice, in answer to two separate letters from the king, declaring that reasons had been given (August 1, 1665) why they could not submit to the Commissioners, that they have nothing to add, and "therefore cannot expect that the ablest persons among us could bee in a capacity to declare our cause more fully." Palfrey rightly says that "This conclusion was not reached with entire unanimity," and adds that "the sordid and short-sighted timidity of commercial politics interposed; for already there was commercial prosperity enough to conflict with the ancient strictness of public morality."

These fine-sounding words refer to the views of the minority; for the General Court at this same session had to deal with petitions from Boston, Salem, Newbury, and Ipswich, in which the petitioners "desire that seeing his Majestie hath already taken no little displeasure against us as if we disowned his Majesties jurisdiction over us, effectual care may be taken lest by refusing to attend his Majesties orders for clearing pretences unto right and favour in that particular, we should plunge ourselves into greater disfavour and danger"; suggest that "The doubtful interpretation of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to hope should ever be construed to the divesting of a sovereign prince of his royall power over his naturall subjects and liege people, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendent immunity and privilege upon"; and entreat "that application be made to his Majestie by meet persons immediately to be sent for that end, to clear the transactions of them that govern this colony from any such construction, least otherwise that, which duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which in the conclusion may be more terrible than the roaring of a lyon."

This petition is printed, with no names attached, in Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers, and with the signers' names among the Danforth Papers in Vol. XVIII. of the Publications of this Society; and Mr. Savage, for the Publishing Committee of that volume, gives as one reason for reprinting it, that in it "the minority of our fathers have exhibited so much good sense and sound policy." Two copies of it are among the English State Papers, bearing a note to the effect that because of it "those gentlemen received a severe check,

the petition voted scandalous, they styled betrayers of the liberties of the country, are still reputed ill affected to the Government, and not suffered to be chosen into any office of magistracy." The number of signers was, from Boston, 26, Salem, 33, Newbury, 39, and Ipswich, 73, — which last I take to have been more than one fourth of the adult male inhabitants of the town. Palfrey calls the petition "unpatriotic," and is very sarcastic about the signers, saying: "Of those of them who can be identified, some were of that class of persons who establish a certain consequence by building up fortunes, though their fabric would scarcely rise above the ground unless protected by the public spirit of the braver men whom they embarrass."

Anything more unjust has seldom been written in the name of history. The signers were neither actuated by fear for newly acquired wealth, nor by the timid conservatism of old age. All ranks and all ages were represented by the signers. Among those of Boston were John Winslow, Thomas Brattle, and Simon Lynde; among those of Newbury were Thomas Parker, John and Benjamin Woodbridge, William Gerrish, Richard, Percival and Samuel Lowle, Thomas Hale, Sen., Anthony and Abiel Somerby, Tristram Coffin, John Knight, Sen. and Jr., and Richard Knight; and those of Ipswich were headed by John Appleton, William Norton, George Gittings, John Baker, Sen., Francis Wainwright; while among them are found, generally more than once, the names of Dennison, Hubbard, Perkins, Rogers, Whipple, Kimball. But the best evidence of the character of the signers is seen in the vote of the General Court, which "finding that the petitioners doe therein unjustly charge, threaten, & reflect upon this Court, to the dishonor of the members thereof," ordered that Capt. William Gerrish of Newbury, Capt. John Appleton of Ipswich, Mr. Edmond Batter of Salem, Capt. Thomas Savage, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Habbaeuck Glover, and Mr. Thomas Deane, all of Boston, "all of them principall persons in the said petitions, some of them persons in publicke trust, all save one freemen of this colony & members of churches, be by the secretary warned to attend this Court in October next, to answer for the same."

Two letters among the English State Papers testify to the same effect. Colonel Nicolls, one of the King's Commissioners,

wrote to Secretary Morrice, Oct. 24, 1666: "Most of the considerable Merchants & men of estates in the countrey petitioned the generall Court to comply with His Ma^{ties} commands, but they are now to be question'd before another Court as seditious Persons." Samuel Mavericke wrote to Lord Arlington, August 25, 1668, saying that on August 6, 1666, the ship arrived with the King's letter, that the Council was not called together for six weeks, and that the General Court voted not to send Bellingham and Hathorne, "which when known, many of the considerablest persons within the government (some of them Deputyes of that Court and Captaines of Companies) petitioned to the Court that his Ma^{ties} command might be obeyed; but in stead of granting their request they summoned them to appeare before them, where they receiv'd a sharp reproofe for their presumption as they termed it."

The General Court met again on October 10; and now we have a very curious fact. The Court approved exactly the same letter as before to Secretary Morrice, but only the first half of it, answering the earlier letter of the king, but making no reference at all to his Majesty's letter of April 10. Why this was done I cannot say. The printed "Calendar of State Papers" shows that the September letter was sent and received.

All the documents, which I have so far quoted, are in print; but the matter now becomes more personal, and I make use of manuscript papers at the State House, all in Vol. 106 of the Archives, being, so to speak, matters of secret session. On October 17 Capt. John Appleton appeared before the General Court, armed with the following document:—

The Answer of us whose names are heareto Subscribed to what Is charged upon us by y^e honored Generall Court As by ther Summons Appeares.

(1) As to y^e Substance & purport of y^e petition for wth your petitioners are In question they must proffess they neyther doe nor can dare recede from It. besides other obligations of contience & prudence Some of y^m have taken y^e oath of allegiance with many other y^e members of y^e honored General Corte Soe little while since cannot be forgotten by them nor can y^e be of noe Signification to y^m your petitioners can avouche y^e according to ther Contiens And best perswasion ther reall desire of y^e good of y^e Generall Court & every Member of it, of y^e whole Contry & Collony as of y^e Continuance of o^r Libertys Granted by

his Majestie in o^r Charter was y^e Sole Reason why they have petitioned & upon y^e Same Grounds cannot recall it.

(2) You^r petitioners doe most Seriously profess it to be contrary to their Judgem^{nt} & intent in ther petition to cast any aspersion upon y^e honored Generall Court or any member therof o^r to Express y^e least disrespect or disafection to y^e whole or any of it being sensible of y^e duty to Authority And therefore pleade not Guilty as to their dessighne in ther petition, yet being Serieuse: as to y^e matter of y^e petition and scoape therof as y^e Case Requires: you^r petitioners were more Carefull therabout then Curious as for Any Gramaticall Criticisms w^{ch} they might presume the Generall Court would not be most observant of at such a tyme & in such a Case, whearein y^e matt^r abundantly swallows up any Circumstance and therefore pleade for y^e Candor of y^e Generall Court in over looking what you^r petitioners might not soe narrowly looke into upon y^e acco^t already given & that they would not Strein Expressions to Enforce a bad Construction from y^m no^r yet would you^r petitioners be understood to acknowledge Guilt As to y^e Expressions more then in thir Intentions, they can but Guess at what maye be anything capable of harsh Interpretation & therefore shall give ther owne in all y^e passages which maye to any seeme Suspicious upon w^{ch} y^e Charge Contained in y^e Summons maye possibly Be Grounded.

(3) As to y^e Expressions following viz Being Involved by ther Silence In the dangerouse mistakes of psons otherwise well mynded Inclined to unsafe if not disloyall principalls &c^a And agayne desire y^t noe pty will soe Irresistably carry on any dessighne of soe dangerouse Consequence In Answer heareunto you^r petitioners Crave y^e mentioning of thos many petitions y^e Scoape wheareof y^e Generall Court Cannot forgett, presented In October 1664¹ besides y^e fame ther was of Croudes of petitions then ready to be Exhibeted to this Court of y^e same tenno^r with thos & you^r petitioners desire this honored Court to understand Thos passages mentioned o^r any of y^e like nature in y^e petition to have Refrence unto such petitions o^r petioners whome although they honor & Respect yet they cannot concur with y^m in ther apprehension of y^e psent Case & not to y^e Generall Court; & that you maye be pleased with good Reason soe to understand you^r petitioners begg of y^e honored Court not to allow such an interpretation of y^e petition as should make it Controdict it selfe And to weigh with thos former this Expression Necessaryly referring to y^e Courte viz That they would not be wanting in with holding any due Encouragem^{nt} y^t their concurrence might afforde in soe arduouse A matter you^r petioners Conceave a Concurrence wth y^e Generall Courte Intended is inconsist-

¹ See printed Records of the Colony of Massachusetts, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 136, 137.

ante wth A Charging of it o^r reflecting upon it. further you^r petitioners make their address to y^e Generall Courte as Supplicants & therefore it maye be improbable y^t should be Charged on y^m w^{ch} was sued unto by them.

[4] As to y^t in y^e petition upon w^{ch} y^e Charge of threatening must be Grounded namely necessitating their brethren & Equally Engaged wth them, & You^r petitioners answer Is y^t it is improper for thos y^t speake Supplications to Intend threatenings y^e Sollicitousness in y^e petition to avoide inconveniency not desired but y^t maye in case be Judged necessary is noe Comination; faithfull advisem^{nt} of danger argues noe will o^r purpose of procuring but preventing it; you^r petitioners in those words doe butt suppose what necessity y^e highest of Lawes maye Enforce & affirme what themselves are unwilling to w^{ch} can be noe threatening You^r petitioners with others need not have been at y^e trouble of troubling this honored Court but have waited y^e proceedings of it, and accordingly have acted privately in such a waye as Is specified withoute y^e proposing of such a danger to y^e Consideration of y^e Courte w^{ch} their Ingenuity & respect to y^e publique good & Intrest of y^e whole would not allow for w^{ch} you^r petitioners presume they may not suffer.

17 Octobe^r 1666.

Capt. Jno Appleton Gave in this as his pticular

Ans. tho it be writt in the plurall number
it being so Intended then but now he gives
it in his singular Capacity and to that he
he desires to stand unto.

E. R. S.

The substance of the document is better than the spelling, to which I should be sorry to think that Captain Appleton would "stand unto." All the persons warned to attend were discharged, the Court ordering the papers to be put on file, but not recorded. This, however, was not quite the end. Capt. John Appleton retained the confidence of his fellow-townsmen at Ipswich so fully that they sent him Deputy to the General Court of May 15, 1667. He appeared to take his seat; but the next day the question of his right to it came up, and was the cause of three papers, all only found on file.

May 16, 1667. The deputies of the gen^l Court findinge Cap^t John Appleton to be returned as a deputye for the Towne of Ipswich, & that upon his presentation thereunto, some question is made of his capacitye for that service, by reason of some expressions, in the petition by him signed the tendency whereof have manifestly breathed forth some unfaythfullnes to the Government here established, as by the generall

courts result on examination thereof may appeare, & that in the management thereof he hath not retracted the sd offensive expressions, but Justified himselfe under p'tence of his good Intentions, nor hath he here in the debate thereof taken any blame to himselfe, but rather Impute blame to this howse, Justifyinge himselfe in all by his good Intentions as afforesd, the p'mises considered, the deputies doe hereby declare the sd Cap^t Appleton to be no fitt Member of their body, & that the freemen of Ipswich may on a legall warninge proceed to the choyce of another, whereby the liberties of the freemen may not be Infringed nor the priviledges of this howse Invaded.

Voted by the deputs by way of answer
to the freemen of Ipswich.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

Capt. John Appleton had his "vindication" from his constituents, as follows:—

The humble Petition of the ffreemen of the Towne of Ipsw^{ch} to the
hon^d Gen^l Court now assembled at Boston.

May it please this hon^d Court to understand that wheras according to o^r allowed p^riviledges and stated liberties, and in attendance unto, and p^rsuance of o^r lawes specified in the 25th page of o^r Booke of Lawes: Wee the ffreemen of Ipsw^{ch} have orderly & formally Elected Cap^t Jn^o Appleton (ffor that hee hath allwayes app^rved himselfe unto us a Gentleman fully orthodox in his judgm^t as to matters of fayth and points of Religion, p^rfessed amongst us Right good, honest pious and prudent in his conversation true & firmly faithfull as to the interest of the Colony and Governm^t therof) to negotiate for us in these publicke affaires wherin o^rselves as others are concerned, as a member of y^e house of Deputyes, And wheras y^e said Cap^t Appleton (although not forward yet) was pleased to Gratify us wth the susception of the burthen of such service & trust and accordingly to that End Repayred to y^e Hon^d Co^t and was there disaccepted, and thence dismissed unto o^r great grief (if not to o^r damage, by virtue of the second Law referring to y^e choyce of Deputyes in the 25th page of y^e booke) especially for that wee cannot understand what y^e reasons of such rejection were, nor that it was y^e act of the Co^t entire according to w^t is intimated as requisit in y^e Law abovesd. Yo^r Petition^r are bold humbly to crave of this hon^d Co^t that y^e sd Cap^t Appleton may yet have his Admission as a member of the house of Deputyes for us, therin to discharge the trust committed to him by us, But if there bee cause to y^e contrary appearing to y^e hon^d Co^t to whose determination wee are bound to submitt, Yet to y^e End wee may not bee in any capacity of jealousyes (w^{ch} wee would most Religiously decline) of any disregard to us, partiality or non attendance

to y^e Lawes established amongst us, that wee looke upon as o^r sanctuary of safety, & a mutuall bond unto all, w^{ch} upon no pretext, or interest w^eever, may be violate; Wee further therefore most humbly entreat of this honrd Co^{rt} that y^e would be pleased to favo^r us, wth the information of the grounds of the procedure in this case, And yo^r petitioners shall be bound ever to pray &c.

Voted at a meeting of the ffreemen on the 27th
of May 1667 that this petition be sent unto
the Gen^{ll} Court. As attest ROBERT LORD *clerke*.

In Answer to this Peticōn, The mag^{ts} App^hend its meet that Cap^t Jno. Appleton be admitted or continued in his trust as a Deputy of this Court, in behalfe of the ffreemen of Ipswich, or that a just reason of his exclusion be rendred to the Court, that so there may be no just ground of dissatisfacōn given by this court to the freemen of this Jurisdiccon. The magist^s have past this their brethren the deputy^s hereto consenting.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secret.*

The deputyes consent not hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

28: 3d 67.

I find nothing more relating to the case, and think that Capt. John Appleton was allowed to retain his seat, though I cannot positively say so. If not, his name would hardly have been left on the roll of Deputies, where it certainly is. The incident, however, was thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned by Samuel Mavericke in a letter to Lord Arlington, Oct. 16, 1667. Writing of the session of the General Court, he says: "The first act they did was the expelling Captⁿ Appleton of Ipswich who was chosen Deputy for that Towne; the crime laid to his charge was the subscription (to) that Loyall Peticōn presented to the last Court of which coppies have been sent to your Lord^{sh}." If he failed to approve himself to Dr. Palfrey the historian, he yet was held in high esteem by Samuel Sewall the diarist, who wrote thus: "1699. Seventh-day, Nov^r 4. Capt. Apleton of Ipswich dies. He was an Israelite indeed a great Ornament of y^e Ch. & Town. Died of y^e Jaundies. 77 years." Of course this incident is not one of great importance in the history of Massachusetts; but I think it is of some interest as bringing together the king, the Colony, the General Court, the freemen of a town, and a single deputy, each and all, as by a common impulse, resisting real or fancied invasion of those rights which were re-

garded as of too much value to allow the least suspicion of infringement or change. I have thought it worthy of a hearing by this Society for this reason, as well as because of the opportunity of putting in print three documents from the rich and valuable archives at the State House, now exposed to all the risks inseparable from ancient manuscript volumes.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS read a paper as follows:—

Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial New England.

In the year 1883 I prepared a somewhat detailed sketch of the history of the North Precinct of the original town of Braintree, subsequently incorporated as Quincy, which was published and can now be found in the large volume entitled "History of Norfolk County, Massachusetts." In the preparation of that sketch I had at my command a quantity of material of more or less historical value,—including printed and manuscript records, letters, journals, traditions, oral and written, etc.,—bearing on social customs, and political and religious questions or conditions. The study of this material caused me to use in my sketch the following language:—

"That the earlier generations of Massachusetts were either more law-abiding or more self-restrained than the later, is a proposition which accords neither with tradition nor with the reason of things. The habits of those days were simpler than those of the present; they were also essentially grosser. The community was small; and it hardly needs to be said that where the eyes of all are upon each, the general scrutiny is a safeguard to morals. It is in cities, not in villages, that laxity is to be looked for." But "now and again, especially in the relations between the sexes, we get glimpses of incidents in the dim past which are as dark as they are suggestive. Some such are connected with Quincy. . . . The illegitimate child was more commonly met with in the last than in the present century, and bastardy cases furnished a class of business with which country lawyers seem to have been as familiar then as they are with liquor cases now."¹

Being now engaged in the work of revising and rewriting the sketch in which this extract occurs, I have recently had

¹ History of Norfolk County, Massachusetts, p. 321.

occasion to examine again the material to which I have alluded; and I find that, though the topic to which it relates in part is one which cannot be fully and freely treated in a work intended for general reading, yet the material itself contains much of value and interest. Neither is the topic I have referred to in itself one which can be ignored in an historical view, though, as I have reason to believe, there has been practised in New England an almost systematic suppression of evidence in regard to it; for not only are we disposed always to look upon the past as a somewhat Arcadian period, — a period in which life and manners were simpler, better, and more genuine than they now are, — not only, I say, are we disposed to look upon the past as a sort of golden era when compared with the present, but there is also a sense of filial piety connected with it. Like Shem and Japhet, approaching it with averted eyes, we are disposed to cover up with a garment the nakedness of the progenitors; and the severe looker after truth, who wants to have things appear exactly as they were, and does not believe in the suppression of evidence, — the investigator of this sort is apt to be looked upon as a personage of no discretion and doubtful utility, — as, in a word, a species of modern Ham, who, having unfortunately seen what ought to have been covered up, is eager, out of mere levity or prurience, to tell his "brethren without" all about it.

On this subject I concur entirely in the sentiments of our orator, Colonel Higginson, as expressed in his address at the Society's recent centennial. The truth of history is a sacred thing, — a thing of far more importance than its dignity, — and the truth of history should not be sacrificed to sentiment, patriotism, or filial piety. Neither, in like manner, when it comes to scientific historical research, can propriety, whether of subject or, in the case of original material, of language, be regarded. To this last principle the published pages of Winthrop and Bradford bear evidence; and, in my judgment, the Massachusetts Historical Society has, in a career now both long and creditable, done nothing more creditable to itself than in once for all, through the editorial action of Mr. Savage and Mr. Deane, settling this principle in the publications referred to. I am, of course, well aware that Mr. Savage did not edit Winthrop's History for this Society, but nevertheless he is so

identified with the Society that his work may fairly be considered part of its record. Whether part of its record or not, Mr. Savage and Mr. Deane, — than whom no higher authorities are here recognized, — in the publications referred to, did settle the principle that mawkishness is just as much out of place in scientific historical research as prurience would be, or as sentiment, piety, and patriotism are. These last-named attributes of our nature, indeed, — most noble, elevating, and attractive in their proper spheres, — always have been, now are, and I think I may safely say will long continue to be, the bane of thorough historical research, and ubiquitous stumbling-blocks in the way of scientific results.

But in the case of history, as with medicine and many other branches of science and learning, there are, as I have already said, many matters which cannot be treated freely in works intended for general circulation, — matters which none the less may be, and often are, important and deserving of thorough mention. Certainly they should not be ignored or suppressed. And this is exactly one of the uses to which historical societies are best adapted. Like medical and other similar associations, historical societies are scientific bodies in which all subjects relating to their department of learning both can and should be treated with freedom, so that reference may be made, in books intended for popular reading, to historical-society collections as pure scientific depositories. It is this course I propose to pursue in the present case; and such material at my disposal as I cannot well use freely in the work upon which I am now engaged, will be incorporated in the present paper, and made accessible in the printed Proceedings of the Society for such general reference as may be desirable.

Among the unpublished material to which I have referred are the records of the First Church of Quincy, — originally and for more than a century and a half (1639-1792) the Braintree North Precinct Church. The volume of these records covering the earliest period of the history of the Society cannot now be found. It was in the possession of the church in 1739, for it was then used and referred to by the Rev. John Hancock, father of the patriot, and fifth pastor of the church, in the preparation of two centennial sermons preached by him at that time; but eighty-five years later, when, in 1824, the parish was separated from the town, the earliest book of regu-

lar records then transferred from the town to the parish clerk went no farther back than Jan. 17, 1708.

There is, however, another volume of records still in existence, apparently not kept by the regular precinct clerk, the entries in which, all relating to the period between 1673 and 1773, seem to have been made by five successive pastors. Small and bound in leather, the paper of which this volume is made up is of that rough, parchment character in such common use during the last century, and the entries in it, in five different handwritings, are in many cases scarcely legible, and frequently of the most confidential character. In the main they are records of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths; but some of them relate to matters of church discipline, and these throw a curious light on the social habits of a period now singularly remote. In view of what this volume contains, the loss of the previous volume containing the record of the church's spiritual life from the time it was organized to 1673, a period of thirty-four years, becomes truly an *hiatus valde deflendus*.

For a full understanding of the situation it is merely necessary further to say that during the period to which all the entries in the volume from which I am about to quote relate, Braintree was a Massachusetts sea-board town of the ordinary character. It numbered a population ranging from some seven hundred souls in 1673, to about twenty-five hundred a century later, the majority of whom during the first half of the eighteenth century lived in the North Precinct of the original town, now Quincy. The meeting-house, about which clustered the colonial village, stood on the old Plymouth road, between the tenth and the eleventh mile-posts south of Boston. The people were chiefly agriculturists, living on holdings somewhat widely scattered; the place had no especial trade or leading industry, and no commerce, so that, when describing the country a few years before, in 1660, — and since then the conditions had not greatly changed, — Samuel Maverick said of Braintree, "It subsists by raising provisions, and furnishing Boston with wood."¹ In reading the following extracts from the records, it is also necessary to bear in mind that during the eighteenth century the whole social and intellectual as well as religious

¹ Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d series, vol. i. p. 239.

life of the Massachusetts towns not only centred about the church, but was concentrated in it. The church was practically a club as well as a religious organization. An inhabitant of the town excluded from it or under its ban became an outcast and a pariah.

The following entry is in the handwriting of the Rev. Moses Fiske, pastor of the church during thirty-six years, from 1672 to 1708, and it bears date March 2, 1683:—

"Temperance, the daughter of Brother F——, now the wife of John B——, having been guilty of the sin of Fornication with him that is now her husband, was called forth in the open Congregation, and presented a paper containing a full acknowledgment of her great sin and wickedness,—publicly bewayled her disobedience to parents, pride, unprofitableness under the means of grace, as the cause that might provoke God to punish her with sin, and warning all to take heed of such sins, begging the church's prayers, that God would humble her, and give a sound repentance, &c. Which confession being read, after some debate, the brethren did generally if not unanimously judge that she ought to be admonished; and accordingly she was solemnly admonished of her great sin, which was spread before her in divers particulars, and charged to search her own heart wayes and to make thorough work in her Repentance, &c. from which she was released by the church vote unanimously on April 11th 1698."

The next entry of a case of church discipline is of a wholly different character. The individual subjected to it bore the same family name as the earliest minister of the town, the Rev. William Tompson, who was the first to subscribe the original covenant of Sept. 16, 1639, but was not descended from him. Neither must this Samuel Tomson, or Tompson, be confounded with Deacon Samuel Tompson, who, born in 1630, lived in Braintree, and whose name is met with on nearly every page of the earlier records. The Samuel Tompson referred to in the following entry seems to have been the son of the deacon, and was born Nov. 6, 1662. His name frequently appears in the town records, and usually (pp. 29, 35, 39, 40), as dissenting from some vote providing for the minister's salary or the maintenance of the town school. He was, though the son of a deacon, evidently a man otherwise minded. This entry, like the previous one, is in the handwriting of Mr. Fiske.

"Samuel Tomson, a prodigie of pride, malice and arrogance, being called before the church in the Meeting-house 28, July, 1697, for his

absenting himself from the Publike Worshipe, unlesse when any strangers preached; his carriage being before the Church proud and insolent, reviling and vilifying their Pastor, at an horrible rate, and stiling him their priest, and them a nest of wasps; and they unanimously voated an admonition, which was accordingly solemnly and in the name of Christ, applyed to him, wherein his sin and wickedness was laid open by divers Scriptures for his conviction, and was warned to repent, and after prayer to God this poor man goes to the tavern to drink it down immediately, as he said, &c."

Then, under date of August 27, 1697, a month later, Mr. Fiske proceeds:—

"He delivered to me an acknowledgment in a bit of paper at my house in the presence of Leif't Marsh and Ensign Penniman, who he brought. 'T was read before the Church at a meeting appointed 12. 8. They being not willing to meet before. Leif't Col. Quinsey gave his testimony against it, and said that his conversation did not agree therewith."

The next entry, also in the same handwriting, is dated Dec. 25, 1697:—

"At the church meeting further testimony came in against him: the church generally by vote and voice declared him impenitent, and I was to proceed to an ejection of him, by a silent vote in Public. But I deferred it, partly because of the severity of the winter, but chiefly for that his pretended offence was originally against myself, and [he] had said I would take all advantages against him, I deferred the same, and because 4 or 5 of the brethren did desire that he might be called before the church to see if he would own what they asserted: and having

the church, 1 April, 98, he came, brought an additional acknowledgment. Of 15 about 9 or 10 voted to accept of it, &c."

This occurred on the 11th of April, 1698; and on the 17th Mr. Fiske proceeds:—

"After the end of the public worship his confession was read publicly, and the major part of the Church voted his absolution."

The next case of discipline in order of the entries relates to an earlier period, 1677. It records the excommunication of one Joseph Belcher. The proceedings took place at meetings held on the 7th of October and the 11th of November.

"Joseph Belcher, a member of this Church though not in full communion, being sent for by the Church, after they had resolved to

inquire into the matter of scandall, so notoriously infamous both in Court and Country, by Deacon Basse and Samuel Tompson, to give an account of these things; they returning with this answer from him, that he would consider of it and send the church word the next Sabbath, whether he would come or no; on which return by a script, whereunto his name was subscribed, which he also owned to the elder, in private the weeke after, wherein he scornfully and impudently reflected upon the officer and church, and rudely refused to have anything to doe with us; so after considerable waiting, he persisting in his impenitence and obstinacy, (the Elders met at Boston unanimously advising thereto) the Church voted his not hearing of them, some few brethren not acting, doubting of his membership but silent. He was proceeded against according to Matthew 18, 17,¹ and rejected."

The next entry also records a case of excommunication, under date of May 4, 1683:—

"Isaac Theer, (the son of Brother Thomas Theer) being a member of this Church but not in full communion, having been convicted of notorious scandalous thefts multiplied, as stealing pewter from Johanna Livingstone, stealing from John Penniman cheese, &c., and others, and stealing an horse at Bridgewater, for which he suffered the law, after much laboring with him in private and especially by the officers of the church, to bring [him] to a thorough sight and free and ingenuous confession of his sin; as also for his abominably lying, changing his name, &c., was called forth in public, moved pathetically to acknowledge his sin and publish his repentance, who came down and stood against the lower end of the foreseat after he had been prevented (by our shutting the east door) from going out; stood impudently, and said indeed he owned his sin of stealing, was heartily sorry for it, begged pardon of God and men, and hoped he should do so no more, which was all he could be brought unto, saying his sin was already known, and that there was no need to mention it in particular, all with a remisse voice, so that but few could hear him. The Church at length gave their judgment against him, that he was a notorious, scandalous sinner, and obstinately impenitent. And when I was proceeding to spread before him his sin and wickedness, he (as 't is probable), guessing what was like to follow, turned about to goe out, and being desired and charged to tarry and hear what the church had to say to him, he flung out of doors, with an insolent manner, though silent. Therefore the Pastor applied himself to the congregation, and having spread before them his sin, partly to vindicate the church's

¹ "And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."

proceeding against him, and partly to warn others; sentence was declared against him according to Matthew 18, 17."

The next also is a case of excommunication. It appears from the records (p. 658) that "Upon the 9th day of August ther went out a fleet Souldiers to Canadee in the year 1690, and the small pox was aboard, and they died, sixe of it; four thrown overbord at Cap an." Among these four was Ebenezer Owen, who left a widow and a brother Josiah; and it is to them that this entry relates:—

"Josiah Owen, the son of William Owen (whose parents have been long in full communion), a child of the covenant, who obtained by fraud and wicked contrivance by some marriage with his brother Ebenezer Owen's widdow, as the Pastor of the church had information by letters from the Court of Assistance touching the sentence there passed upon her (he making his escape). And living with her as an husband, being, by the Providence of God, surprised at his cottage by the Pastor of the Church with Major Quinsey and D. Tompson (of whom reports were that he was gone, we intending to discourse with her and acquaint [her] with the message received from the said Court informing her their appointment of an open confession of their sin in the congregation), he was affectionately treated by them, and after much discourse, finding him obstinate and reflecting, he was desired and charged to be present the next Sabbath before the Church, to hear what should be spoken to him, but he boldly replied he should not come. And being after treated by D. Tompson and his father to come, and taking his opportunity to carry her away the last weeke, after a solemn sermon preached on 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4 and 5,¹ and prayers added, an account was given to the church and congregation of him, the Brethren voting him to be an impenitent, scandalous, wicked, incestuous sinner, and giving their consent that the sentence of excommunication should be passed upon and declared against him, which was solemnly performed by the Pastor of the Church according to the direction of the Apostle in the above mentioned text: this 17 of January, 169½."

The above, four in number, are all the cases of church discipline recorded as having been administered during the Fiske

¹ 3. "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed.

4. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ,

5. "To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

pastorate. Considering that this pastorate covered more than a third of a century, and that during it the original township had not yet been divided into precincts, — all the inhabitants of what are now Quincy, Randolph, and Holbrook, as well as those of the present Braintree, being included in the church to which Mr. Fiske ministered, — the record indicates a high standard of morality and order. The town at that time had a population of about seven hundred souls, which during the next pastorate increased to one thousand.

Mr. Fiske died on the 10th of August, 1708, and the Rev. Joseph Marsh was ordained as his successor on the 18th of the following May (1709). At this time the town was divided for purposes of religious worship into two precincts, the Records of the North Precinct — now Quincy — beginning on the 17th of January, 1708. It then contained, “by exact enumeration,” seventy-two families, or close upon five hundred souls. The record now proceeds in the handwriting of Mr. Marsh: —

“The first Church meeting after my settlement was in August 4, 1713, in the meeting-house. It was occasioned by the notoriously scandalous life of James Penniman, a member of the Church, though not in full communion. The crimes charged upon him and proved were his unchristian carriage towards his wife, and frequent excessive drinking. He behaved himself very insolently before the church when allowed to speak in vindication of himself, and was far from discovering any signs of true repentance. He was unanimously voted guilty and laid under solemn admonition by the Church.”

The next entry is one of eight years later, and reads as follows: —

“1721. Samuel Hayward was suspended from the Lord’s supper by the Brethren for his disorderly behaviour in word and deed, and his incorrigibleness therein.”

The following year the case of James Penniman again presented itself. It was now nearly nine years since he had been solemnly admonished; and on the 4th of April, 1722, —

“Sabbath day. It was proposed to the church last Sabbath to ex-communicate James Penniman for his contumacy in sin, but this day he presented a confession, which was read before the Congregation, and prayed that they would wait upon him awhile longer, which the Church consented to, and he was again publicly admonished, and warned against

persisting in the neglect of Public Worship, against Idleness, Drunkenness and Lying; and he gave some slender hopes of Reformation, seemed to be considerably affected, and behaved himself tolerably well."

The following entries complete the record during the Marsh pastorate of sixteen years, which ended March 8, 1726, he then dying in his forty-first year: —

"September 9. Brother Joseph Parmenter made a public Confession, in the presence of the Congregation for the sin of drunkenness.

"September 21. At a Church meeting of the Brethren to consider his case, the question was put whether they would accept his confession [to] restore him; it passed in the negative, because he has made several confessions of the sin, and is still unreformed thereof: the Brethren concluded it proper to suspend him from Communion in the Lord's Supper, for his further humiliation and warning. He was accordingly suspended.

"March 3^d, 1722-3. Sabbath Evening. Brother Parmenter having behaved himself well (for aught anything that appears) since his suspension, was at his desire restored again by a vote of the Brethren, *nemine contradicente*.

"March 10. Joseph, a negro man, and Tabitha his wife made a public confession of the sin of fornication, committed each with the other before marriage, and desired to have the ordinance of Baptism administered to them.

"May 26. The Brethren of the Church met together to consider what is further necessary to be done by the Church towards the reformation of James Penniman. He being present desired their patience towards him, and offered a trifling confession, which was read, but not accepted by the Brethren, because he manifested no sign of true repentance thereof: they came to (I think) a unanimous vote that he should be cast out of the Church for his incorrigibleness in his evil waies, whenever I shall see good to do it, and I promised to wait upon him some time, to see how he would behave himself before I proceeded against him.

"At the same church meeting Major Quincey was fairly and clearly chosen by written votes to the office of tuning the Psalm in our Assemblies for Public Worship.

"January 26, 1723¹ Lord's-day. In the afternoon, after a sermon on 1 Cor. 5.5.¹ James Penniman persisting in a course of Idleness, Drunkenness, and in a neglect of the Public Worship, &c. had the fearful sentence of excommunication pronounced upon him.

¹ "5. To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

"February 2, 1723. Lord's Day. After the public service the Church being desired to stay voted — that Benjamin Neal, David Bass and Joseph Neal jun. members in full communion have discovered such a perverse spirit and been guilty of such disorderly behaviour in the House and Worship of God that they deserve to be suspended from communion with us at the Lord's table.

"February 9. Lord's Day evening. David Bass acknowledging his offensive behavior and promising to be more watchfull for time to come, the brethren signified their consent that he be restored to full communion with them.

"March 1. This day (being Sacrament day) Benjamin Neal and Joseph Neal, confessing their offensive behavior in presence of the Brethren, were restored to the liberty of full communion."

The above are all the record entries relating to matters of discipline during the Marsh pastorate, which ended March 8, 1726. They cover a period of sixteen years. On the 2d of November following the Rev. John Hancock was ordained, and the following entries are in his handwriting: —

"January 21, 1728. Joseph P—— and Lydia his wife made a confession before the Church which was well accepted for the sin of Fornication committed with each other before marriage.

"August 12, 1728. The Church met again at the house of Mrs. Marsh to examine into the grounds of some scandalous reports of the conduct of Brother David Bass on May the 29th who was vehemently suspected of being confederate with one Roger Wilson in killing a lamb belonging to Mr. Edward Adams of Milton. The witnesses, viz. Capt. John Billings, Mr. Edward and Samuel Capons of Dorchester, being present, the Church had a full hearing of the case, who unanimously agreed that brother Bass, though he denied the fact of having an hand in killing the lamb, yet was guilty of manifest prevaricating in the matter, and could not be restored to their communion without giving them satisfaction, and desired the matter might be suspended.

"[Nov. 11, 1728.] On Monday November the 11, 1728 we had another church meeting to hear and consider Brother David Bass's confession, which (after some debate) was accepted; and it was unanimously voted by the Church that it should be read before the whole Congregation, with which brother Bass would by no means comply, and so the matter was left at this meeting.

"But on December the 15 following David Bass's confession was read publicly before the Church and Congregation, which he owned publicly, and was accepted by the brethren by a manual vote.

"November 17, 1728. Mehetabel the wife of John B—— Jun^r

made a confession before the Church and Congregation for the sin of fornication, which was well accepted.

"September 28, 1729. Elizabeth M—— made a confession before the whole congregation for the sin of fornication, which was accepted by the Church.

"July 2, 1732. Abigail, wife of Joseph C——, made a confession of the sin of fornication, which was well accepted by the Church, though she was ill and absent.

"August 6, 1732. Ebenezer H—— and wife made their confession of the sin of fornication.

"July 1, 1733. Tabitha, a servant of Judge Quincy, and a member of this Church, made her confession for stealing a 3 pound bill from her Master, which was accepted.

"August 11, 1734. Nathan S—— and wife made their confession of the sin of fornication which was well accepted by the church.

"September 28, 1735. Elizabeth P——, widow, made her confession of the sin of fornication and was accepted.

"[Sept. 8, 1735.] At a meeting of the First Church of Christ in Braintree at the house of the Pastor, September the 8th 1735, after prayer—Voted, That it is the duty of this Church to examine the proofs of an unhappy quarrel between Benjamin Owen and Joseph Owen, members in full communion with this Church on May 30th 1735, whereby God has been dishonored and religion reproached.

"After some examination thereof it was unanimously voted by the brethren—That the Pastor should ask Benjamin Owen whether he would make satisfaction to the Church for his late offensive behaviour, which he refused to do in a public manner, unless the charge could be more fully proved upon him. Whereupon there arose several debates upon the sufficiency of the proof to demand a publick confession of him; and there appearing different apprehensions among the brethren about it, it was moved by several that the meeting should be adjourned for further consideration of the whole affair.

"Before the meeting was adjourned Benjamin Web acquainted the brethren with some scandalous reports he had heard of Elizabeth Morse, a member of this Church, when it was unanimously voted to be the duty of this Church to choose a Committee to examine into the truth of them and make report to the Church. And Mr. Benjamin Web, Mr. Moses Belcher Jun^r and Mr. Joseph Neal, Tert. were chose for the committee.

"Then the meeting was adjourned to the 29th Inst. at 2 oclock P. M.

"The brethren met upon the adjournment, and after humble supplication to God for direction, examined more fully the proofs of the late quarrel between Benj. Owen and Joseph Owen but passed no vote upon them.

"[Oct. 22, 1735.] At a meeting of the 1st Church in Braintree at the house of the Pastor, Oct. 22, 1735 — after prayer, Benj. Owen offered to the brethren a confession of his late offensive behavior which was not accepted.

"Then it was voted by the brethren that he should make confession of his offence in the following words, viz: Whereas I have been left to fall into a sinful strife and quarrel with my brother Joseph Owen, I acknowledge I am greatly to blame that I met my brother in anger and strove with him, to the dishonor of God, and thereby also have offended my Christian brethren. I desire to be humbled before God, and to ask God's forgiveness: I desire to be at peace with my brother, and to be restored to the charity of this Church, and your prayers to God for me.

"To which he consented, as also to make it in public.

"At the desire of the brethren the meeting was adjourned to Friday the 24 Inst. at 4 o'clock P. M. that they might satisfy themselves concerning the conduct of Joseph Owen in the late sinful strife between him and his brother. And the Pastor was desired to send to him to be present at the adjournment.

"The brethren met accordingly, and after a long consideration of the proof had against Joseph Owen, it was proposed to the brethren whether they would defer the further consideration of Joseph Owen's affair to another opportunity. It was voted in the negative.

"Whereupon a vote was proposed in the following words viz: Whether it appears to the brethren of this Church that the proofs they have had against Joseph Owen in the late unhappy strife between him and his brother be sufficient for them to demand satisfaction from him. Voted in the affirmative.

"And the satisfaction the brethren voted he should make for his offence was in the following words:—I am sensible that in the late unhappy and sinful strife between me and my brother Benj. Owen, I am blameworthy, and I ask forgiveness of God and this Church, and I desire to be at peace with my brother and ask your prayers to God for me.

"Then it was proposed to the brethren whether they would accept this confession, if Joseph Owen would make it before them at the present meeting — Voted in the negative.

"Whereupon it was voted that he should make this satisfaction for his offence before the Church upon the Lord's day immediately before the administration of the Lord's supper. With which he refusing to comply though he consented to make it before the Church at the present meeting, the meeting was dissolved.

"October 26, 1735. Benj'n Owen made a public confession of his offence, and was restored to the charity of the Church.

"Memorandum. At the adjournment of the Church meeting Sept. the 29th 1735, Mr. Moses Belcher and Mr. Joseph Neal, two of the committee chosen Sept. the 8th, made report to the brethren, that they had been with Eliz. Morse, and that she owned to them she had been delivered of two bastard children since she had made confession to the church of the sin of fornication, and she promised them to come and make the Church satisfaction for her great offence the latter end of October.

"[Nov. 10, 1735.] At a church meeting, Nov. 10th, 1735, the case of Elizabeth Morse came under consideration. And she having neglected to come and make satisfaction for her offence according to her promise, though she was in Town at that time, the brethren proceeded and unanimously voted her suspension from the communion of this church. It was likewise unanimously voted that the Pastor should admonish her in the name of the Church in a letter for her great offence.

"Upon a motion made by some of the brethren to reconsider the vote of the church Oct. 24 relating to Joseph Owen, it was voted to reconsider the same. Voted also that his confession be accepted before the brethren at the present meeting, which was accordingly done, and he was restored to their charity.

"December 7, 1735. Lieutenant Joseph Crosbey made confession of the sin of fornication, and was restored to the charity of the church.

"December 21, 1735. John Beale made confession of the sin of fornication, and was restored to the charity of the brethren.

"April 18, 1736. Susanna W—— made confession of the sin of fornication, and was restored to the charity of the brethren.

"May 1, 1737. Sam^l P—— and wife made public confession of the sin of fornication. Accepted.

"January 22, 1737-8. Charles S—— and wife made a public confession of the sin of fornication.

"June 11, 1738. Benjⁿ Sutton and Naomi his wife, free negroes, made confession of fornication.

"December 17, 1738. Jeffry, my servant, and Flora, his wife, servant of Mr. Moses Belcher, negroes, made confession of the sin of fornication.

"May 20th, 1739. Benjamin C—— and wife, of Milton, made confession of fornication.

"Jan'y 20, 1740. Joseph W—— and wife confessed the sin of fornication.

"October 25, 1741. This Church suspended from their communion Eleazer Vesey for his disorderly unchristian life and neglecting to hear the Church, according to Matt. 18, 17."

The Hancock pastorate lasted eighteen years, ending with Mr. Hancock's death on the 7th of May, 1744; and no record of cases of church discipline seems to have been kept by any of his successors in the pulpit of the North Precinct church. In the year 1750 Braintree probably contained some eighteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, and during the half-century between 1725 and 1775 there is no reason to suppose that any considerable change took place in their condition, whether social, material, or religious. It was a period of slow maturing. The absence of a record, therefore, in no way implies change; if it indicates anything at all in this case, it indicates merely that the successors to Mr. Hancock, either because they were indolent or because they saw no advantage in so doing, made no written mention of anything relating to the church's life or action beyond what was contained in the book regularly kept by the precinct clerk. There are but two exceptions to this, both consisting of brief entries made, the one by the Rev. Lemuel Bryant, the immediate successor of Mr. Hancock, the other by the Rev. Anthony Wibird, who in 1755 followed Mr. Bryant. Both entries are to be found on the second page of the volume from which all the extracts relating to church discipline have been taken. Mr. Bryant was for his time an advanced religious thinker, and, as is invariably the case with such, he failed to carry the whole of his flock along with him. Owing to declining health, he resigned his pastorate in October, 1753, having exactly two months before recorded the following case of discipline:—

“August 22, 1753. Ebenezer Adams was Suspended from the Communion of the Church for the false, abusive and scandalous stories that his Unbridled Tongue had spread against the Pastor, and refusing to make a proper Confession of his monstrous wickedness.”

The other of these two records bears date almost exactly twenty years later, and was doubtless made because of the preceding entry. It is very brief, and as follows:—

“November 3, 1773. The Church made choice of Ebenezer Adams for deacon, in the place of deacon Palmer, who resigned the stated exercise of his office.”

After 1741, therefore, the only records of the North Precinct church are those contained in the book kept by the suc-

cessive precinct clerks, which has often been consulted, but never copied. None of the entries in it relate to cases of discipline or to matters spiritual, they being almost exclusively prudential in character. No record is made of births, baptisms, deaths, or marriages, which were still for several years to come noted in the small volume from which I have quoted. Accordingly the Braintree North Precinct records after Mr. Hancock's ministry are of far inferior interest, though as the volume containing them from 1709 to 1766 distinctly belongs to what are known as "ancient records," and as such is liable at any time to be lost or destroyed, I have caused a copy of it to be made, and have deposited it for safe keeping in the library of this Society. An examination of this volume only very occasionally brings to light anything which is of more than local interest, or which has a bearing on the social or religious conditions of the last century, though here and there something is found which constitutes an exception to this rule. Such, for instance, is the following entry in the record of the proceedings of a Precinct meeting held on the 19th of July, 1731, to take measures for properly noticing the completion of the new meeting-house then being built:—

"After a considerable debate with respect to the raising of the new meeting-house, &c., the Question was put whether the committee should provide Bred Cheap Sugar Rum Sider and Bear &c. for the Raising of said Meeting House at the Cost of the Precinct. It passed in the affirmative."

I have been unable to discover any subsequent detailed statement of expenses incurred and disbursements made under the authority conferred by this vote. Such a document might be interesting. Two years before, when in 1729 the Rev. Mr. Jackson was ordained as pastor of the church of Woburn, among the items of expense were four, aggregating the sum of £23 1s., representing the purchase of "6 Barrels and one half of Cyder, 28 Gallons of Wine, 2 Gallons of Brandy and four of Rum, Loaf Sugar, Lime Juice, and Pipes," all, it is to be presumed, consumed at the time and on the spot.

It has of course been noticed that a large proportion of the entries I have quoted relate to discipline administered in cases of fornication, in many of which confession is made by husband and wife, and is of acts committed before marriage. The

experience of Braintree in this respect was in no way peculiar among the Massachusetts towns of the last century. While examining the Braintree records I incidentally came across a singular and conclusive bit of unpublished documentary evidence on this point in the records of the church of Groton; for, casually mentioning one day in the rooms of the Society the Braintree records to our librarian, Dr. S. A. Green, he informed me that the similar records of the Groton church were in his possession, and he kindly put them at my disposal. Though covering a later period (1765-1803) than the portion of the Braintree church records from which the extracts contained in this paper have been made, the Groton records supplement and explain the Braintree records to a very remarkable degree. In the latter there is no vote or other entry showing the church rule or usage which led to these post-nuptial confessions of ante-marital relations; but in the Groton records I find the following among the preliminary votes passed at the time of signing the church covenant, regulating the admission of members to full communion:—

“June 1, 1765. The church then voted with regard to Baptizing children of persons newly married, That those parents that have not a child till seven yearly months after Marriage are subjects of our Christian Charity, and (if in a judgment of Charity otherwise qualified) shall have the privilege of Baptism for their Infants without being questioned as to their Honesty.”

This rule prevailed in the Groton church for nearly forty years, until in January, 1803, it was brought up again for consideration by an article in the warrant calling a church meeting “to see if the church will reconsider and annul the rule established by former vote and usage of the church requiring an acknowledgment before the congregation of those persons who have had a child within less time than seven yearly months after marriage as a term of their having baptism for their children.”

The compelling cause to the confessions referred to was therefore the parents' desire to secure baptism for their offspring during a period when baptism was believed to be essential to salvation, with the Calvinistic hell as an alternative. The constant and not infrequently cruel use made by the church and the clergy of the parental fear of infant damnation

— the belief “that Millions of Infants are tortured in Hell to all Eternity for a Sin that was committed thousands of Years before they were born” — is matter of common knowledge. Not only did it compel young married men and women to shameful public confessions in the way which has been described, but it was at times arbitrarily used by some ministers in a way which is at once ludicrous and, now, hard to understand. Certain of them, for instance, refused to baptize infants born on the Sabbath, there being an ancient superstition to the effect that a child born on the Sabbath was also conceived on the Sabbath; a superstition presumably the basis on which was founded the provision of the apocryphal Blue Laws of Connecticut, —

“Whose rule the nuptial kiss restrains
On Sabbath day, in legal chains”;¹

and there is one well-authenticated case of a Massachusetts clergyman whose practice it was thus to refuse to baptize Sabbath-born babes, who in passage of time had twins born to him on a Lord's day. He publicly confessed his error, and in due time administered the rite to his children.²

With the church refusing baptism on the one side, and with an eternity of torment for unbaptized infants on the other, some definite line had to be drawn. This was effected through what was known as “the seven months' rule”; and the penalty for its violation, enforced and made effective by the refusal of the rites of baptism, was a public confession. Under the operation of “the seven months' rule” the records of the Groton church show that out of two hundred persons owning the baptismal covenant in that church during the fourteen years between 1761 and 1775 no less than sixty-six confessed to fornication before marriage.³ The entries recording these cases are very singular. At first the full name of the person, or persons in the case of husband and wife, is written, followed by the words “confessed and restored” in full. Somewhat later, about the year 1763, the record becomes regularly “Confessed Fornication,” which two years later is reduced to “Con. For.,” which is subsequently still further abbreviated into merely “C. F.” During the three years 1789, 1790, and 1791

¹ Trumbull's Blue Laws, True and False, p. 37.

² Drake's History of Middlesex County, vol. ii. p. 371.

³ Butler's History of Groton, pp. 174, 178, 181.

sixteen couples were admitted to full communion; and of these nine had the letters "C. F." inscribed after their names in the church records.

I also find the following in regard to this church usage in Worthington's "History of Dedham" (pp. 108, 109), further indicating that the Groton and Braintree records reveal no exceptional condition of affairs:—

"The church had ever in this place required of its members guilty of unlawful cohabitation before marriage, a public confession of that crime, before the whole congregation. The offending female stood in the broad aisle beside the partner of her guilt. If they had been married, the declaration of the man was silently assented to by the woman. This had always been a delicate and difficult subject for church discipline. The public confession, if it operated as a corrective, likewise produced merriment with the profane. I have seen no instance of a public confession of this sort until the ministry of Mr. Dexter (1724–55), and then they were extremely rare. In 1781, the church gave the confessing parties the privilege of making a private confession to the church, in the room of a public confession. In Mr. Haven's ministry, (1756–1803) the number of cases of unlawful cohabitation, increased to an alarming degree. For twenty-five years before 1781 twenty-five cases had been publicly acknowledged before the congregation, and fourteen cases within the last ten years."

It will be noticed in the above extract that the writer says he had "seen no instance of a public confession of this sort" prior to 1724, and that until after 1755 "they were extremely rare." In the case of the Braintree records, also, it will be remembered there was but one case of public confession recorded prior to 1723, and that solitary case occurred in 1683.

The Record Commissioners of the city of Boston in their sixth report (Document 114—1880) printed the Rev. John Eliot's record of church members of Roxbury, which covers the period from the gathering of the church in 1632 to the year 1689, and includes notes of many cases of discipline. Among these I find the following, the earliest of its kind:—

"1678. Month 4 day 16. Hanna Hopkins was censured in the Church with admonition for fornication with her husband before they were married and for flying away from justice, unto Road Island." (p. 93.)

During the next eighteen years I find in these records only seven entries of other cases generally similar in character to

the above, though the Roxbury records contain a number of entries descriptive of interesting cases of church discipline, besides many memoranda of "strange providences of God" and "dreadful examples of Gods judgment." It would seem, however, that the instances of church discipline publicly administered on the ground of sexual immorality were infrequent in Roxbury, as in Dedham and Braintree, prior to the year 1725. As will presently be seen, a change either in morals or in discipline, but probably in the latter more than in the former, apparently took place at about that time.

So far as they bear upon the question of sexual morality in Massachusetts during the eighteenth century, what do the foregoing facts and extracts from the records indicate?—what inferences can be legitimately drawn from them? And here I wish to emphasize the fact that this paper makes no pretence of being an exhaustive study. In it, as I stated in the beginning, I have made use merely of such material as chanced to come into my hands in connection with a very limited field of investigation. I have made no search for additional material, nor even inquired what other facts of a similar character to those I have given may be preserved in the records of the two other Braintree precincts. I have not sought to compare the records I have examined with the similar records I know exist of the churches of neighboring towns,—such as those of Dorchester, Hingham, Weymouth, Milton, and Dedham. So doing would have involved an amount of labor which the matter under investigation would not justify on my part. I have therefore merely made use of a certain amount of the raw material of history I have chanced upon, bringing to bear on it such other general information of a similar character as I remember from time to time to have come across.

Though the historians of New England, whether of the formal description, like Palfrey and Barry, or of the social and economic order, like Elliott and Weeden, have little if anything to say on the subject, I think it not unsafe to assert that during the eighteenth century the inhabitants of New England did not enjoy a high reputation for sexual morality. Lord Dartmouth, for instance, who, as secretary for the colonies, had charge of American affairs during a portion of the North administration, in one of his conversations with Gover-

nor Hutchinson referred to the commonness of illegitimate offspring "among the young people of New England"¹ as a thing of accepted notoriety; nor did Hutchinson, than whom no one was better informed on all matters relating to New England, controvert the proposition.

And yet, speaking again from the material which chances to be at my own disposal, I find, so far as Braintree is concerned, nothing to justify this statement of Lord Dartmouth's in the manuscript record book of Col. John Quincy, which has been preserved, and is now in the possession of this Society. Colonel Quincy was a prominent man in his day and neighborhood; and the North Precinct of Braintree, in which he lived and was buried, when, nearly thirty years after his death, it was incorporated as a town, took its name from him. As a justice of the peace, Colonel Quincy kept a careful record of the cases, both civil and criminal, which came before him between 1716 and 1761, a period of forty-five years. These cases, a great part of them criminal, were over two hundred in number, and came not only from Braintree but from other parts of the old county of Suffolk. Under these circumstances, if the state of affairs indicated by Lord Dartmouth's remark, and Governor Hutchinson's apparent admission of its truth, did really prevail, many bastardy warrants would during those forty-five years naturally have come before so active a magistrate as John Quincy. Such does not seem to have been the case. Indeed I find during the whole period but four bastardy entries, — one in 1733, one in 1739, one in 1746, and one in 1761, — and, in 1720, one complaint against a woman to answer for fornication. Considering the length of time the record of Colonel Quincy covers, this is a remarkably small number of cases, and, taken by itself, would seem to indicate the exact opposite from the condition of affairs revealed in the church records of the same period, for it includes the whole Hancock pastorate. This record book of Colonel Quincy's I will add is the only original legal material I have bearing on this subject. An examination of the files of the provincial courts would undoubtedly bring more material to light.

I have only further to say, in passing, that some of the other cases mentioned in this John Quincy record are not without a

¹ Hutchinson's Diary and Letters, vol. i. p. 232.

curious interest. For instance, August 24, 1722, John Veasey, "husbandman," is put under recognizance in the sum of £5 "for detaining his child from the public worship of God, said child being about eleven years old." On the same day John Belcher, "cordwainer," is put under a similar recognizance "for absenting himself from the public worship of God the winter past." Eleazer Veasey, — the Braintree Veaseys I will say in passing were members of the Church of England in Braintree, and not members of the Braintree church, — Eleazer Veasey is, on the 20th of September, 1717, fined five shillings to the use of the town poor for "uttering a profane curse." So also Christopher Dyer, "husbandman," "did utter one profane curse," to which charge he pleaded guilty, and, on the 17th of May, 1747, was fined four shillings for the use of the poor. In this case the costs were assessed at six shillings, making ten shillings as the total cost of an oath in Massachusetts at that time; but as Dyer was a "soldier of His Majesty's service," the court added that if the fine was not paid forthwith, he (Dyer) "be publickly set in the stocks or cage for the space of three hours."

Returning to the subject of church discipline and public confessions of incontinence, it will be observed that in the case of the North Precinct Church of Braintree the great body of these confessions are recorded as being made during the Hancock pastorate, or between the years 1726 and 1744. This also, it will be remembered, was the period of what is known in New England history as "The Great Awakening," described in the first chapter of the recently published fifth volume of Dr. Palfrey's work. Some writers, while referring to what they call "the tide of immorality" which then and afterward "rolled," as they express it, over the land, so that "not even the bulwark of the church had been able to withstand" it, — these writers, themselves of course ministers of the church, have, for want of any more apparent cause, attributed the condition of affairs they deplored, but were compelled to admit, to the influence of the French wars, which, it will be remembered, broke out in 1744, and, with an intermission of six years (1749-1755), lasted until the conquest of Canada was completed in 1760. But it would be matter for curious inquiry whether both the condition of affairs referred to and the confessions made in public of sins privately committed

were not traceable to the church itself rather than to the army,—whether they were not rather due to the spiritual than to the martial conditions of the time.

I have neither the material at my disposal nor the time and inclination to go into this study, both physiological and psychological, and shall therefore confine myself to a few suggestions only which have occurred to me in the course of the examination of the records I have been discussing.

"The Great Awakening," so called, occurred in 1740,—it was then that Whitefield preached on Boston Common to an audience about equal in number to three quarters of the entire population of the town.¹ Five years before, in 1735, had occurred the famous Northampton revival, engineered and presided over by Jonathan Edwards; and previous to that there had been a number of small local outbreaks of the same character, which his "venerable and honoured Grandfather Stoddard," as Edwards describes his immediate predecessor in the Northampton pulpit, was accustomed to refer to as "Harvests," in which there was "a considerable Ingathering of Souls." A little later this spiritual condition became general and, so to speak, epidemic. There are few sadder or more suggestive forms of literature than that in which the religious contagion of 1735, for it was nothing else, is described; it reveals a state of affairs bordering close on universal insanity. Take for instance the following from Edwards's "Narrative" of what took place at Northampton:—

"Presently upon this, a great and earnest Concern about the great things of Religion, and the eternal World, became *universal* in all parts of the Town, and among Persons of all Degrees, and all Ages; the Noise amongst the *Dry Bones* waxed louder and louder: All other talk but about spiritual and eternal things, was soon thrown by . . . There was scarcely a single Person in the Town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great Things of the eternal World. Those that were wont to be the vainest, and loosest, and those that had been most disposed to think, and speak slightly of vital and experimental Religion, were now generally subject to great awakenings. . . . Souls did as it were come by Flocks to Jesus Christ. From Day to Day, for many Months together, might be seen evident Instances of Sinners brought out of Darkness into marvellous Light, and delivered out of an horrible Pit, and from the miry Clay, and set upon a Rock, with a new Song of Praise

¹ Palfrey, vol. v. p. 9.

to God in their mouths. . . . in the Spring and Summer following, Anno 1735 the Town seemed to be full of the Presence of God. It never was so full of *Love*, nor so full of *Joy*; and yet so full of Distress as it was then. There were remarkable Tokens of God's Presence in almost every House. . . . Our publick *Praises* were then greatly enlivened. . . . In all *Companies* on *other Days*, on whatever *Occasions* Persons met together, *Christ* was to be heard of and seen in the midst of them. Our *young People*, when they met, were wont to spend the time in talking of the *Excellency* and dying *Love* of JESUS CHRIST, the Gloriousness of the way of *Salvation*, the wonderful, free, and sovereign *Grace* of God, his glorious Work in the *Conversion* of a Soul, the *Truth* and Certainty of the great Things of God's Word, the Sweetness of the Views of his *Perfection* &c. And even at *Weddings*, which formerly were merely occasions of Mirth and Jollity, there was now no discourse of any thing but the things of Religion, and no appearance of any, but *spiritual Mirth*."¹

And it was this pestiferous stuff, — for though it emanated from the pure heart and powerful brain of the greatest of American theologians, it is best to characterize it correctly, — it was this pestiferous stuff that Wesley read during a walk from London to Oxford in 1738, and wrote of it in his journal, "Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Such was the prevailing spiritual condition of the period in which the entries I have read were made in the Braintree church records. In the language of the text from which Dr. Colman preached on the occasion of the first stated evening lecture ever held in Boston, "Souls flying to Jesus Christ [were] pleasant and admirable to behold."

The brother clergyman who prepared and delivered from the pulpit of the Braintree church a funeral sermon on Mr. Hancock referred to the religious excesses of the time, and described the dead pastor as a "wise and skilful pilot" who had steered "a right and safe course in the late troubled sea of ecclesiastical affairs," so that his people had to a considerable degree "escaped the errors and enthusiasm . . . in matters of religion which others had fallen into."² Nevertheless it is almost impossible for any locality to escape wholly a general epidemic; and in those days public relations of experiences

¹ A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls, &c., 1738, pp. 8-10.

² Lunt's Two Discourses, 1840, p. 48.

were not only usual in the churches, but they were a regular feature in all cases of admission to full communion. That this was the case in the Braintree church is evident from the extract already quoted from the records, when in 1722 "some persons of a sober life and good conversation signified their unwillingness to join in full communion with the church unless they [might] be admitted to it without making a Public relation of their spiritual experiences." It was also everywhere noticed that the women, and especially the young women, were peculiarly susceptible to attacks of the spiritual epidemic. Jonathan Edwards for instance mentions, in the case of Northampton, how the young men of that place had become "addicted to night-walking and frequenting the tavern, and leud practices," and how they would "get together in conventions of both sexes for mirth and jollity, which they called frolicks; and they would spend the greater part of the night in them"; and among the first indications of the approach of the epidemic noticed by him was the case of a young woman who had been one of the greatest "company keepers" in the whole town, who became "serious, giving evidence of a heart truly broken and sanctified."

This same state of affairs doubtless then prevailed in Braintree, and indeed throughout New England. The whole community was in a sensitive condition morally and spiritually, — so sensitive that, as the Braintree records show, the contagion extended to all classes, and, among those bearing some of the oldest names in the history of the township, we find also negroes, — "Benjamin Sutton and Naomi his wife," and "Jeffrey, my servant, and Flora, his wife," — grotesquely getting up before the congregation to make confession, like their betters, of the sin of fornication before marriage. It, of course, does not need to be said that such a state of morbid and spiritual excitement would necessarily lead to public confessions of an unusual character. Women, and young women in particular, would be inclined to brood over things unknown save to those who participated in them, and think to find in confession only a means of escape from the torment of that hereafter concerning which they entertained no doubts; hence perhaps many of these records which now seem both so uncalled for and so inexplicable.

So far, however, what has been said relates only to the

matter of public confession; it remains for others to consider how far a morbidly excited spiritual condition may also have been responsible for the sin confessed. The connection between the animal and the spiritual natures of human beings taken in the aggregate, though subtile, is close; and while it is well known that camp-meetings have never been looked upon as peculiar, or even as conspicuous, for the continence supposed to prevail at them, there is no doubt whatever that in England the license of the restoration followed close on the rule of the saints. One of the authorities on New England history, speaking of the outward manifestations of the "Great Awakening," says that "the fervor of excitement showed itself in strong men, as well as in women, by floods of tears, by outcries, by bodily paroxysms, jumping, falling down and rolling on the ground, regardless of spectators or their clothes." Then the same authority goes on to add: "But it was common that when the exciting preacher had departed, the excitement also subsided, and men and women returned peaceably to their daily duties."¹ This last may have been the case; but it is not probable that men and women in the condition of mental and physical excitement described could go about their daily duties without carrying into them some trace of morbid reaction. It was a species of insanity; and insanity invariably reveals itself in unexpected and contradictory forms.

But it is for others, like my friend Dr. Green, both by education and professional experience more versed in these subjects than I, to say whether a period of sexual immorality should not be looked for as the natural concomitant and sequence of such a condition of moral and religious excitement as prevailed in New England between 1725 and 1745. I merely now call attention to the fact that in Braintree the Hancock pastorate began in 1726 and ended in 1743, and that it was during the Hancock pastorate, also the period of "the Great Awakening," that public confessions of fornication were most frequently made in the Braintree church; further, and finally, it was during the years which immediately followed that the great "tide of immorality" which the clergy of the day so much deplored, "rolled over the land."

But it still remains to consider whether the entries referred

¹ Elliott's *The New England History*, vol. ii. p. 136.

to in the church records must be taken as conclusive evidence that a peculiarly lax condition of affairs as respects the sexual relation did really prevail in New England during the last century. This does not necessarily follow; and, for reasons I shall presently give, I venture to doubt it. In the first place it is to be remembered that the language used in those days does not carry the same meaning that similar language would carry if used now. For instance, when Jonathan Edwards talks of the youth of Northampton being given to "Night-walking . . . and leud practices," he does not at all mean what we should mean by using the same expression; and the young woman who was one of the greatest "company keepers" in the whole town, was probably nothing worse than a lively village girl much addicted to walking with her young admirers after public lecture on the Sabbath afternoons, — "a disorder," by the way, which Jonathan Edwards says he made "a thorough reformation of . . . which has continued ever since."¹

So far the relations then prevailing between the young of the two sexes may have been, and probably were, innocent enough, and nothing more needs be said of them; but coming now to the facts revealed in the church records, I venture to doubt the correctness of the inference as to general laxity which would naturally be drawn from them. The situation as respects sexual morality which prevailed in New England during the eighteenth century seems to me to have been peculiar rather than bad. In other words, though there was much incontinence, that incontinence was not promiscuous; and this statement brings me at once to the necessary consideration of another recognized and well-established custom in the more ordinary and less refined New England life of the last century, which has been considered beneath what is known as the dignity of history to notice, and to which, accordingly, no reference is made by Palfrey or Barry, or, so far as I know, by any of the standard authorities: and yet, unless I am greatly mistaken, it is to this carefully ignored usage or custom that we must look for an explanation of the greater part of the confessions recorded in the annals of the churches. I refer, of course, to the practice known as "bundling."

¹ Narrative, pp. 4, 5.

I do not propose here to go into a description of "bundling,"¹ or to attempt to trace its origin or the extent to which it prevailed in New England during the last century. All this has been sufficiently done in the little volume on the subject prepared by Dr. H. R. Stiles, and published some twenty years ago. For my present purpose it is only necessary for me to say that the practice of "bundling" has long been one of the standing taunts or common-place indictments against New England, and has been supposed to indicate almost the lowest conceivable state of sexual immorality;² but, on the other hand, it may safely be asserted that "bundling" was, as a custom, neither so vicious nor so immoral as is usually supposed; nor did it originate in, nor was it peculiar to, New England. It was a practice growing out of the social and industrial conditions of a primitive people, of simple, coarse manners and small means. Two young persons proposed to marry. They and their families were poor; they lived far apart from each other; they were at work early and late all

¹ To BUNDLE. Mr. Grose thus describes this custom: "A man and woman lying on the same bed with their clothes on; an expedient practised in America, on account of a scarcity of beds, where, on such occasions, husbands and parents frequently permitted travellers to bundle with their wives and daughters." (*Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*.)

The Rev. Samuel Peters, in his "General History of Connecticut" (London, 1781), enters largely into the custom of bundling as practised there. He says: "Notwithstanding the great modesty of the females is such, that it would be accounted the greatest rudeness for a gentleman to speak before a lady of a garter or leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to ask her to bundle." The learned and pious historian endeavors to prove that bundling was not only a Christian custom, but a very polite and prudent one.

The Rev. Andrew Barnaby, who travelled in New England in 1759-60, notices this custom, which then prevailed. He thinks that though it may at first "appear to be the effects of grossness of character, it will, upon deeper research, be found to proceed from simplicity and innocence." (*Travels*, p. 144.)

Van Corlear stopped occasionally in the villages to eat pumpkin-pies, dance at country frolics, and bundle with the Yankee lasses. (*Knickerbocker, New York*.)

Bundling is said to be practised in Wales. Whatever may have been the custom in former times, I do not think bundling is now practised anywhere in the United States.

Mr. Masson describes a similar custom in Central Asia: "Many of the Afghan tribes have a custom in wooing similar to what in Wales is known as bundling-up, and which they term *namzat baze*. The lover presents himself at the house of his betrothed, with a suitable gift, and in return is allowed to pass the night with her, on the understanding that innocent endearments are not to be exceeded." (*Journeys in Belochistan, Afghanistan, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 287.) — BARTLETT, *Dictionary of Americanisms*.

² Knickerbocker's History of New York, book iii. chap. vi., vii.

the week. Under these circumstances Saturday evening and Sunday were the recognized time for meeting. The young man came to the house of the girl after Saturday's sun-down, and they could see each other until Sunday afternoon, when he had to go back to his own home and work. The houses were small, and every nook in them occupied; and in order that the man might not be turned out of doors, or the two be compelled to sit up all night at a great waste of lights and fuel, and that they might at the same time be in each other's company, they were "bundled" up together on a bed, in which they lay side by side and partially clothed. It goes without saying that, however it originated, such a custom, if recognized and continued, must degenerate into something coarse and immoral. The inevitable would follow. The only good and redeeming feature about it was the utter absence of concealment and secrecy. All was open and recognized. The very "bundling" was done by the hands of mother and sisters.

As I have said, this custom neither originated in nor was it peculiar to New England, though in New England, as elsewhere, it did lead to the same natural results. And I find conclusive evidence of this statement in all its several parts in the following extract from a book published as late as 1804, descriptive of customs, etc., then prevailing in North Wales. For the extract I am indebted to Dr. Stiles:—

"Saturday or Sunday nights are the principal time when this courtship takes place; and on these nights the men sometimes walk from a distance of ten miles or more to visit their favorite damsels. This strange custom seems to have originated in the scarcity of fuel and in the unpleasantness of sitting together in the colder part of the year without a fire. Much has been said of the innocence with which these meetings are conducted; but it is a very common thing for the consequence of the interview to make its appearance in the world within two or three months after the marriage ceremony has taken place."

And again, referring to the same practice as it prevailed in Holland, another of the authorities quoted by Dr. Stiles, relating his observations also during the present century, speaks of a—

"courtship similar to bundling, carried on in . . . Holland, under the name of *queesting*. At night the lover has access to his mistress after she is in bed; and upon application to be admitted upon the bed, which is of course granted, he raises the quilt or rug, and

in this state *queests*, or enjoys a harmless chit-chat with her, and then retires. This custom meets with the perfect sanction of the most circumspect parents, and the freedom is seldom abused. The author traces its origin to the parsimony of the people, whose economy considers fire and candles as superfluous luxuries in the long winter evenings."

The most singular, and to me unaccountable, fact connected with the custom of "bundling" is that, though it unquestionably prevailed — and prevailed long, generally, and from an early period — in New England, no trace has been reported of it in any localities of England itself, the mother country. There are well-authenticated records of its prevalence in parts at least of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Holland; but it could hardly have found its way as a custom from any of those countries to New England. I well remember hearing the late Dr. John G. Palfrey remark — and the remark will, I think, very probably be found in some note to the text of his History of New England — that down to the beginning of the present century, or about the year 1825, there was a purer strain of English blood to be found in the inhabitants of Cape Cod than could be found in any county of England. The original settlers of that region were exclusively English, and for the first two centuries after the settlement there was absolutely no foreign admixture. Yet nowhere in New England does the custom of "bundling" seem to have prevailed more generally than on Cape Cod; and according to Dr. Stiles (p. 111) it was on Cape Cod that the practice held out longest against the advance of more refined manners. It is tolerably safe to say that in a time of constantly developing civilization such a custom would originate nowhere. It is obviously a development from something of a coarser and more promiscuous nature which preceded it, — some social condition such as has been often described in books relating to the more destitute portions of Ireland or the crowded districts in English cities, where, in the language of Tennyson, —

"The poor are hovell'd and hustled together, each sex, like swine."

Such a custom as "bundling," therefore, bears on its face the fact that it is an inheritance from a simple and comparatively primitive period. If, then, in the case of New England, it was not derived from the mother country, it becomes a curious question whence and how it was derived.

But no matter whence or how derived, it is obvious that the prevalence of such a custom would open a ready and natural way for a vast increase of sexual immorality at any time when surrounding conditions predisposed a community in that direction. This is exactly what I cannot help surmising occurred in New England at the time of "the Great Awakening" of the last century, and immediately subsequent thereto. The movement was there, and in obedience to the universal law it made its way on the lines of least resistance. Hence the entries of public confession in the church records, and the tide of immorality in presence of which the clergy stood aghast.

But in order to substantiate this theory of an historical manifestation it remains to consider how generally this custom of "bundling" prevailed in New England, and to how late a day it continued. The accredited historians of New England, as far as I am acquainted with their writings, throw little light on this question. Mr. Elliott, for instance, in his chapter on the manners and customs of the New England people, contents himself with some pleasing generalities like the following, the correctness of which he would have found some difficulty in maintaining:—

"With this exalted, even exaggerated, value of the individual entertained in New England, it was not possible that men or women entertaining it should yield themselves to corrupt or debasing practices. CHASTITY was, therefore, a cardinal virtue, and the abuse of it a crying sin, to be punished by law, and by the severe reproof of all good citizens."¹

According to this authority, therefore, as "bundling" was unquestionably both a "corrupt" and a "debasing practice," "it was not possible that men or women" of New England should yield themselves to it; and that ends the matter.

Passing on from Mr. Elliott to another authority: in his recently published and very valuable "Economic and Social History of New England," Mr. Weeden has two references to "bundling." In one of them (p. 739) he speaks of it as "certainly an unpuritan custom" which was "extensively practised in Connecticut and Western Massachusetts," against which "Jonathan Edwards raised his powerful voice"; and

¹ Elliott's *The New England History*, vol. i. p. 471.

again he later on (p. 864) alludes to it as "a curious custom which accorded little with the New England character," and which "lingered among the lower orders of people . . . prevailing in Western Massachusetts as late as 1777." I am led to believe that the custom prevailed far more generally and to a much later date than these statements of Mr. Weeden would seem to indicate; that, indeed, it was continued even in Eastern Massachusetts and the towns immediately about Boston until after the close of the Revolutionary troubles, and probably until the beginning of the present century. The Braintree church records throw no light on this portion of the subject; but the Groton church records show that not until 1803 was the practice discontinued of compelling a public confession before the whole congregation whenever a child was born in less than seven months after marriage. Turning then to Worthington's "History of Dedham" (p. 109), — a town only ten miles from Boston, — I find that the Rev. Mr. Haven, the pastor of the church there, alarmed at the number of cases of unlawful cohabitation, preached at least as late as 1781 "a long and memorable discourse," in which, with a courage deserving of unstinted praise, he dealt with "the growing sin" publicly from his pulpit, attributing "the frequent recurrence of the fault to the custom then prevalent of females admitting young men to their beds who sought their company with intentions of marriage." Again, in a letter of Mrs. John Adams, written in 1784, in which she gives a very graphic and lively account of a voyage across the Atlantic in a sailing-vessel of that period, I find the following, in which Mrs. Adams, describing how the passengers all lived in the common cabin, adds: "Necessity has no law; but what should I have thought on shore to have laid myself down in common with half a dozen gentlemen? We have curtains, it is true, and we only in part undress, — about as much as the Yankee bundlers."¹ Mrs. Adams was then writing to her elder sister, Mrs. Cranch; they were both women of exceptional refinement, — granddaughters of Col. John Quincy, and daughters of the pastor of the Weymouth church. Mrs. Adams while writing her letter knew that it would be eagerly looked for at home, and that it would be read aloud and passed from hand to hand through all her

¹ Letters of Mrs. Adams, (1848,) p. 161.

acquaintance, and this was in fact the case; so it is evident, from this easy, passing allusion, that the custom of "bundling" was then so common in the community in which Mrs. Adams lived, that not only was written reference to it freely made, but the reference conveyed to a large circle of friends a perfect idea of what she meant to describe. At the same time the use of the phrase "the Yankee bundlers" indicates the social class to which the custom was confined.

The general prevalence of the practice of "bundling" throughout New England, and especially in Southeastern Massachusetts, up to the close of the last century may therefore, I think, be assumed. I have already said that the origin of the custom was due to sparseness of settlement, the primitive and frugal habits of the people permitting the practice, and the absence of good means of communication. It becomes, therefore, a somewhat curious subject of inquiry whether traces of "bundling" can be found in the traditions and records of any of our large towns. That it existed and was commonly practised within a ten-mile radius of Boston I have shown; but I greatly doubt whether it ever obtained in Boston itself. Nevertheless, an examination of the church records of Boston, Salem, and more especially of Plymouth, would be interesting, with a view to ascertaining whether the spirit of sexual incontinence prevailed during the last century in the large towns of New England to the same extent to which it unquestionably prevailed in the rural districts. My own belief is that it did so prevail, though the practice of "bundling" was not in use; if I am correct in this surmise, it would follow that the evil was a general one, and that "bundling" was merely the custom through which it found vent. In such case the cause of the evil would have to be looked for in some other direction. It would then, paradoxical as such a statement may at first appear, probably be found in the superior general morality of the community and the strict oversight of a public opinion which, except in Boston, — a large commercial place, where there was always a considerable floating population of sailors and others, — prevented the recognized existence of any class of professional prostitutes. On the one hand, a certain form of incontinence was not associated either in the male or female mind with the presence of a degraded class, while, on the other hand, the natural appetites

were to a certain extent gratified. It was in their attempt wholly to ignore these natural appetites that Jonathan Edwards and the clergy of the last century fell into their error.

I have alluded to the early church records of Plymouth as probably offering a peculiarly interesting field of inquiry in this matter. I have never seen those records, and know nothing of them; but as long ago as the year 1642 Governor Bradford had occasion to bewail the condition of affairs then existing at Plymouth, — “not only,” he declared, “incontinencie betweene persons unmarried, for which many both men and women have been punished sharply enough, but some married persons also”; and he exclaimed, “Marvilous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow and breake forth here, in a land wher the same was so much witnesed against, and so narrowly looked unto, and severly punished when it was knowne!” But finally, with great shrewdness and an insight into human nature which might well have been commended to the prayerful consideration of Jonathan Edwards and the revivalists of exactly one century later, Governor Bradford goes on to conclude that —

“It may be in this case as it is with waters when their streames are stopped or dammed up, when they gett passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, then when they are suffered to rune quietly in their owne chanel. So wikednes being here more stopped by strict laws, and the same more nerly looked unto, so as it cannot rune in a comone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it searches every wher, and at last breaks out wher it getts vente.”¹

There is one other episode I have come across in my local investigations, of the same general character as those I have referred to, which throws a curious gleam of light on the problems now under discussion. I have already mentioned the fact, quite significant, that during the very period when the church was most active in disciplining cases of fornication, the court record of John Quincy shows that but one case of fornication was brought before him in forty-five years. This was in 1720, and the woman was bound over in the sum of £5 to appear before the superior court. That woman I take to have been a prostitute. Her case was exceptional, so recognized, and summarily dealt with. In the Braintree town records

¹ History, pp. 384-386.

there are some mysterious entries which I am led to believe relate to another and similar case, but one in which the objectionable character was otherwise dealt with. In the midst of the Revolutionary troubles the following votes were passed at the annual town meeting held in the meeting-house of the Middle Precinct, now Braintree, on the 15th of March, 1779:—

“Voted That Doctor Baker be desired to leave this Town, also

“Voted, that the eight men that Doctor Baker gott a warrant for go immediately and Deliver themselves up to Justice.”

Fifteen days later, at another meeting held on the 30th of March, this matter again presented itself, and the following entry records the action taken:—

“A motion was made to chuse a Committee to be Ready to appear and make a stand against any vexatious Law suit that may be brought against any of the Inhabitants of this Town by Doctor Moses Baker Then,

“Voted, that Thomas Penniman, Esq^r Col^o Edmund Billings, Mr. Azariah Faxon, Capt. John Vinton and Capt. Peter B. Adams be a Committee to use their Influence with proper authority to suppress, any vexatious Law suits that may be brought by Doctor Moses Baker against any of the Inhabitants of this Town and that said Committee shall be allowed by the Town for their time.

“Messrs William Penniman and Joseph Spear entered their dissent to the Last Vote, as being Illegal and Improper, as there was no such article in the warrant only in General Terms.”¹

I have endeavored to learn something of the transaction to which these mysterious entries of over a century ago relate, and the result of my inquiries seems to indicate a state of affairs then existing in the neighborhood of Boston very suggestive of those “White-cap” and “Moonshiner” proceedings in the Western and Southern States, accounts of which from time to time appear in the telegraphic despatches to our papers. Dr. Moses Baker lived and practised medicine in what is now the town of Randolph, and in 1777 he was one of two physicians to whom the town voted permission to establish an inoculating hospital. In 1779 he was about forty years of age, and married. At the time there dwelt not far from where

¹ Braintree Records, pp. 480, 499, 500, 523.

Dr. Baker lived a woman of bad reputation, with whom Dr. Baker was, whether rightly or not, believed to have improper relations. Certain men living in the neighborhood accordingly undertook to act as a local committee to enforce good morals; and this committee decided to ride Dr. Baker and the woman in question together on horseback to a convenient locality near the meeting-house, and there tar and feather them. A broken-down old hack, deemed meet and appropriate for use as a charger in such case, was accordingly procured; and going to the woman's house, the *vigilantes* actually took her from her bed, and, without allowing her to clothe herself, put her on the horse, and then proceeded to Baker's house. He in the mean time had received notice of the proposed visit; and when the party reached their destination they found him indignant, armed, and resolute. He threatened to shoot the first man who laid hands on him. This was a turn in affairs which the self-constituted vindicators of public morality had not contemplated, and accordingly they proceeded no further in their purpose. Dr. Baker was not molested, and the woman was released.

It is immaterial, so far as this paper is concerned, whether there was, or whether there was not, ground for the feeling against Baker. In the emergency he does not seem to have demeaned himself either as one guilty or afraid; and as the action of the town meetings shows, he did not hesitate to bring the whole matter before the courts and into public notice. But for my present purposes this is of no consequence; the significance of the incident here lies in the confirmatory evidence which the extracts from the records afford of the inferences drawn from the facts set forth in the earlier part of this paper. The offending female in this case seems to have been what is known as a woman of bad or abandoned character; the man's relations with her are assumed as notorious. Here was a state of things which public opinion would not tolerate. Probably more than half of those who took part in the proposed vindication of decency and morals looked with indifference on the custom of "bundling." That was in anticipation of marriage, and in its natural results there was nothing that savored of promiscuous incontinence. The extraordinary entries in the records show how fully the town sympathized with and supported the *vigilantes*, as they would now be called in

Mexicanized parlance of the extreme Southwest. The distinction I have endeavored to draw between the excusable, if not permissible, incontinence of the New England country community of the last century, and the idea of promiscuous immorality as we entertain it, is clearly seen in this Baker episode.

Having now made use of all the original material the possession of which led me into the preparation of the present paper, it might at this point properly be brought to a close; but I am tempted to go on and touch on one further point which has long been with me a matter of doubt, and in regard to which I have been disposed to reach opposite conclusions at different times, — I refer to the comparative morality of the last century and that which is now closing. Has there been during the nineteenth century, taken as a whole, a distinct advance in the matter of sexual morality as compared with the eighteenth? Or has the change, which it is admitted has taken place, been only in outward appearance, while beneath a surface of greater refinement human nature remains ever and always the same? It is unquestionably true that in a large and widely differentiated community like that in which we live the individual, no matter who he is, knows very little of what may be called the real "true inwardness" of his surroundings. Any one who wishes to satisfy himself on this point need only seek out some elderly and retired country doctor or lawyer of an observing turn of mind and retentive memory, and then, if the inquirer should be fortunate enough to lead such an one into a confidential mood, listen to his reminiscences. It has been my privilege to accomplish this result on several occasions; and I may freely say that I have always emerged from those interviews in a more or less morally dishevelled condition. After them I have for considerable periods entertained grave and abiding doubts whether, except in outward appearance and respect for conventionalities, the present could claim any superiority over the past. A cursory inspection of the criminal and immoral literature of the day, which the printing-press now empties out in a volume heretofore undreamed of, tends strongly to confirm this feeling of doubt, — which becomes almost a conviction when, from time to time, the realistic details of some

Lord Colin Campbell or Sir Charles Dilke or Charles Stewart Parnell scandal are paraded in the newspapers.

Yet, such staggering evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, I find myself unable to get away from the record; and that record, so far as it has cursorily reached me in the course of my investigations, leads me to conclude that the real moral improvement of the year 1891, as compared with the conditions in that respect existing in the year 1691 or even 1791, is not less marked and encouraging than is the change of language and expression permissible in the days of Shakspeare and of Defoe and of Fielding to that to which we are accustomed in the pages of Scott, Thackeray, and Hawthorne.

For instance, again recurring to my own investigations, I have from time to time come across things which, as indicating a state of affairs prevailing in the olden time, have fairly taken away my breath. Here is a portion of a note from the edition of Thomas Morton's "New English Canaan," prepared by me some years ago as one of the publications of the Prince Society, which bears on this statement:—

"Josselyn says of the 'Indesses,' as he calls them [Indian women]: 'All of them are of a modest demeanor, considering their savage breeding; and indeed do shame our *English* rusticks whose ludeness in many things exceedeth theirs.' (*Two Voyages*, 12, 45.) When the Massachusetts Indian women, in September, 1621, sold the furs from their backs to the first party of explorers from Plymouth, Winslow, who wrote the account of that expedition, says that they 'tied boughs about them, but with great shamefacedness, for indeed they are more modest than some of our English women are.' (Mourt, p. 59.) See, also, to the same effect Wood's *Prospect*, (p. 82). It suggests, indeed, a curious inquiry as to what were the customs among the ruder classes of the British females during the Elizabethan period, when all the writers agree in speaking of the Indian women [among whom chastity was unknown] in this way. Roger Williams, for instance [who tells us that 'single fornications they count no sin'] also says, referring to their clothing, — 'Both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth, and so (excepting their little apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) neare to them, ready to gather it up about them. Custome hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them as (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe' (*Key*, 110-11)."¹

¹ See, also, Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d series, vol. iv. p. 10.

Again, I recently came across the following, which illustrates somewhat curiously what may be called the social street amenities which a sojourner might expect to encounter in a large English town of a century ago. If ever there was a charming, innocent little woman, who, as a wife and mother, bore herself purely and courageously under circumstances of great trial and anxiety, — a woman whose own simple record of the strange experience through which she passed appeals to you so that you long to step forward and give her your arm and protect her, — if there ever was, I say, a woman who impresses one in this way more than Mrs. General Riedesel, I have not met her. Mrs. Riedesel, as the members of this Society probably all know, followed her husband, who was in command of the German auxiliary troops in Burgoyne's army, to America in 1777, and in so doing passed through England, accompanied by her young children. Here is her own account of a slight experience she had in Bristol, where, the poor little woman says, "I discovered soon how unpleasant it is to be in a city where one does not understand the language, . . . and wept for hours in my chamber": —

"During my sojourn in Bristol I had an unpleasant adventure. I wore a calico dress trimmed with green taffeta. This seemed particularly offensive to the Bristol people; for as I was one day out walking with Madame Foy more than a hundred sailors gathered round us and pointed at me with their fingers, at the same time crying out, 'French whore!' I took refuge as quickly as possible into the house of a merchant under pretense of buying something, and shortly after the crowd dispersed. But my dress became henceforth so disgusting to me, that as soon as I returned home I presented it to my cook, although it was yet entirely new."¹

It was at Bristol also that the little German woman, hardly more than a girl, describes how, the very day after her arrival there, her landlady called her attention to what the landlady in question termed "a most charming sight." Stepping hastily to the window, Mrs. Riedesel says, "I beheld two naked men boxing with the greatest fury. I saw their blood flowing and the rage that was painted in their eyes. Little accustomed to such a hateful spectacle, I quickly retreated into the innermost corner of the house to avoid hearing the shouts set up by the spectators whenever a blow was given or received."

¹ Letters and Journals, p. 48.

Street customs, manners, and language are, to a very considerable extent, outward exponents of the moral condition within. It would not be possible to find any place in Europe now where women could be seen going about the streets in the condition as respects raiment which Josselyn, Winslow, and Roger Williams seem to intimate was not unusual with the British females of their time; nor would a strumpet even, much less any decent woman, from a foreign land, be treated in the streets of any civilized city as Madame Riedesel describes herself as having been treated in the streets of Bristol in 1777. One cannot conceive of an adulterer or adulteress now doing public penance in a white sheet before the whole congregation assembled for the public worship of God, nor of a really respectable young married couple standing up under the same circumstances and confessing to the sin of fornication. Even if such a thing were done, it would be looked upon as rather suggestive than edifying. All the evidence accordingly indicates that, morally, the improvement made in the nineteenth century as compared with those that preceded it has been more than superficial and in externals only, — that it has been real, in essentials as well as in language and manners. So, while it would not be safe to adopt Burke's splendid generality, that vice has in our time lost half its evil in losing all its grossness, yet it is not unfair to adopt the trope in a modified form, and assert that, in the matter of sexual morality, vice in the nineteenth century as compared with the seventeenth or the eighteenth has lost some part of its evil in losing much of its grossness.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in calling attention to a file of "The New-England Courant," belonging to the Library, and then lying on the table, said: —

It is made up of two hundred and twenty-three (223) numbers, extending from November 27, 1721, to June 4, 1726, which since the last meeting have been carefully repaired and handsomely bound in morocco. Most of these numbers consist of a single sheet of two pages, but occasionally some are double, making four pages; and during this period of nearly five years only thirteen are missing. The file was originally bound in sheep, — perhaps under a vote of the Society passed

on June 27, 1833, — but had become much worn and dilapidated. According to some writing on the fly-leaf of the volume, it was given by John Eliot in 1793; but during that year or previously, the records accredit "several numbers" of the *Courant* both to John Furnass and Benjamin Burt. This newspaper, from its connection with Benjamin Franklin, is one of the most interesting of early Boston publications. It was started by his brother James, who afterward, on account of certain articles therein printed, had trouble with the public authorities, and in consequence was thrown into prison, where he lay for a month. On his release he was forbidden by the Assembly to continue publishing the paper, unless the articles were first supervised by the Secretary of the Province. For the purpose of evading this order, the publisher's name was changed from James Franklin to that of his youngest brother Benjamin, who then was only seventeen years old, and at the time an apprentice in the printing-office; and in this way the penalty of the law was escaped. The name of Benjamin, as the publisher, first appears on the number for February 11, 1723, and continues till June 4, 1726, — which is the end of the file, — although he left home in October, 1723, and never again lived in Boston. His name remained on the newspaper, probably as long as it was published, which was not more than six or eight months after this time. An account of the affair is found in his *Autobiography* and in *Thomas's History of Printing*.

There is also bound up with the volume a copy of "*The American Weekly Mercury*" (Philadelphia), February 26, 1722-3, that contains some severe strictures on this arbitrary act of the Government, which is referred to by both Thomas and Sparks.

In the issue of the *Courant* for July 2, 1722, there is a bare allusion to "*Shakespear's Works*," which is probably the earliest instance in New England literature, where the name of the great dramatist is mentioned. The original settlers of Massachusetts abhorred playwrights, and looked upon everything connected with the stage as the work of the devil; and it would be interesting now to learn at what period their descendants began to read the immortal bard and first discovered the inexhaustible treasures of his intellect.

I will add here, in connection with the name of Franklin,

that during some changes in the Granary Burial-ground a few weeks ago, when the earth was spaded up more thoroughly than usual, there were brought to the surface more than four hundred and fifty slate slabs, more or less broken and previously covered up, but all containing either names or dates.¹ Among them is the gravestone, in several pieces, of the first wife of Franklin's father, and of three children.

It is evident from the epitaph that Mrs. Franklin died soon after giving birth to a child, and that she and the infant were buried in the same grave, though the date of her death is not found in any printed account of the family. The son Ebenezer was born on September 20, 1701, and "drowned in a tub." The line through the inscription represents a break in the stone, as follows:—

ANN ^R Y WIFE	OF JOSIAH FRANCKLI ^N
AGED abo ^t 34	YEARS DIED JULY
^R Y 9.	1689
JOSEPH SON	OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN	AGED 15 D ^s DIED JULY
^R Y 14	1689
JOSEPH SON	OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN	AGED 5 D ^s DIED FEB ^r
^R Y 1[1?]	1688
EBENEZER [S]ON	OF JOSIAH & ABIAH
FRANCKLIN	AGED 16 M ^o . $\frac{1}{2}$ DIED
FEB[^r] ^R Y 5.	1703

It was voted that the stated meetings for July, August, and September should be omitted, but that the President and Recording Secretary should have authority to call a special meeting during the intermission, if they should deem it expedient.

Henry P. Walcott, M.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

The death of Benson J. Lossing, LL.D., elected a Corresponding Member in July, 1861, was announced.

¹ I am informed by Mr. L. W. Ross, Superintendent of the Granary Burial-ground, that there were found 299 head-stones and 164 foot-stones, and some of them three or four feet below the surface.

A new serial, covering the proceedings at the April and May meetings, was on the table, ready for distribution.

Note, by Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, to the Memorial of Captain Cochrane, at page 442, ante.

Major Cochrane was of the same family as Sir John Cochrane, who was with Argyle in the Monmouth rising, and escaped with his life only by his father, Lord Dundonald, offering a bribe of £5,000. (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i. p. 515.)

The earliest contemporaneous mention of Captain Cochrane in America which I have noticed is found in the Diary of Ezekiel Price, June 22, 1775: "Captain Wakeman told me he had just come from Cambridge, where he saw Captain Cochran, who came out of Boston in a fishing-boat yesterday morning, by whom he was informed that the regulars had killed and wounded in the last engagement [at Bunker Hill] fourteen hundred men." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 192.)

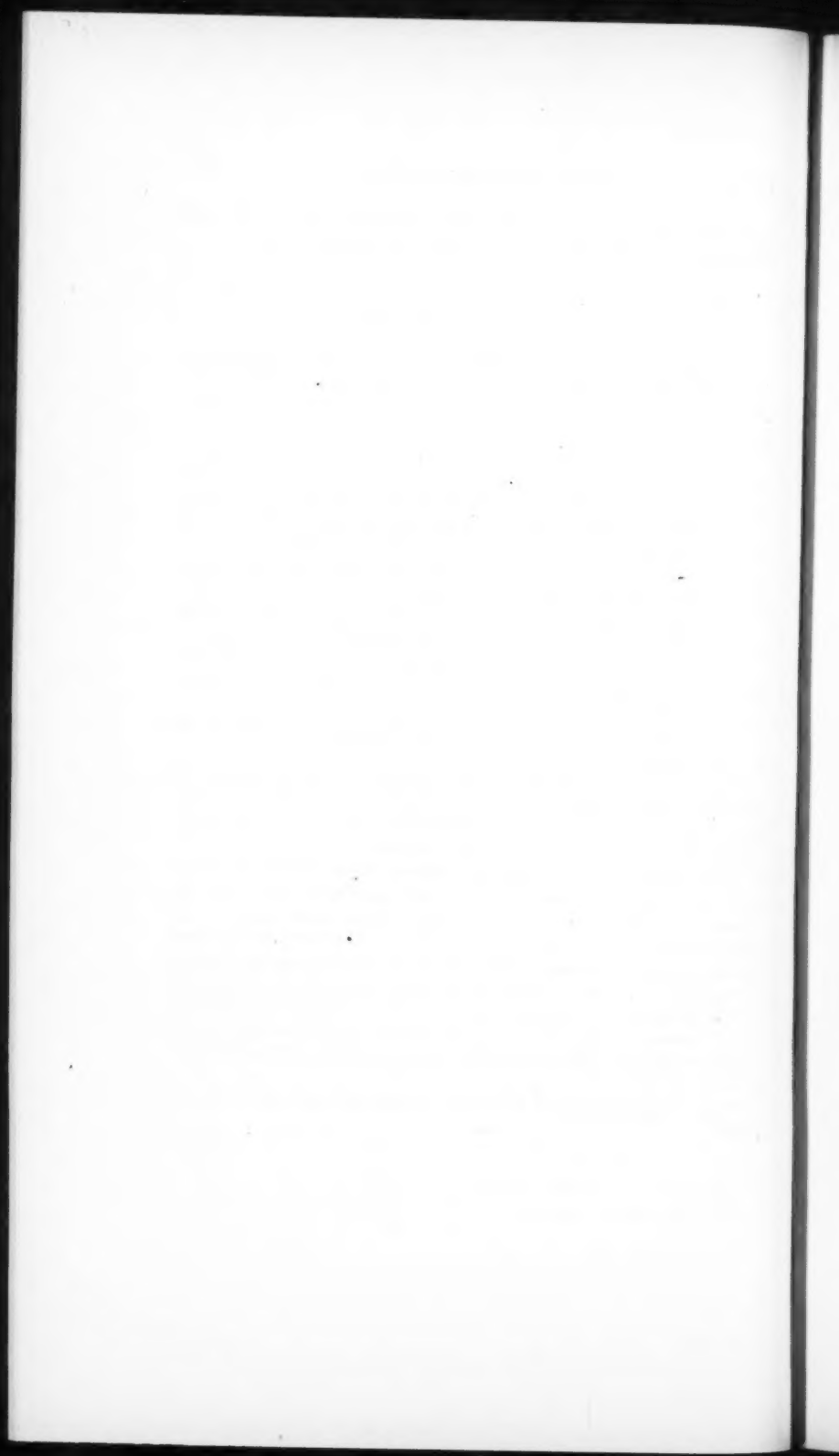
The following entries are taken from the original Orderly Book of Lord Cornwallis, 1781, belonging to the Boston Public Library:—

"Oct. 12. 1781 the Hon. Maj. Cochrane is appointed to take the command of all persons in the garrison who do not belong to regiments, navy, or transports."

"16 Oct. 1781. The Honorable Major Cochrane to be obeyed as Aid de Camp to Lord Cornwallis."

Captain Cochrane left New York, October 3, with a duplicate of Clinton's despatch (September 30) to Cornwallis, which, if we may trust a memorandum on it, was "Received, October 10, from Major Cochran." (*The Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, ed. 1888, vol. ii. p. 173.) This bears on a question between these generals as to the time when the latter received certain intelligence by letter from the former. Clinton says: "The four other letters taken notice of by Lord Cornwallis were not delivered to him before November, because the three first [for reasons which need not be stated here] and the last (the substance of which, however, had been previously communicated in the presence of a council of war for his Lordship's information to Major Cockran [*sic*], who joined him on the 9th of October), being sent by advice boat, did not reach the Chesapeake before his surrender." (*Ibid.* i. 101.)

Major Cochrane reached Yorktown October 10, and was killed the 17th.



LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY.

United States. — Bureau of American
 Republics.
 Department of Agriculture.
 Department of the Interior.
 Department of State.
 Treasury Department.
 War Department.
 Commissioner of Labor.
 International American Con-
 ference.
 Interstate Commerce Com-
 mission.
 Smithsonian Institution.
 United States Geological
 Survey.
 Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
 State Library.
 State of Illinois.
 State of Minnesota.
 State of New Hampshire.
 State of Rhode Island.
 City of Boston.
 Town of Dedham.
 City of Fitchburg.
 Town of Framingham.
 City of Newton.
 Town of Pembroke.
 Town of Sutton.
 Town of Wenham.
 American Academy of Arts and Sci-
 ences.
 American Antiquarian Society.
 American Board of Commissioners
 for Foreign Missions.
 American Congregational Association.
 American Geographical Society, New
 York.
 American Historical Association.
 American Philosophical Society,
 Philadelphia.
 American Unitarian Association.
 Amherst College.
 Ancient and Honorable Artillery
 Company.
 Andover Theological Seminary.

Associated Charities of Boston.
 Astor Library, New York.
 Berkshire Athenæum, Pittsfield.
 Boston City Hospital.
 Bostonian Society.
 Boston Provident Association.
 Boston Public Library.
 Boston Society of Natural History.
 Boston University.
 Bowdoin College.
 British American Citizen Company.
 Brooklyn Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Buffalo Historical Society.
 Bunker Hill Monument Association.
 Chicago Board of Trade.
 Chicago Historical Society.
 Chicago Public Library.
 Cincinnati Public Library.
 City Missionary Society of Boston.
 Colby University.
 Congregational Library.
 Connecticut Academy of Arts and
 Sciences.
 Connecticut Historical Society.
 Cornell University.
 Dartmouth College.
 Dedham Historical Society.
 Delaware Historical Society.
 Detroit Public Library.
 Diocese of Massachusetts.
 Essex Institute.
 General Association of Congregational
 Churches of New Hampshire.
 General Society of the Cincinnati.
 Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.
 Groton Public Library.
 Surviving Members of the Class of
 1829, Harvard College.
 Harvard University.
 Historical and Philosophical Society
 of Ohio.
 Honourable Artillery Company of
 London.
 Howard Benevolent Society.
 Huguenot Society of America.

- Humane Society of Massachusetts.
 Hyde Park Historical Society.
 Iowa State Historical Society.
 Kansas Historical Society.
 Lancaster Public Library.
 Lawrence Public Library.
 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem,
 Penn.
 Lenox Library, New York.
 Los Angeles Public Library, California.
 Maine Historical Society.
 Maine Press Association.
 Manitoba Historical and Scientific
 Society.
 Commissioners of the National Cen-
 tennial Celebration at Marietta,
 Ohio.
 Maryland Historical Society.
 Massachusetts Horticultural Society.
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 Massachusetts Medical Society.
 Massachusetts Society of the Cincin-
 nati.
 Massachusetts Society for the Pre-
 vention of Cruelty to Animals.
 Mercantile Library of Philadelphia.
 Mercantile Library Company of San
 Francisco.
 Michigan State Library.
 Minneapolis Public Library.
 Minnesota Historical Society.
 Museum of Fine Arts.
 The Newberry Library, Chicago.
 New England Historic Genealogical
 Society.
 New England Society of Pennsylvania.
 New Jersey Historical Society.
 New London County Historical Soci-
 ety.
 New York Chamber of Commerce.
 New York Historical Society.
 New York State Library.
 Old Residents' Historical Association,
 Lowell.
 Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N.Y.
 Peabody Institute, Baltimore.
 Peabody Institute, Danvers.
 Pennsylvania Historical Society.
 Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Asso-
 ciation.
 Portland Public Library.
 Prince Society.
 Providence Public Library.
 Redwood Library and Athenæum,
 Newport.
 Rhode Island Historical Society.
 Royal Historical Society.
 Royal Society of Northern Antiqua-
 ries.
 Salem Press Publishing and Printing
 Company.
 Salem Public Library.
- San Francisco Free Public Library.
 Société des Études Historiques.
 Society of Antiquaries of London.
 Sons of the Revolution, New York.
 Sons of the Revolution, Pennsylvania.
 Southern California Historical Soci-
 ety.
 Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and
 Natural History, England.
 Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
 Tufts College.
 University of California.
 University of Illinois.
 University of Michigan.
 University of Nebraska.
 University of Vermont.
 Virginia Historical Society.
 Wakefield Historical Society.
 Winchester Historical and Genea-
 logical Society.
 Wisconsin Historical Society.
 Editors of the Woman's Journal.
 Worcester City Hospital.
 Worcester Free Public Library.
 Yale University.
 Young Men's Democratic Club, Bos-
 ton.
- Henry Adams.
 Miss Mary Lee Adams.
 Reginald Ames.
 James N. Arnold.
 George Franklin Babbitt.
 William W. Backus.
 William Rhodes Bagnall.
 Benjamin Franklin Baker.
 Walter Baker & Co.
 Cecil Franklin Patch Bancroft.
 A. Bleecker Banks.
 Charles Edward Banks.
 Edmund Dana Barbour.
 Edmund Mills Barton.
 Albert Stillman Batchellor.
 Phineas Bates.
 Monongahela de Beaujeu.
 Melville Madison Bigelow.
 William Reed Bigelow.
 Frederick Billings.
 John Davis Billings.
 William Root Bliss.
 Lewis Henry Boutell.
 Clarence Winthrop Bowen.
 Miss Anna C. Brackett.
 Jeffrey Richardson Brackett.
 Caleb Davis Bradlee.
 Edwin Howard Brigham.
 Abram English Brown.
 George D. Bryan.
 Douglas Brymner.
 Henry Sylvanus Bunton.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 Mrs. Penelope Sever (Lincoln) Canfield.

Charles Carroll Carpenter.
 James Coolidge Carter.
 Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain.
 Mrs. James Tift Champlin.
 Miss Ellen Chase.
 William Warland Clapp.
 Eliot Channing Clarke.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Converse Cleaves.
 George Oliver George Coale.
 John N. Cole.
 John Moore Comstock.
 Arthur T. Connolly.
 Charles Robert Corning.
 William Ashmead Courtenay.
 Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry.
 Mrs. Caroline Gardiner Curtis.
 William Richard Cutter.
 William H. Dall.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 Mrs. Charles Deane.
 Benjamin Franklin DeCosta.
 Sylvester Dering.
 Franklin Bowditch Dexter.
 Elnathan F. Duren.
 Wilberforce Eames.
 Ellsworth Eliot.
 Mrs. Rufus Ellis.
 Charles Sidney Ensign.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 Caleb Foote.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Joseph Foster.
 William Eaton Foster.
 Miss Elizabeth Frame.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Daniel Little Furber.
 William Francis Ganong.
 Samuel Garman.
 Wendell Phillips Garrison.
 John H. Garvin.
 Samuel Lankton Gerould.
 Charles Gill.
 James Junius Goodwin.
 Sylvester Clarke Gould.
 Milbrey Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 Howard Redwood Guild.
 Edward Winslow Hall.
 Mrs. Louisa Jane Hall.
 Edmund D. Halsey.
 Henry Allen Hazen.
 Eben Newell Hewins.
 A. G. Hibbard.
 Herbert E. Hill.
 Eben Norton Horsford.
 George E. Howard.
 Rowland B. Howard.
 Oliver Payson Hubbard.
 Melville Ezra Ingalls.
 Robert C. Ingraham.
 Claudio Jannet.

Charles Francis Jenney.
 Alfred S. Jewett.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Charles Colcock Jones, Jr.
 Miss Susan Blanchard Kidder.
 Rowland Bradley Lacey.
 William Berry Lapham.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Frederick Walker Lincoln.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Benjamin Joseph Loring.
 Jules Marcou.
 Edwin Doak Mead.
 W. H. Meredith.
 Theodore Metcalf.
 George Henry Moore.
 Henry Mulliken.
 Edward Duffield Neill.
 Thomas L. Nelson.
 S. Q. A. Newton.
 John Noble.
 Alfred Baylies Page.
 John Carver Palfrey, Executor.
 John Lord Parker.
 Oliver Gerrish Pearson.
 Stephen D. Peet.
 Amos Perry.
 Bequest of Mrs. Charles Pickering.
 Edward Lillie Pierce.
 Henry W. Pitman.
 Edwin Mason Putnam
 Alonzo Hall Quint.
 Benjamin Rand.
 Franklin Pierce Rice.
 Daniel Merchant Richardson.
 Sidney Smith Rider.
 Mrs. William Barton Rogers.
 Robert Lockley Ruffin.
 Gurdon Wadsworth Russell.
 William Eustis Russell.
 George Webster Sanderson.
 George Edward Sears.
 Benjamin Shurtleff Shaw.
 John Gilmory Shea.
 Mrs. John B. Shipley.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Carlton Albert Staples.
 Mrs. Ellen Adelia (Robbins) Stone.
 Miss Ellen Adelia Stone.
 Francis Humphreys Storer.
 Henry Walton Swift.
 Henry Taylor.
 Eli Thayer.
 Leander Thompson.
 R. H. Tilley.
 Dolphus Torrey.
 John Henry Turner.
 Mrs. Elizabeth B. Updike.
 Henry E. Waite.
 George Leon Walker.
 Joseph Burbeen Walker.
 Lucius Henry Warren.

Sylvester Waterhouse.
 Walter Kendall Watkins.
 Robert L. Weatherbe.
 William Seward Webb.
 William Babcock Weeden.
 Charles Oliver Welch.

John Wenzel.
 Albert W. Whelpley.
 Joseph Williamson.
 John Wilson.
 Charles Edgar Lewis Wingate.
 William Copley Winslow.

And the following Resident Members:—

Charles Francis Adams.
 William S. Appleton.
 Edward Bangs.
 James M. Bugbee.
 Edwin L. Bynner.
 George B. Chase.
 Samuel C. Cobb.
 Henry G. Denny.
 Charles Devens.
 Henry M. Dexter.
 Arthur B. Ellis.
 George E. Ellis.
 William Everett.
 William W. Goodwin.
 Samuel A. Green.
 Edward E. Hale.
 George S. Hale.
 Edward D. Harris.
 John T. Hassam.
 Samuel E. Herrick.
 Clement Hugh Hill.
 Hamilton A. Hill.

Henry F. Jenks.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 Samuel F. McCleary.
 John T. Morse, Jr.
 Henry S. Nourse.
 Andrew P. Peabody.
 Augustus T. Perkins.
 Arthur L. Perry.
 Edward G. Porter.
 Frederick W. Putnam.
 Josiah P. Quincy.
 Stephen Salisbury.
 Leverett Saltonstall.
 Horace E. Scudder.
 Edmund F. Slafter.
 Charles C. Smith.
 Egbert C. Smyth.
 Winslow Warren.
 William H. Whitmore.
 Robert C. Winthrop.
 Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.
 Edward J. Young.

INDEX.

A.

- Abbott, C. C., his "Primitive Industry" cited, 37.
 Acton, *Mass.*, 80.
 Adair, J., his "History of the American Indians" cited, 36.
 Adams, *Mrs.* Abigail, 508, 509.
 Adams, *Hon.* Charles Francis, *LL.D.*, 193, 284 n.
 Adams, Charles F., *A.M.*, 36, 209, 221, 349. Communicates a memoir of Richard H. Dana, 201. Elected Vice-President, 419. Communicates a paper on Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial New England, 477.
 Adams, *Deacon* Ebenezer, 491.
 Adams, *Rev.* Eliphalet, 223.
 Adams, *Pres.* John, 68, 190-195, 252-254, 303. On the truth of history, 304.
 Adams, *Pres.* John Quincy, 65, 166, 221, 284 n.
 Adams, Samuel, 253.
 Adams, *Rev.* William, 223.
 Agassiz, Louis, *LL.D.*, 247.
 Ainsworth, *Rev.* Henry, 43, 44, 48.
 Akins, Thomas B., *D.C.L.*, death of, 421.
 Albany, *N. Y.*, 91, 100.
 Alden, *Rev.* Timothy, *D.D.*, 221.
 Allen, Jolley, 242.
 Allen, *Rev.* Joseph, *D.D.*, 445, 448.
 Allen, *Lieut.* Noah, 83.
 Allyn, *Rev.* John, 231.
 "American Apollo," 203, 212.
 Ames (Eames), Eleazer, 27, 80, 33.
 Ames, Ellis, *A.B.*, 213, 221, 222, 254.
 Amory, Thomas C., *A.M.*, 222, 239, 241.
 Amsterdam, English Exiles in, 1597-1625; paper on, 41-64.
 Andrew, *Hon.* John A., *LL.D.*, 224.
 Andrews, John, 241.
 Annapolis, *Md.*, 133, 157.
 Anonymous Fund, 408, 413. Income of, 408.
 Appleton, *Capt.* John, and the Loyal Petitions of 1666, 469 *et seq.*
 Appleton, John, *M.D.*, 222, 227.
 Appleton, *Hon.* Nathan, *LL.D.*, 222, 246, 406.
 Appleton, *Hon.* Samuel, 406.
 Appleton, *Hon.* William, 241, 406.
 Appleton, William S., *A.M.*, 164, 222, 422, 442. Mentions a memorial tablet to Christopher Columbus at Pavia, 33, and a portrait of Washington at Blois, 34. Speaks of Rev. Dr. Lothrop's connection with the Independent Corps of Cadets, *ib.* Communicates a letter from William Coffin, Jr., to Sir William Pepperrell, 250. Communicates a paper on the Loyal Petitions of 1666, 469.
 Appleton, *Deacon*, 88.
 Appleton Fund, 406, 413. Income of, 406, 411, 413, 414.
 Arnold, *Gen.* Benedict, 84, 94, 138.
 Aristotle, remarks on his Treatise on the Constitution of Athens, by William W. Goodwin, 385 *et seq.*
 Aspinwall, Thomas, *A.M.*, 222.
 Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., 408.
 Attleborough, *Mass.*, 139.

B.

- Babson, *Hon.* John J., 243.
 Badger, Daniel, 87.
 Baker, Moses, *M.D.*, 511, 512.
 Baldwin, Christopher C., 394.
 Baltimore, *Md.*, 135.
 Bancroft, George, *LL.D.*, 70, 270, 272, 403. Remarks on the death of, by George E. Ellis, 296; by Robert C. Winthrop, 300.
 Bangs, Edward, *LL.B.*, 21, 214, 220, 223. Appointed one of the committee of arrangements for the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 196. Elected a Member at Large of the Council, 420.
 Barber, *Lieut. Col.*, Francis, 131, 132, 138, 145-148, 160, 155.

- Barrowe, *Rev. Henry*, 42.
 Barry, *Rev. John S.*, 496.
 Bartlett, *Rev. William S., A.M.*, 242.
 Bartlett, *Miss Catherine*, 449.
 Bartlett, *Hon. John R.*, his "Dictionary of Americanisms" cited, 504 n.
 Bartlett, *Josiah, M.D.*, 223, 232, 345.
 Bass, David, 487.
 Baxter, George, 12.
 Baxter, Joseph, 165.
 Bayley, James, 172, 173.
 Baylies, *Hon. William, M.D.*, 278.
 Beck, Charles, *LL.D.*, 163.
 Becket, *Mass.*, 234.
 Belcher, John, 498.
 Belcher, Joseph, 482.
 Belknap, *Rev. Jeremy, D.D.*, 211, 212, 223, 226, 228, 229, 250, 252 n., 253, 269, 273, 276, 278, 279, 303, 304, 349, 350, 404.
 Belknap Papers, publication of the, 249, 349, 350, 403, 404.
 Bell, Luther V., *M.D.*, 230.
 Bellingham, Richard, *Gov. of Mass.*, 172.
 Bellows, *Col. Benjamin*, 81.
 Bemis, George, *LL.B.*, 235, 408.
 Bendelari, George, *A.M.*, translates the inscriptions on Cabot's *Mappe Monde*, 305.
 Bennet, Ralph, 197.
 Bennet, Robert, 197.
 Bernard, *Sir Francis*, 401.
 Bigelow, *Rev. Andrew, D.D.*, 444.
 Bigelow, *Hon. George T., LL.D.*, 224.
 Bigelow, Jacob, *LL.D.*, 230.
 Bigelow, *Col. Timothy*, 125, 127.
 Blaine *Hon. James G.* Correction of a mistake in his "Twenty Years in Congress," 75.
 Bordentown, *N. J.*, 132, 159.
 Boston, 1, 2, 8, 40, 41, 65, 78, 88, 89, 129, 130, 163, 164, 181, 196-198, 208, 252 n., 254, 263, 264, 268, 296, 298, 340, 352, 355-357, 396, 401, 433, 434, 470, 471, 480, 500, 509, 511.
 Boston and Albany Railroad Co., 407.
 Boston Board of Trade, 202.
 "Boston Daily Advertiser," 192-194, 227, 284 n.
 Boston Five Cent Savings Bank, 408.
 "Boston Gazette," 32.
 Boston Marine Society, 202.
 "Boston News Letter," file of, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, 171.
 Boston Pilot Commissioners, 202.
 Boston Public Library, 519.
 Bowditch, Nathaniel I., *A.M.*, 237, 406.
 Bowles, *Sergt. Ralph H.*, 86.
 Bradford, Gamaliel, *M.D.*, 231, 444.
 Bradford, Samuel D., *LL.D.*, 444.
 Bradford, *Gov. William*, 46, 204, 224, 226, 478, 510.
 Bradford, *Capt.*, 133, 157-160.
 Braintree, *Mass.*, 88, 130, 165, 480 *et seq.*
 Church Records of North Precinct of, cited, 477 *et seq.*
 Branford, *Conn.*, 125.
 Brattle Street Church, *Boston*, model of, 408.
 Brereton, John, his Account of Gensold's Voyage cited, 36.
 Brevoort, J. Carson, *LL.D.*, 305, 306.
 Brewer, *Col. Jonathan*, 89, 78.
 Brewster, Elder William, 226, 229, 240.
 Brigham, *Hon. William, A.B.*, 202, 213, 400.
 Brinsmead, *Rev. William*, 234.
 Brooks, *Rev. Charles*, 223.
 Brooks, William G., *A.M.*, 245.
 Brougham, Henry, *Lord*, 296.
 Brown, Alexander, 274, 351. Elected a Corresponding Member, 390.
 Brown, *Gen. Jacob*, 258.
 Brown, John W., Letter of, descriptive of the battle of Lundy's Lane, 257-259.
 Browne, *Rev. Robert*, earliest Congregational author in modern times, 41.
 Brunswick, *N. J.*, 110.
 Bryant, *Rev. Lemuel*, 491.
 Bryant, William Cullen, *LL.D.*, 244.
 Buckminster, *Rev. Joseph Stevens*, 445.
 Bugbee, James M., 223. Letter from, with regard to the authorship of a journal ascribed to Ebenezer Wild, 39. Communicates another journal kept by Ebenezer Wild, 78. Communicates letters of Louis de Maresquille and Bernard Maussac Lamarquisie, 160. Appointed to write a Memoir of Samuel C. Cobb, 359.
 Bulkley, *Col. John*, 428-430.
 Bullock, *Hon. Alexander H., LL.D.*, 228.
 "Bundling," remarks on, 503-509.
 Burch, William, 254.
 Burgoyne, *Gen. Sir John*, 99.
 Burlington, *N. J.*, 102, 103.
 Burnap, *Rev. George W., D.D.*, 448.
 Burnet, *Gov. William*, 63.
 Burnham, *Capt. John*, 144.
 Burns, Anthony, fugitive slave, 264.
 Burns, Robert, 237.
 Burr, Thaddeus, 396.
 Burrage, *Rev. Henry S., D.D.*, 216.
 Butler, *Gen. Benjamin F.*, 266.

C.

- Cabinet-keeper, *See* Oliver, Fitch Edward.
 Cabinet of the Society, Accessions to, for the Year ending March 31, 1891, 416, 417. Annual Report of the Cabinet-

- keeper, 416, 417. Report of the Committee on, 417-419.
- Cabot, *Hon. George, A.M.*, 259.
- Cabot, John, 308-310.
- Cabot, Sebastian, his *Mappe Monde*, 305 *et seq.*
- Canfield, *Mrs. P. S. L.*, gifts from, 166, 421.
- Carlyle, Thomas, 278, 349.
- Carpenter, *Rev. C. C.*, 377.
- Cary, *Sergt.*, 86.
- Casgrain, *Abbé Henry R.*, 223. Elected a Corresponding Member, 350.
- Castleton, *Vt.*, 87.
- Caulkins, *Miss Frances M.*, 223.
- Cavendish, *Vt.*, 82, 87.
- Chamberlain, *Hon. Mellen, LL.D.*, 21, 72, 190, 191, 196, 223, 224, 419. Remarks in communicating a memorial of Daniel Leonard, 251-254. Of the committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, 351. Remarks by, on the authorship of *Massachusettsensis*, 399. Communicates a memorial of Capt. Charles Cochrane, 433. Supplemental Note, relating to Capt. Cochrane, 519.
- Chandler, Peleg W., *LL.D.*, 209, 224.
- Chandler, *Miss Sarah*, 66, 416.
- Channing, *Rev. William E., D.D.*, 292, 445, 447, 448, 453.
- "Charles Bartlett," *ship*, 199.
- Charlestown, *N. H.*, 81, 87.
- "Charon," *ship of war*, 153.
- Chase, George B., *A.M.*, 65, 224, 422.
- Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co., 409.
- Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., 408.
- Chickahominy, *Va.*, 142-144.
- "Christian Disciple," 459.
- "Christian Examiner," 449, 458, 459.
- Church Discipline in Colonial New England, paper on, 477 *et seq.*
- Chytæus, Nathan, 310, 311 n., 317 n., 323, 338 n.
- Cincinnati Gas Light Co., 407, 408.
- Cincinnati Electric Light Co., 408.
- Cincinnati, Society of the, 160 *et seq.*
- Circuit, *Count Adolphe de*, 247, 248.
- Clapp, *Col. William W.*, 340.
- Clarke, *Rev. James Freeman, D.D.*, 224, 239, 455.
- Claverock, *N. Y.*, 101.
- Clifford, *Hon. John H., LL.D.*, 213, 247.
- Clinton, *Sir Henry*, 433, 436, 439, 441.
- Cobb, *Hon. Samuel C.*, 403. Tributes to, by the President, 351, Abbott Lawrence, 352, Samuel F. McCleary, 354, Winslow Warren, 358. Memoir of, to be written by James M. Bugbee, 359.
- Cochrane, *Admiral, Sir Alexander F. I.*, 433.
- Cochrane, *Capt. Charles*, 433, 434, 441, 442, 519. Memorial of, 434-441.
- Cochrane, *Sir John*, 519.
- Coffin, William, *Jr.*, Letter of, to Sir William Pepperrell, 250.
- Coffin, —, 87.
- Cogswell, *Major Thomas*, 121.
- Colman, *Rev. Benjamin, D.D.*, 500.
- Columbian National Bank, *Boston*, 409.
- Columbus, Christopher, 223, 229, 276, 307, 382. Memorial tablet to, at Pavia 34. Fragment of an Italian letter by, 383.
- Committees of the Society. To publish the Proceedings, 1, 421; to consider a proposal for the erection of a memorial to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven, 1; report of, 40; to examine the Treasurer's accounts, 351; report of, 414; to examine the Library and Cabinet, 351; report of, 417; to nominate officers, 351; report of, 419; to make arrangements for the centennial commemoration of the organization of the Society, 196; report of, 203.
- Concord, *Mass.*, 79, 80, 88.
- Congregationalism, 181-183.
- Connecticut River, 81.
- Copley, John Singleton, 239, 285.
- Corresponding Secretary. See Winsor, Justin.
- Cornwallis, Charles, *Marquis*, 139, 433, 436, 438, 441, 442, 519.
- Cotton, *Rev. John*, anecdote of, 281.
- Couch, *Gen. Darius N.*, 288.
- Cradock, Matthew, 226.
- Crampton, *Capt.*, 83.
- Cranch, *Mrs. William*, 508.
- Crosby, *Lieut. Joseph*, 490.
- Crosby, Joel, 28, 33.
- Crosson, William, 118.
- Crowninshield, Edward A., *A.M.*, 228.
- Crown Point, 84, 85.
- Curry, *Hon. J. L. M.*, 240.
- Curtis, *Hon. Benjamin R., LL.D.*, 241.
- Cushing, *Capt. Nathaniel*, 85, 97, 101, 106, 107.
- Cushing, *Lieut. Thomas*, 127.
- Cutler, *Rev. Manasseh, LL.D.*, 72.
- Cutts, John, *Lord*, 249.

D.

- Dale, Eben, 406.
- Dana, Francis, *Chief Justice of Mass.*, 262.
- Dana, Richard H., *LL.D.*, 404. Memoir of, by Charles F. Adams, 262-267. His birth and education, 262. Studies law, 263. Counsel for fugitive slaves,

264. Edits an edition of Wheaton's Elements of International Law, 265. His literary honors, 266. Closing years of his life, 267. Letter of, to Edward Moxon, 308.
- Danbury, *Conn.*, 90, 91, 129.
- Danforth, John, 178.
- Danforth, *Pres.* Thomas, 234.
- Danforth, *Capt.*, 84.
- D'Avezac, Marie A. P., 309.
- Davis, Andrew McFarland, *A.M.*, 246.
- Davis, *Hon.* George T., 224.
- Davis, Isaac P., 284 n.
- Davis, *Hon.* John, *LL.D.*, *Pres. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 224, 231.
- Dean, John Ward, *A.M.*, 244.
- Deane, Charles, *LL.D.*, 211, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220, 224-228, 230, 274, 301, 305, 351, 400, 478, 479. On Cabot's *Mappe Monde*, 306 *et seq.*
- Dearborn, *Major-Gen.* Henry, 106, 223, 224.
- De Costa, *Rev.* B. F., *D.D.*, 218.
- Dedham, *Mass.*, 117, 405, 406.
- De Grasse, *Count* François J. P., 149.
- De Lancy, *Lieut.-Gov.* James, 376.
- Denny, Henry G., *A.M.*, of committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, 351. Signs the report, 414.
- Devens, *Hon.* Charles, *LL.D.*, 228, 270, 285, 294, 300, 301, 356, 403, 404. Tributes to, by John C. Ropes, 286, and Henry Lee, 291. John C. Ropes appointed to write a memoir of, 294.
- Dexter, Franklin B., *A.M.*, 228, 305.
- Dexter, George, *A.M.*, 219, 228, 229, 243, 305, 408.
- Dexter, *Rev.* Henry M., *D.D.*, 65, 229, 300, 301, 403. Appointed on a committee to consider of the erection of a monument to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven, 1. Reports that it is not expedient to pass a vote on the subject, 40. Communicates a paper on English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625, 41. Tributes to his memory by George E. Ellis, 176, Hamilton A. Hill, 184, and Alexander McKenzie, 185. John E. Sanford appointed to prepare a memoir of, 187.
- Dexter, *Rev.* Samuel, 495.
- Dexter, *Hon.* Samuel, 444.
- Dickinson, John, author of the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms, 67, 69-71. His character, 68.
- Diman, *Rev.* J. Lewis, *D.D.*, 249.
- Dinston, *Sergt.*, 104, 107.
- Douglass, William, *M. D.*, 233.
- Downing, *Sir* George, 247.
- Downing, *Mrs.* Lucy, 247.
- Dowse, Thomas, 221, 272, 406.
- Dowse Fund, 406, 413. Income of, 412.
- Dowse Library, 220, 221, 273.
- Drake, Samuel G., 215.
- Dudley, *Gov.* Joseph, 249.
- Dudley, *Gov.* Thomas, 226.
- Dummer, *Lieut.-Gov.* William, 300 *et seq.*
- Dundonald, *Earls* of, 433, 434, 438.
- Duponcean, Peter S., 229.
- Dupré, Augustin, 222.
- Durham, *N. H.*, 82.
- Dwight, *Col.* Timothy, 360 *et seq.*
- Dyer, Christopher, 498.

E.

- Eames, Eleazer. See Ames.
- Edwards, *Rev.* Jonathan, 500, 501, 503. His "Narrative" cited, 499.
- Eliot, *Rev.* Andrew, *D.D.*, 229, 277, 396.
- Eliot, *Rev.* Andrew, *Jr.*, 396, 397.
- Eliot, Charles W., *LL.D.*, 459, 460.
- Eliot, *Rev.* John, the Apostle to the Indians, 229, 393-396, 495. Proposed monument to, 64. Erroneous statement as to his burial-place, 65.
- Eliot, *Rev.* John, *D.D.*, 212, 237, 250, 253, 277, 396.
- Eliot, Samuel, *LL.D.*, 229.
- Elliot, *Col.* Robert, 117.
- Elliott, Charles Wyllis, 496. His "History of New England" cited, 502, 507.
- Ellis, Arthur B., *LL.B.*, 280. Communicates a letter descriptive of the battle of Lundy's Lane, 257.
- Ellis, *Rev.* George E., *LL.D.*, *President*, 1, 21, 39, 65, 164, 165, 175, 196, 203, 208, 230, 251, 271, 275, 421, 469. Remarks by, on the character and services of John Dickinson, 67. Remarks by, in presenting a collection of Lincoln Papers, 166 *et seq.* Remarks on the death of *Rev.* Dr. Dexter, 176. Address at the centennial commemoration of the formation of the Society, 288. Remarks on the death of *Hon.* Charles Devens, 285. Remarks on the death of George Bancroft, 295. Remarks on the death of *Hon.* Samuel C. Cobb, 351. Elected President, 419.
- Emerson, George B., *LL.D.*, 208, 245.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *LL.D.*, 262, 273, 349, 408.
- Emerson, *Rev.* William, 230.
- Emmes, Joseph, engraved portrait of Increase Mather by, 442.
- English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625, paper on, 41-64.
- Enslin, *Lieut.*, 106.
- Erastus B. Bigelow Fund, 407, 413. Income of, 407.
- Erskine, *Sir* William, 436.
- Erving, *Hon.* George William, 249.

"Europa," steamer, 199.

Evelyn, *Capt. W. Glanville*, 433, 434.

Everett, *Hon. Edward, LL.D.*, 217, 220, 243, 266, 272, 349, 454, 455.

Everett, *William, Litt. D.*, 70, 196, 251, 381, 382, 442.

F.

Fairfield, *Conn.*, 112, 126, 395-397.

Farmer, *John, A.M.*, 230.

Farrington, *Capt. Thomas*, 426, 427.

Fearfield, *Vt.* (Fairfield?), 87.

Feke, *Robert*, Letter to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., 8 n.

Felton, *Cornelius C., LL.D.*, 459, 460.

Fishkill, *N. Y.*, 101.

Fiske, *Rev. Moses*, 481, 482, 484, 485.

Fiske, *Rev. Nathan, D.D.*, 377.

Fitch, *John*, 432.

Fitchburg, *Mass.*, 80, 432.

Fitzwilliam, *N. H.*, 80.

Flucker, *Thomas*, 401.

Flynt, *Tutor Henry*, 227.

Fones, *Elizabeth*. See Hallett.

Foote, *Rev. Henry W.*, 230.

Forbes, *Rev. John*, 197.

Forbes, *Ralph Bennet*, 197.

Forbes, *Robert Bennet*, 231. Memoir of, by Leverett Saltonstall, 197-202. His parentage and birth, 197. His marriage, 198. His courage, 199. Carries provisions to Ireland at the time of the great famine, *ib.* Goes to South America, 200. His services during the Rebellion, 201. His death 202.

Ford, *Paul Leicester*, 220.

Fort Dummer, Papers relating to the construction and first occupancy of, 359 *et seq.*, 423.

Fort George, 84, 85.

Fort Montgomery, 116.

Foster, *John*, pioneer printer of Boston, 41, 233.

Foster, *Stephen*, 29, 30, 33.

Frame, *Miss Elizabeth*, presents manuscript sketches of ministers settled in Nova Scotia, 285.

Francis, *Rev. Convers, D.D.*, 231, 238, 393, 394.

Franklin, *Mrs. Ann*, date of her death, 518.

Franklin, *Benjamin, LL.D.*, 517.

Franklin, *James*, 517.

Franklin, *Josiah*, 518.

Frazer, *Major John G.*, 86.

Fredericksburg, *Va.*, 136, 139.

Freeman, *Rev. James, D.D.*, 230, 231, 278.

Frisbie, *Prof. Levi*, 445.

Frothingham, *Rev. Nathaniel L., D.D.*, 231, 235, 246, 459, 460.

Frothingham, *Rev. Octavius B.*, appointed to write a memoir of James Walker, 359. Communicates the memoir, 442.

Frothingham, *Hon. Richard, A.M.*, 213, 228, 231, 232, 407.

G.

Gaines, *Gen. Edmund P.*, 258.

Galvan, *Major*, 132, 133, 137-139, 144, 151.

Gannett, *Caleb, A.M.*, 236.

Gardiner, *Sir Christopher*, 222.

Garfield, *Pres. James A.*, 218, 240.

Gates, *Gen. Horatio*, 98, 99, 122.

General Fund, 407, 413. Income of, 413.

Germaine, *Lord George*, 434. See, also, Sackville, Lord George.

Gilbert, *Sir Humphrey*, 229.

Gilfillan, *Rev. J. A.*, on the Ojibway dialect, 259.

Gilman, *Rev. Samuel, D.D.*, 448.

Gimat, *Lieut.-Col.*, 131, 132, 136, 138, 145, 147, 148, 153.

Gloucester, *Va.*, 142, 152, 155.

Glover, *Gen. John*, 107, 118, 119.

Goddard, *Delano A., A.M.*, 242, 247.

Goddard, *Mrs. Martha Le Baron*, 247.

Goodell, *Abner C., Jr., A.M.*, 21, 232, 442. Communicates a fragment relating to the election May 25, 1720, by Judge Sewall, 388.

Goodwin, *William W., D.C.L.*, 220, 404. Of the committee to nominate officers, 351. Communicates a fragment of an Italian letter by Christopher Columbus, 382. Remarks by, on a newly discovered manuscript of Aristotle, 385. Presents the annual report of the Council, 402. Vote of thanks to, 420.

Gookin, *Daniel*, his "Historical Collections of the Indians of New England," cited, 36, 37.

Gore, *Christopher, LL.D.*, 240.

Gould, *Nehemiah*, 27, 30, 33.

Grahame, *James, LL.D.*, 240.

Grant, *Major*, 87.

Grant, *Pres. Ulysses S.*, 290.

Graves, *Col.*, 158.

Gray, *Asa, LL.D.*, 37.

Gray, *Hon. Francis C., LL.D.*, 216, 232, 284 n.

Gray, *Hon. Horace, Jr., LL.D.*, 195, 232.

Green, *Miss Harriet E.*, indexes the Pickering Papers, 189.

Green, *Rev. John R.*, 303.

Green, *Hon. Samuel A., M.D.*, Librarian, 1, 39, 40, 65, 213, 214, 233-235, 345, 381, 419-422, 469, 493, 502. Com-

- municates some papers relating to a company raised at Groton by Capt. Thomas Lawrence during the French and Indian War, 21. Describes a collection of books belonging to John A. Lewis, given to the Boston Public Library, one of which has a copy of the "White Hills" map, 40. Calls attention to an elegant cabinet made to hold the Parkman Papers, 165. Calls attention to a photographic group of the members of the Society, taken in 1858, 76. Remarks on an early file of "The Boston News-Letter," 171. Communicates an unpublished letter of Thomas Jefferson, 174. Remarks on the report of the argument of James Otis against the Writs of Assistance, 190. Appointed on the committee to make arrangements for the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 196. Presents a report from the committee, and communicates a Centennial Bibliography of the Society, 203. Communicates a subscription paper for a dinner on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, 340. Communicates a supplement to his Centennial Bibliography, 343. Calls attention to Maxwell's "Run through the United States," containing a reference to Dr. Belknap, 349. Remarks by, on an anonymous tract relating to the attempts to convert the American Indians, 392. Presents his annual report as Librarian, 415. Chosen Librarian, 420. Communicates a return of men enlisted in Groton by Capt. Thomas Farrington in 1760, 426. Calls attention to a file of "The New England Courant," and its young publisher Benjamin Franklin, 516.
- Green, *Col.*, 121.
 Green, *Sergt.*, 127.
 Greene, *Gen.* Nathanael, 103.
 Greenbush, *N. Y.*, 99.
 Greenleaf, *Simon*, *LL.D.*, 263.
 Greenwood, *Rev. Francis W. P.*, *D.D.*, 444, 448, 449.
 Gridley, *Jeremiah*, 195, 196.
 Groton, *Mass.*, 21-23, 80, 233, 234, 426 et seq., 493, 494.
 Guilford, *Conn.*, 113, 125.
- H.
- Hale, *Rev. Edward E.*, *D.D.*, 208. Communicates some observations on the Ojibway dialect, 259.
 Hale, *Hon. George S.*, *A.M.*, 65, 235.
 Hale, *Hon. Nathan*, *LL.D.*, 215.
 Half-Way Brook, skirmish at, 32.
 Hallam, *Henry*, *LL.D.*, 272, 296.
 Hallett, *Elizabeth*, 3. Letters to John Winthrop, *Jr.*, 4, 11-13.
 Hallett, *William*, 8, 7, 13. Letters to John Winthrop, *Jr.*, 12, 13.
 Hampden, *John*, 248.
 Hancock, *Rev. John*, 487, 491, 500.
 Hancock, *Gov. John*, date of his marriage, 396.
 Hancock, *Capt.*, 78.
 Harris, *Edward D.*, *A.M.*, 235.
 Harris, *Henry*, 408.
 Harris, *Rev. Thaddeus Mason*, *D.D.*, 231, 235, 345.
 Harris, *Thaddeus William*, *M.D.*, 235.
 Harris, *William Thaddeus*, 215.
 Hart, *Albert B.*, *Ph.D.*, 235.
 Harvard College, 444, 445, 449, 451, 454, 455, 459, 460.
 Harvard, *Rev. John*, 230.
 Hassam, *John T.*, *A.M.*, 244.
 Haven, *Rev. Jason*, 495.
 Haven, *Samuel F.*, *LL.D.*, 208, 228.
 Haverstraw, *N. Y.*, 130.
 Hayes, *Pres. Rutherford B.*, 289.
 Haynes, *Henry W.*, *A.M.*, 21, 188. Communicates some notes on Indian Hemp, Self-Sown Wheat, and Indian Tomahawks, 34. Of the committee to nominate officers, 351.
 Haynes, *Capt.*, 84.
 Hazen, *Gen. Moses*, 130, 131, 156.
 Hedge, *Rev. Frederic H.*, *D.D.*, 235, 453.
 Henshaw, *Miss Harriet E.*, 242.
 Henshaw, *Col. William*, 242.
 Herrick, *Rev. Samuel E.*, *D.D.*, elected a Resident Member, 390.
 Higginson, *Mrs. Anne*, 422, 423. Letter from, to Gov. John Winthrop, 424.
 Higginson, *Rev. Francis*, 275, 422, 424.
 Higginson, *Rev. John*, 425.
 Higginson, *Thomas W.*, *A.M.*, 272, 275, 422, 478. Selected to deliver an address on the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 175. Address at the centennial commemoration of the formation of the Society, 275.
 Hill, *Clement H.*, *A.M.*, 235, 899.
 Hill, *Hamilton A.*, *A.M.*, 442, his tribute to Rev. Dr. Dexter, 184. Communicates an unpublished letter from Richard H. Dana to Edward Moxon, 897.
 Hill, *Capt.*, 100.
 Hillard, *Hon. George S.*, *LL.D.*, 235, 238.
 History, two great laws of, 274. An inexact science, 280. Obstacles which tend to make it more inexact, and which can be diminished, 281. John

Adams's opinion as to the truth of, 304.
 Hoar, *Hon. Ebenezer R., LL.D.*, 1, 21, 235.
 Hoar, *Hon. Samuel, LL.D.*, 238.
 Holden, *Sergt. David*, 234.
 Holland, *Josiah G., M.D.*, 349.
 Holm, T. C., his "Description of New Sweden" cited, 36.
 Holmes, *Rev. Abiel, D.D.*, 211, 215, 235, 236.
 Holmes, *Oliver W., LL.D.*, 208, 209, 236.
 Holmes, *Oliver Wendell, Jr., LL.D.*, elected a Resident Member, 442.
 Homer, *Rev. Jonathan, D.D.*, 236.
 Hooker, *Rev. Thomas*, 422-424. Letter to Gov. John Winthrop, 425.
 Hopkins, *Mrs. Hannah*, 495.
 Hoppin, *Rev. Nicholas, D.D.*, 238.
 Howe, *Estes, M.D.*, 230.
 Howell, *James*, 42.
 Howland's Ferry, *R. I.*, 114, 117.
 Hubbard, *Rev. William*, 41.
 Hubbardton, *Vt.*, 87.
 Hudson, *Hon. Charles, A.M.*, 236, 240.
 Humboldt, *Alexander von*, 272.
 Hunt, *Capt. Thomas*, 106.
 Huntington, *Gen. Jedidiah*, 108.
 Hutchinson, *Mrs. Anne*, 228, 423.
 Hutchinson, *Col. Israel*, 242.
 Hutchinson, *Gov. Thomas*, 204, 224, 253, 401, 498.

I.

Independence, American, celebration of, 124, 143.
 Indian Hemp, some notes on, by Henry W. Haynes, 35.
 Indian women, their behavior and dress, 514.
 Ingalls, *Rev. E. C.*, 377.
 Ipswich, *Mass.*, 470, 471, 475, 476.
 Ireland, famine in, in 1847, 199.

J.

Jackson, *Rev. Edward*, 492.
 Jackson, *Col. Henry*, 117, 119, 121.
 Jackson, *Gen. Thomas J.* ("Stone-wall,"), 288.
 "Jamestown," sloop of war, 199.
 Jamestown, *Va.*, 143.
 Jefferson, *Pres. Thomas*, 70, 71, 235. Unpublished letter of, 174.
 Jenks, *Rev. Henry F.*, 236. Elected a Member at Large of the Council, 420.
 Jenks, *Capt. Samuel*, 236.
 Jenks, *Rev. William, D.D.*, 212, 349.
 Jennison, *Nathaniel*, 232.
 Johnson, *Capt. Edward*, 443.
 Johnson, *Rev. Francis*, 43, 44, 55.

Jones, *Charles C.*, his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians" cited, 37.
 Jones, *Hon. Isaac D.*, 73.
 Jonesville, *N. Y.*, 97.
 Josselyn, *John*, his "Two Voyages" cited, 514.

K.

Kalm, *Peter*, his "Travels in North America" cited, 35.
 Keayne, *Capt. Robert*, 234.
 Keene, *N. H.*, 80, 81.
 Keith, *Israel*, note-book by, referred to, 195.
 Kelby, *William*, 174.
 Kellogg, *Capt. Joseph*, 363, 368.
 Kennedy, *Hon. John P.*, 217.
 Kerr, *Hon. John Leeds*, 73.
 Killingworth, *Conn.*, 113, 125.
 Kinderhook, *N. Y.*, 100.
 King, *Hon. John G., LL.D.*, 248.
 King, *Sergt.*, 98, 102.
 King's Ferry, *N. Y.*, 101.
 Kirkland, *Rev. John T., LL.D.*, 236, 298, 444, 445.
 Knap, *Capt. Moses*, 96.
 Knox, *Gen. Henry*, 245, 401.
 Kohl, *John G.*, 310.

L.

Lafayette, *Gen. Gilbert Motier, Marquis de*, 107, 109, 131, 137, 138, 142, 143, 169-171. Unpublished letter of, 170.
 Lakin, *Oliver*, 22, 30, 33.
 Lamarquisie, *Bernard Maussac*, letter of, 162. Petition of, 163.
 Lamson, *Rev. Alvan, D.D.*, 444, 459, 460.
 Lancaster, *Pa.*, 104.
 Latham, *Williams, A.M.*, 408.
 Lathrop, *Rev. John, D.D.*, 214.
 Law, *Barzillai*, 426.
 Lawrence, *Hon. Abbott, LL.D.*, 222.
 Lawrence, *Abbott, A.M.* Tribute to Samuel C. Cobb by, 352.
 Lawrence, *Capt. Thomas*, 21, 23-25, 30, 33.
 Lawrence, *Col. William*, 426, 428, 430.
 Lawrence, *Hon. William Beach*, his litigation with Richard H. Dana, 265.
 Lawrence Academy, 444.
 Learned (Larned), *Gen. Ebenezer*, 107.
 Lechford, *Thomas*, 346.
 Lecky, *W. E. H.*, his "History of England" cited, 253.
 Lee, *Gen. Charles*, 107, 109.
 Leonard, *Daniel*, 251-254. Memorial of, 255-267, 399, 400.

- Letort, C., 305.
 Lewis, Alonzo, 349.
 Lewis, John Allen, his collection of rare Boston imprints given to the Boston Public Library, 40.
 Librarian. *See* Green, Samuel A.
 Library of the Society, gifts to, 165, 166, 285, 351, 391. Accessions for the year ending March 31, 1891, 415. Annual Report of the Librarian, 415. Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet, 417-419. List of Donors to, 521.
 Library and Cabinet, report of Committee on the, 417-419.
 Lightfoot, Capt. 141.
 Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin, 95, 98, 123, 151, 155, 236.
 Lincoln, Levi, *Attorney-General of U.S.*, 169.
 Lincoln, Gov. Levi, 244, 421. Papers of, presented to the Society, 166. His address at the inauguration of Josiah Quincy as President of Harvard College, 167. Letter from Dr. Waterhouse to, 168.
 Lincoln, Solomon, *A.M.*, appointed one of the committee to nominate officers, 351.
 Litchfield, Conn., 90.
 Little and Brown, *Messrs.*, 398.
 Little, George, 222.
 Littleton, Mass., 80, 88.
 Livermore, George, *A.M.*, 213, 217, 220, 225, 237, 273, 406.
 Livingston (Levenston), Mr., 101.
 Lodge, Hon. Henry Cabot, *A.M.*, 188, 237.
 Logan, John Dickinson, *M.D.*, 71.
 Loring, Hon. Charles G., *LL.D.*, 237, 239, 263.
 Loring, Hon. Edward G., 264.
 Lossing, Benson J., *LL.D.*, death of, 518.
 Lothrop, Rev. Samuel K., *D.D.*, 34, 237, 239.
 Lovering, Prof. Joseph, *LL.D.*, 452, 460.
 Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, *A.M.*, elected a Resident Member, 196.
 Lowell, Rev. Charles, *D.D.*, 237, 284 n.
 Lowell, Edward J., *A.M.*, appointed on a committee to consider of the erection of a monument to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven, 1. Submits a report on the Pickering Papers, 187. Elected a Member at Large of the Council, 420.
 Lowell, Hon. James Russell, *D.C.L.*, 237.
 Lowell, Hon. John, *LL.D.*, H. U. 1760, 226.
 Lowell, Hon. John, *LL.D.*, H. U., 1786, 237.
 Lowell, Hon. John, *LL.D.*, H. U. 1843, 237.
 Lundy's Lane, battle of, 257-259.
 Lunenburg, Mass., 80, 88, 431, 432.
 Lunt, Paul, 233.
 Lunt, Rev. William P., *D.D.*, 231, 500.
 Luther, Martin, 219.
 Lyman, Theodore, *LL.D.*, 301.
 Lyon, Martha Johanna, 4. Letters to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., 9, 14, 15.
 Lyon, Mary. Letter to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., 16. Letter to Fitz-John Winthrop, 19.
 Lyon, Thomas, Notes by R. C. Winthrop, Jr., on his Family and Connections, 2. Letters to Gov. John Winthrop, 5, 6; to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., 16, 17.

M.

- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *Lord*, 272, 290, 308.
 "Macedonian," ship, 199, 200.
 McCleary, Samuel F., *A.M.* Tribute to Samuel C. Cobb by, 354.
 McKean, Rev. Joseph, *D.D.*, 215, 237.
 McKendry, William, 246.
 McKenzie, Rev. Alexander, *D.D.*, 214. Appointed on the Committee for publishing the Proceedings, 1, 421. His tribute to Rev. Dr. Dexter, 185. Pronounces the benediction at the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 283.
 McKinster, Capt., 95, 96.
 McLane, Sergt. Daniel, 84.
 McMaster, John B., 280.
 Major, Richard Henry, *F.S.A.*, 237, 382, 383.
 Malvern Hills, Va., 145, 146.
 Maresquell, Louis de, letter of, 161.
 Marlborough, Mass., 80.
 Marshall, Chief Justice John, 69.
 Martin, Hon. Augustus P., 357.
 Marvell, Andrew, 42.
 Mason, Rev. Charles, *D.D.*, 239.
 Mason, Hon. Jonathan, 235.
 Mason, Robert M., 249.
 Massachusetts, Lectures on the Early History of, 208.
 Massachusetts Historical Collections, 413; cited, 36, 171, 376 n., 377 n.; when published, 205, 206.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings of, 164, 188, 206, 350, 413, 420, 520; when published, 206, 207. One hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 175, 196, 203, 268-284. Centennial Bibliography of, 203-249; supplement to, 343-349.
 Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund, 406, 413. Income of, 406, 411-413, 414; to be applied toward the publication of the Belknap Papers, 196.

Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Co., 353.
 Massachusetts Humane Society, 201.
 "Massachusetts Spy, The," 191, 192, 194, 195.
 Mather, *Rev. Increase, D.D.*, engraved portrait of, 442.
 Maverick, Samuel, 223, 234, 472, 476, 480.
 Maxwell, *Col. Archibald M.*, his "Run through the United States" cited, 349.
 May, Dorothy, wife of Gov. William Bradford, 46, 56.
 Mayhew, *Rev. Jonathan, D.D.*, 447.
 Meacham, *Sergt.*, 86.
 Mease, James, 238.
 Meetings of the Society, 1, 39, 66, 165, 176, 203, 263, 285, 351, 391, 421, 469. Annual Meeting, 391.
 Merchants' National Bank, *Boston*, 409.
 Merrick, *Hon. Pliny, LL.D.*, 444.
 Merrill, Benjamin, *LL.D.*, 238.
 Merriman, *Mrs. Helen Bigelow*, 407.
 Metcalf, *Hon. Theron, LL.D.*, 235.
 Mignet, *François A. A.*, 248.
 Miller, *Capt. Jeremiah*, 111.
 Milman, *Rev. Henry Hart, D.D.*, 217.
 Mills, *Hon. E. H.*, 237.
 Mills, *Capt. John*, 127.
 Minot, *Hon. George R., A.M.*, 192-194, 278.
 Minot, *Hon. William, A.M.*, 238, 247, 284 n.
 Mitchell, *Hon. Nahum*, 209.
 Molten, John B., 120.
 Monmouth, *N. J.*, 110.
 Montcalm, Louis Joseph, *Marquis de*, 246.
 "Monthly Religious Magazine," 458.
 Moore, George H., *LL.D.*, 67, 71, 232, 238.
 Morgan, Lewis H., his "Report on New York State Cabinet of Natural History" cited, 37.
 Morristown, *N. J.*, 102, 131, 159.
 Morrow, *Hon. Jeremiah*, 73, 249.
 Morse, *Capt. Edmund*, 21.
 Morse, Elizabeth, 488, 490.
 Morse, *Rev. Jedidiah, D.D.*, 229, 446.
 Morse, John T., *Jr., A.M.*, 188.
 Morton, Thomas, author of the "New English Canaan," 36, 514.
 Motley, *Hon. John Lothrop, LL.D.*, 42, 217, 218, 272.
 Mount Holly, *N. J.*, 103.
 Mount, George, his "Relation" cited, 35, 514.
 Moxon, Edward, letter to Richard H. Dana, 398.
 Moylan, *Col. Stephen*, 127, 145.
 Muhlenberg, *Gen. Peter* 141, 143, 145.
 Murray, Dorothy, 197

N.

National Bank of Commerce, *Boston*, 409.
 National Union Bank, *Boston*, 409.
 Newark, *N. J.*, 111.
 Newcastle, *N. Y.*, 128.
 Newell, *Rev. William, D.D.*, 238.
 New England Confederacy, 221.
 New Haven, *Conn.*, 125.
 New London, *Conn.*, 113, 124.
 New Milford, *Conn.*, 112.
 Newport, *R. I.*, 114.
 Nicholls, J. F., 305.
 Nichols, *Col. Ebenezer*, 22, 32.
 "Niles's Weekly Register," 192-194.
 Nixon, *Gen. John*, 129.
 Norristown, *Pa.*, 108.
 North, Frederick, *Lord*, on the truth of history, 280.
 Northampton, *Mass.*, 499.
 Northfield, *Mass.*, 364 *et seq.*
 Norton, *Andrews, A.M.*, 444, 445.
 Norwalk, *Conn.*, 112, 126.
 Norwich, *Conn.*, 113.
 Nourse, *Hon. Henry S., A.M.*, presents a rare specimen of Massachusetts currency, 397.

O.

Oliver, Andrew, *Lieut.-Gov. of Mass.*, 401.
 Oliver, Fitch Edward, *M.D.*, 214, 219, 220, 238, 419. Presents his annual report as Cabinet-keeper, 416. Elected Cabinet-keeper, 420.
 Orr, *Sergt.-Major Alexander*, 84.
 Otis, James, his argument against the Writs of Assistance, how reported, 190-196.
 Owen, Benjamin, 486-488.
 Owen, Ebenezer, 484.
 Owen, Joseph, 486-488.
 Owen, Josiah, 484.
 Owen, William, 484.
 Oxford, *Mass.*, 235.

P.

Page, Alfred B., 419.
 Paget, *Rev. John*, 43, 57.
 Paige, *Rev. Lucius R., D.D.*, 203, 242, 251. Offers the prayer at the centennial commemoration of the formation of the Society, 270.
 Paine, *Hon. Elijah, LL.D.*, 444.
 Palfrey, Francis W., *A.M.*, 238, 288.
 Palfrey, John Gorham, *LL.D.*, 272, 284 n., 448, 470, 496, 498, 499, 506.
 Palmer, *Deacon Joseph*, 491.
 Palmer, *Mass.*, 89.

- Parker, *Hon. Francis E., A.M.*, 219, 222, 248.
 Parker, Henry Tuke, *A.M.*, death of, 164, 403.
 Parker, *Hon. Joel, LL.D.*, 208, 238, 244.
 Parker, Leonard, 29, 30.
 Parker, *Rev. Theodore*, 453.
 Parkman, Francis, *LL.D.*, 223, 272.
 Presents a valuable collection of manuscripts to the Society, 165.
 Makes a supplemental gift, 391. Vote of thanks to, 392. Elected Vice-President, 419.
 Parmenius, Stephen, 235.
 Parmenter, Joseph, 486.
 Parsons, Theophilus, *LL.D.*, 239.
 Parton, James, 70.
 Partridge, *Col. Samuel*, 367 *et seq.*
 Patterson, *Gen. John*, 100.
 Payne and Gore Families, 245.
 Peabody, *Rev. Andrew P., D.D.*, 34, 65, 239.
 Peabody, George, 217, 407.
 Peabody Fund, 406-408, 413. Income of, 412-414.
 Peale, Charles Wilson, 34.
 Peck, William Danbridge, *A.M.*, 243.
 Peekskill, *N. Y.*, 90, 101, 112, 123, 130.
 Pelham, Peter, 245.
 Pemberton, Thomas, 239.
 Penhallow, Samuel, 215.
 Penniman, James, 486.
 Pepperrell, *Sir William*, letter from William Coffin, Jr., to, 250.
 Perkins, Augustus T., *A.M.*, 239. Death of, 421, 422. William H. Whitmore appointed to write a memoir of, 422.
 Perkins, Charles C., *A.M.*, 229, 239.
 Perkins, *Messrs. James and Thomas H.*, 197, 198.
 Perkins, Samuel G., 239.
 Perkins, Thomas Handasyd, 248.
 Peters, *Rev. Samuel*, his "General History of Connecticut" cited, 604 n.
 Petersburg, *Va.*, 137, 146.
 Philadelphia, *Pa.*, 99, 103, 132, 158.
 Phillips, John C., *A.B.*, 240.
 Phillips, Quincy, 285.
 Phillips, *Gen. William*, death of, 138.
 Phinney, *Col. Edmund*, 84.
 Pickering, Charles, *M.D.*, manuscript journal of, given to the Society, 285.
 Pickering, Henry, 188.
 Pickering, John, *LL.D.*, 229, 240.
 Pickering, Octavius, *A.M.*, 188.
 Pickering Papers, report on, 188.
 Pierce, *Rev. John, D.D.*, 237, 284 n., 447.
 Pike, *Rev. John*, 240.
 Pintard, John, 273, 279.
 Pirates, six, executed in Boston, 172.
 Pitcairn, *Major Thomas*, 236, 434.
 Plainfield, *Conn.*, 113.
 Polk, *Pres. James K.*, 298.
 Pomeroy, *Capt. Ebenezer*, 360, 374, 377.
 Pompton, *N. J.*, 102, 131, 160.
 Poole, William F., *LL.D.*, 345.
 Poor, *Gen. Enoch*, 99, 107, 108.
 Porter, *Rev. Edward G., A.M.*, 240.
 Appointed on a committee to consider of the erection of a monument to the Pilgrims at Delftshaven, 1. Communicates some notes of a visit to Fairfield, *Conn.*, 395. Elected a Member at Large of the Council, 420.
 Porter, Jacob, *M.D.*, 209.
 Poughkeepsie, *N. Y.*, 101.
 Pratt, Phineas, 231.
 Preble, *Commodore Edward*, 421.
 Prentiss, *Rev. Thomas*, 445, 447, 448.
 Prescott, *Col. William*, 231, 233.
 Prescott, William H., *LL.D.*, 240, 272, 290, 303, 444, 469, 400.
 President. See Ellis, George E.
 Pressensé, *Rev. Edmond de*, death of, 421.
 Princeton, *N. J.*, 131, 159.
 Providence, *R. I.*, 130.
 Puritanism, character of, 178-180.
 Putnam, Frederick W., *A.M.*, 240.
 Pynchon, John, 373.

Q.

- Quash, Francis D., *A.M.*, 444.
 Quincy, *Mass.*, Church Records of, cited, 477 *et seq.*
 Quincy, Miss Dorothy, date of her marriage, 396.
 Quincy, Edmund, *A.M.*, 218, 240.
 Quincy, *Col. John*, 484, 486, 488, 407, 508, 510.
 Quincy, *Hon. Josiah, LL.D.*, 209, 212, 217, 240, 266, 272, 356, 459, 460. Gov. Lincoln's address at his inauguration as President of Harvard College, 167.
 Quincy, Josiah P., *A.M.*, vote of thanks to, 420.
 Quincy, Samuel, *A.M.*, and Hannah, portraits of, 285.
 Quincy, *Gen. Samuel M.*, 194.
 Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., 409.
 Quint, *Rev. Alonzo H., D.D.*, 240.

R.

- Rafn, Charles C., 246.
 Raleigh, *Sir Walter*, 247.
 Ramapo, *N. Y.*, 131.
 Randall, Henry S., *LL.D.*, 70.
 Rask, Erasmus, 229.
 Rau, Charles C., his "Archæological Collection of the United States National Museum," cited, 38.
 Read, *Col.*, 86.

- Recording Secretary. *See* Young, Edward J.
- Reed, *Major*, 137, 145.
- Rehoboth, *Mass.*, 117.
- Revere, Paul, 227, 228.
- Rhode Island, 99, 114.
- Richard Frothingham Fund, 407, 413.
- Income of, 407, 412, 413.
- Richmond, *Va.*, 137, 146.
- Riedesel, *Mrs.*, wife of *Gen. Friedrich Adolph*, her ill treatment in Bristol, *Eng.*, 515.
- Ripley, George, *LL.D.*, 452.
- Ripley, *Rev. Samuel*, 240.
- Robbins, *Rev. Chandler*, *D.D.*, 208, 216, 217, 240, 241, 242.
- Robinson, *Rev. John*, 43, 44, 47. His farewell address to the Pilgrims, 182, 183, 186.
- Rockwood, *Mrs. Sarah*, 233.
- Rogers, John, his model of a monument to *Rev. John Eliot*, the Apostle to the Indians, 64.
- Rogers, Nathaniel, *A.M.*, author of a preface to Wood's "New England's Prospect," 401, 402.
- Ropes, John C., *LL.B.*, tribute to Charles Devens, 286. Appointed to write a memoir of Judge Devens, 294.
- Russell, William G., *LL.D.*, 399.
- Russell & Co., *Messrs.*, 198, 200.
- S.
- Sackville, Lord George, 255, 257. *See also* Germaine, Lord George.
- Sailors' Snug Harbor, 201, 202.
- St. Clair, *Gen. Arthur*, 84.
- St. Simon, Claude Anne, *Marquis de*, 149, 150, 156.
- Salem, *Conn.*, 90, 127, 129.
- Salisbury, Stephen, *A.M.*, appointed one of the committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, 351. Presents their report, 407.
- Saltonstall, *Hon. Leverett*, *LL.D.*, 73, 238, 241.
- Saltonstall, *Hon. Leverett*, *A.M.*, 213. Reads a letter purporting to have been written by Richard Saltonstall in 1631-32, 20. Memoir of Robert B. Forbes by, 197-202. Of the committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, 351. Signs the report, 414.
- Saltonstall, Richard, 20, 65.
- Sanford, *Hon. John E.*, *A.M.* Appointed to write a memoir of *Rev. Dr. Dexter*, 187.
- Saratoga, *N. Y.*, 92, 96.
- Sargent, Winthrop, *A.M.*, 241.
- Savage, *Hon. James LL.D.*, 2, 217, 218, 235, 241, 273, 407, 470, 478, 479.
- Savage Fund, 407, 413. Income of, 407, 413.
- Sawtell, Abel, 27, 30.
- Saybrook, *Conn.*, 112, 125.
- Scannell, *Col. Alexander*, 152.
- Scatacook Indians, conference with the, at Fort Dummer, 373-381.
- Scheffer, *Prof. J. G. de Hoop*, 46.
- Schuyler, *Col. Peter*, 367 *et seq.*
- Schuyler, *Gen. Philip*, 94.
- Schuylkill, *Pa.*, 104, 105.
- Scituate, *Conn.*, 124.
- Scott, *Sir. Walter*, 218, 273.
- Scott, *Gen. Winfield*, at the battle of Lundy's Lane, 258.
- Sears, *Hon. David*, *A.M.*, 217, 249, 406.
- Sears, *Rev. Edmund H.*, *D.D.*, 241.
- Second National Bank, *Boston*, 409.
- Sedgwick, *Gen. John*, 288.
- "Self-sown Wheat" of the Norse Sagas, 36.
- Separatists from the English Church, 180.
- Sever, Nicholas, *Tutor*, 228.
- Sewall, *Hon. David*, *LL.D.*, 227.
- Sewall, Jonathan, *A.M.*, 253, 254, 399, 400.
- Sewall, *Chief Justice Samuel*, 171, 173, 174, 233, 249, 381, 388.
- Sexual Morality in Colonial New England, paper on, 477 *et seq.*
- Shakespeare, William, 517.
- Shattuck, *Hon. Lemuel*, 236, 241.
- Shaw, George R., *A.M.*, letter from, 165.
- Shaw, *Hon. Lemuel*, *LL.D.*, 243.
- Sheldon, *Hon. George*, 377.
- Shepard, *Rev. Thomas*, 187, 347, 394, 395.
- Shepard, *Col. William*, 96, 100, 119, 127.
- Shurtleff, *Hon. Nathaniel B.*, *M.D.*, 241.
- Shurtleff, William S., *A.M.*, elected a Resident Member, 175. His acceptance, 285.
- Sibley, *Rev. John L.*, *A. M.*, 4, 173, 219, 228, 239, 241.
- Silliman, Benjamin, *LL.D.*, 246.
- Simcoe, *Col. John G.*, 155.
- Sims, Thomas, fugitive slave, 264.
- Simsbury, *Conn.*, 89, 90.
- Slafter, *Rev. Edmund F.*, *D.D.*, 21, 220, 242.
- Smith, Charles C., *A.M.*, 21, 78, 160, 187, 214, 242, 243, 249, 253, 404. Appointed on the committee for publishing the Proceedings, 1, 421. Motion by, with regard to the Income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund, 196. Communicates from the papers of Charles Deane a translation of the inscriptions on Cabot's *Mappe Monde*, 305. Reads a letter from Mr. Winsor giving an account of the Lambeth

- Library, 340. Presents the Treasurer's Annual Report, 400. Elected Treasurer, 420.
- Smith, *Capt. John*, 225, 226, 346. His "Description of New England" cited 35. His "Map of Virginia" cited, 37.
- Smith, *Hon. Oliver H.*, 73.
- Smith, *Miss Rose Greene*, 198.
- Smith, *Rev. Sydney*, 296.
- Smith, *Gen. William F.*, 288.
- Smith, *Capt.*, 127, 128.
- Smyth, *Rev. Egbert C., D.D.* Communicates a paper on the construction and first occupancy of Fort Dummer, and on a conference with the Scatacook Indians held there, 359. Presents an additional letter, 425.
- Smyth, *Rev. John*, 43, 45, 47, 61.
- Southington, *Conn.*, 129.
- Sparks, *Jared, LL.D.*, 213, 230, 272, 348, 350, 448, 454, 455.
- Spelman, *Henry*, his "Relation of Virginia" cited, 37.
- Spencer, *Herbert*, 280.
- Sprague, *Charles, A.M.*, 240, 244.
- Springfield, *Vt.*, 82.
- Sprout, *Col. Ebenezer*, 127, 128.
- Stafford, *Edward*, 236.
- Stamford, *Conn.*, 112.
- State National Bank, *Boston*, 409.
- Steuben, *Frederic, Baron von*, 187, 153, 155.
- Stevens, *Capt. Ebenezer*, 84.
- Stiles, *H. R., M.D.*, 504-506.
- Stillwater, *N. Y.*, 92, 99.
- Stoddard, *Mrs. Frances M.*, 242.
- Stoddard, *Col. John*, 360 *et seq.*, 425, 426.
- Stoddard, *Samuel*, 172.
- Storm, *Gustav*, his "Studies on the Vineland Sagas" cited, 36.
- Storrs, *Rev. Richard S., D.D.*, 353.
- Story, *Hon. Joseph, LL.D.*, 235, 263.
- Story, *William W., D.C.L.*, 238.
- Stratford, *Conn.*, 112, 126.
- Strong, *Hon. Caleb, LL.D.*, 237.
- Sturgis, *Hon. William*, 237.
- Suffolk County Bar Book, 229.
- Suffolk Savings Bank, 407.
- Sullivan, *Daniel*, 222.
- Sullivan, *Hon. James, LL.D.*, 243, 278.
- Sullivan, *Gen. John*, 121, 122, 222, 246.
- Sullivan, *Hon. William, LL.D.*, 222.
- Sumner, *Gen. Edwin V.*, 288.
- Sumner, *George*, 243, 245.
- Swanzy, *N. H.*, 80, 88.
- Swedesborough, *N. J.*, 107.
- Tarbell, *Capt. Thomas*, 430.
- Tarleton, *Lieut.-Col. Sir Banistre*, 139, 153, 155, 436, 437, 441.
- Taylor, *Edward*, 248.
- Thacher, *Oxenbridge*, 191.
- Thacher, *Rev. Peter, D.D.*, 277.
- Thayer, *James B., LL.B.*, 383.
- Thayer, *Nathaniel, A.M.*, 230, 406.
- Theer, *Isaac*, 483.
- Thiers, *Louis Adolphe*, 247.
- Thomas, *Hon. Benjamin F., LL.D.*, 243.
- Thomas, *Nathaniel*, 221.
- Thompson, *E. Maunde*, 260.
- Thomson, *David*, 227.
- Thoreau, *Henry D.*, 276.
- Ticknor, *George, LL.D.*, 200, 243, 272.
- Ticonderoga, *N. Y.*, 79, 83.
- Tolman, *Ebenezer*, supposed author of a journal ascribed to Ebenezer Wild, 39.
- Tomahawks, some notes on, by *Henry W. Haynes*, 37.
- Tompson, *Benjamin*, 234.
- Tompson, *Deacon Samuel*, 481, 484.
- Tompson, *Rev. William*, 481.
- Tomson, *Samuel*, 481, 482.
- Torrey, *Henry W., LL.D.*, 359.
- Townsend, *Miss Mary P.*, 408.
- Tracy, *James J.*, 377.
- Treasurer. See *Smith, Charles C.*
- Trenton, *N. J.*, 131, 159.
- Trescott, *Capt. Lemuel*, 78, 86, 87.
- Trumbull, *James Hammond, LL.D.*, 346, 374, 377, 394.
- Trumbull, *John, LL.D.*, 399, 400.
- Tryon, *Gen. William*, 396.
- Tuckerman, *Capt.*, 93, 101, 106.
- Tudor, *Frederick*, meeting of the Society at his house, in 1858, 76, 77.
- Tudor, *Hon. William*, 190, 192, 243, 277.
- Tudor, *Hon. William, Jr.*, 194, 243.
- Tupper, *Col. Benjamin*, 140.
- Tuttle, *Charles W., A.M.*, 242, 243.
- Tuttle, *Julius H.*, 419.
- Tyler, *Rev. Moses Coit, LL.D.*, his "History of American Literature" cited, 173.
- Tyng, *Hon. Dudley Atkins, LL.D.*, 237, 243.
- Tyng, *Commodore Edward*, 221.
- Tyng, *Hon. William*, 221.

U.

- Ulmore (Ulmer), *Lieut.* 106, 120, 127.
- Ulmore, *George*, 123.
- "Unitarian Review," 459.
- Unitarianism, 451, 458, 462.
- Updike, *Mrs. Elizabeth B.*, gift to the Society from, 165.
- Upham, *Hon. Charles W., A.M.*, 208, 230.

T.

- Tanner, *Miss Polly*, 123.
- Tarbell, *Capt. Samuel*, 430-432.

Upham, William P., *A.B.*, 243, 418. Of the committee to examine the Cabinet and Library, 351.

V.

Vacation, extended significance of the term, 66.

Van Buren, Martin, *Pres. of U. S.*, 264, 296.

Van Schaick, Col. Gozen, 107.

Varnum, Gen. James M., 108.

Veasey, Eleazer, 498.

Veasey, John, 498.

Verplanck, Hon. Gulian C., *LL.D.*, 246.

Vespuccius, Americus, 229.

Vinton, Hon. Samuel F., 74, 75, 249.

Virginia, military operations in, in 1781, 137 *et seq.*

Vose, Major Elijah, 90.

Vose Col. Joseph, 78, 92, 97, 98, 125, 130-134, 138-144, 146, 155.

W.

Walcott, Henry P., *M.D.*, elected a Resident Member, 518.

Waldeck, Frederick de, 233.

Walker, Rev. George L., *D.D.*, 423.

Walker, Rev. James, *LL.D.*, 243. Rev. O. B. Frothingham appointed to write a memoir of, 359. Memoir of, 443-468. His birth and parentage, 443. His rank in College, 444. Offices held by him, 445. His characteristics as a minister, 448 *et seq.* As a student of philosophy, 452. As President of the College, 454. His personal traits, 456. His published writings, 458, 459. His character as a preacher, 460. His religious beliefs, 462. His views with regard to public opinion and the individual conscience, 466. His death, 468.

Walker, Miss Susannah, 120.

Wallace, Hon. David, 73.

Wallcut, Thomas, 229, 278.

Walpole, N. H., 81, 88.

Walpole, Sir Robert, on the truth of history, 280.

Ward, Rev. Nathaniel, 393, 395.

Ware, Rev. Henry, *D.D.*, 444.

Ware, Rev. Henry, Jr., *D.D.*, 449.

Warren, Hon. Charles H., *LL.D.*, 244.

Warren, Winslow, *LL.B.*, tribute of, to Samuel C. Cobb, 358.

Washburn, Hon. Emory, *LL.D.*, 208, 239, 242, 244.

Washburn, Gov. William B., 357.

Washington, Byrd, 169.

Washington, Gen. George, *President*, 107, 148, 150, 151, 169, 273, 282, 292. Portrait of, at Blois, 84.

Waterhouse, Benjamin, *M.D.*, letter from, to Gov. Lincoln, 108. His inaugural address as a Professor in the Medical School of Harvard College, 169.

Waters, Henry F., *A.M.*, 244.

Waterston, Rev. Robert C., *A.M.*, 244, 245.

Watertown, Mass., 89.

Watson, Benjamin M., *A.M.*, elected a Resident Member, 350.

Watson, Rev. John Lee, *D.D.*, 227.

Watson, William, 264.

Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 87, 141, 144, 149.

Weathersfield, Vt., 82.

Webb, Capt. George, 126, 151.

Webb, Ensign, 106.

Webster, Hon. Daniel, *LL.D.*, 249.

Weeden, William B., 496. His "Economic and Social History of New England" cited, 507, 508.

Weld, Samuel, 120.

Wesley, Rev. John, 501.

Wesson, Capt. Ephraim, 30.

Weston, Mass., 89.

West Point, N. Y., 135, 140, 141, 160.

Whately, Thomas, 401.

Wheatley, Phillis, 225.

Wheaton, Henry, *LL.D.*, 229.

Wheaton, Lieut., 141.

Wheeler, Simon, 28, 33.

Wheelwright, Rev. John, 225.

White, Hon. Daniel A., *LL.D.*, 243, 459, 460.

Whitefield, Rev. George, 499.

Whitehall, N. Y., 83.

"White Hills" Map, 41.

Whitmore, William H., *A.M.*, 245, 442. Appointed to write a memoir of Augustus T. Perkins, 422.

Whitney, Henry A., *A.M.*, 223.

Wibird, Rev. Anthony, 491.

Wild, Charles Tidd, 40, 78 n., 79.

Wild, Ebenezer, 83, 78, 223, 246. Authorship of a journal ascribed to him, 39. Journal kept by him during the Revolutionary War, 78-160.

Wiggin, Thomas, his Description of Massachusetts cited, 36.

Wigglesworth, Col. Edward, 86, 166, 116, 123, 126.

Willard, Joseph, *A.M.*, 223, 245.

Willard, Rev. Samuel, 173.

Willard, Prof. Sidney, 444.

Willett, Col. Marinus, 86.

William Amory Fund, 408, 413.

William Winthrop Fund, 407, 413. Income of, 407, 411, 413.

Williams, Ebenezer, 119, 120.

Williams, Sergt. Ebenezer, 100, 119, 122, 123.

- Williams, Roger, his "Key into the Languages of America" cited as to Indian Customs, 514.
 Williamsburg, *Va.*, 149, 151.
 Wilmington, *Del.*, 132.
 Wilson, Mary, Letters to Fitz-John Winthrop, 18, 19.
 Wilson, John, Letter to Fitz-John Winthrop, 19.
 Wilson, *Rev. John*, 394, 395.
 Wilton, *Conn.*, 126.
 Winchendon, *Mass.*, 88.
 Winsor, Justin, *LL.D.*, 1, 21, 34, 39, 220, 223, 245, 246, 274, 280, 305, 402. Appointed to represent the Society during his absence in Europe, 40. Letter to Hon. R. C. Winthrop on the Winthrop map and the British archives, 259. Letter to Charles C. Smith on the Lambeth Library, 340. Elected Corresponding Secretary, 419.
 Winthrop, Benjamin R., 246.
 Winthrop, Elizabeth (Fones). *See* Hallett.
 Winthrop, Fitz-John, *Gov. of Conn.*, letters from Mary Wilson to, 18, 19.
 Winthrop, Henry, 2.
 Winthrop, Hon. James, *LL.D.*, 277.
 Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Mass.*, 2, 187, 395, 422. Letters from Thomas Lyon to, 5, 6. Letter from Robert Feke to, 8 n. Map ascribed to, 259. Letter from Mrs. Anne Higginson to, 424; from Rev. Thomas Hooker to, 425.
 Winthrop, John, *Jr.*, *Gov. of Conn.*, 248. Letters from Elizabeth Hallett (Fones) to, 4, 11-13; Martha Johanna Lyon to, 9, 14, 15; William Hallett to, 12, 13; Mary Lyon to, 16; Thomas Lyon to, 16, 17.
 Winthrop, Mrs., Katharine, 249.
 Winthrop, Martha Johanna. *See* Lyon.
 Winthrop, Hon. Robert C., *LL.D.*, 65, 77, 164, 208, 216, 217, 220, 221, 240, 246-249, 259, 267, 284, 290, 305, 349, 356, 450. Remarks on a proposed monument to Rev. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, 64. Remarks on Jeremiah Morrow and Samuel F. Vinton, 72. Address at the centennial commemoration of the formation of the Society, 271.
 Winthrop, Robert C., *Jr.*, *A.M.*, 21, 187, 211, 220, 249. Communicates some notes concerning Thomas Lyon, his Family and Connections, 1. Communicates some verses entitled "The Strange Escape of Capt. Anthony Strange," 251. Communicates a letter from Mrs. Anne Higginson and one from Rev. Thomas Hooker to Gov. John Winthrop, 422.
 Winthrop, William, 40, 407.
 Witchcraft in Massachusetts, 232.
 Wolcott, John, 377.
 Wolcott, Roger, *LL.B.*, Elected a Member at Large of the Council, 420.
 Wood, William, his "New England's Prospect," cited, 36, 514. Authorship of the Preface to the edition of 1764, 401, 402.
 Woodbridge, Col. Benjamin R., 86.
 Woodbury, *Conn.*, 129.
 Woods, *Rev. Leonard, Jr.*, *D.D.*, 263.
 Worcester, *Mass.*, 89.
 Worthington, Erastus, his "History of Dedham" cited, 495, 508.
 Wrentham, *Mass.*, 117.
 Wright, Oliver, 26, 33.
 Wright, W. K., 374, 377.
 Wyman, Jeffries, *M.D.*, 200.

Y.

- Yale College, 451.
 York River, *Va.*, 143, 149.
 Yorktown, *Va.*, 149, 155, 156.
 Young, *Rev. Alexander, D.D.*, 85, 284 n., 343, 344, 394, 395.
 Young, *Rev. Edward J., D.D.*, 214, 249. Recording Secretary, 39, 65. Appointed on the committee for publishing the Proceedings, 1, 421. Communicates an unpublished letter of Lafayette, 169. Appointed one of the committee of arrangements for the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, 196. Elected Recording Secretary, 419.

of
r
e
d